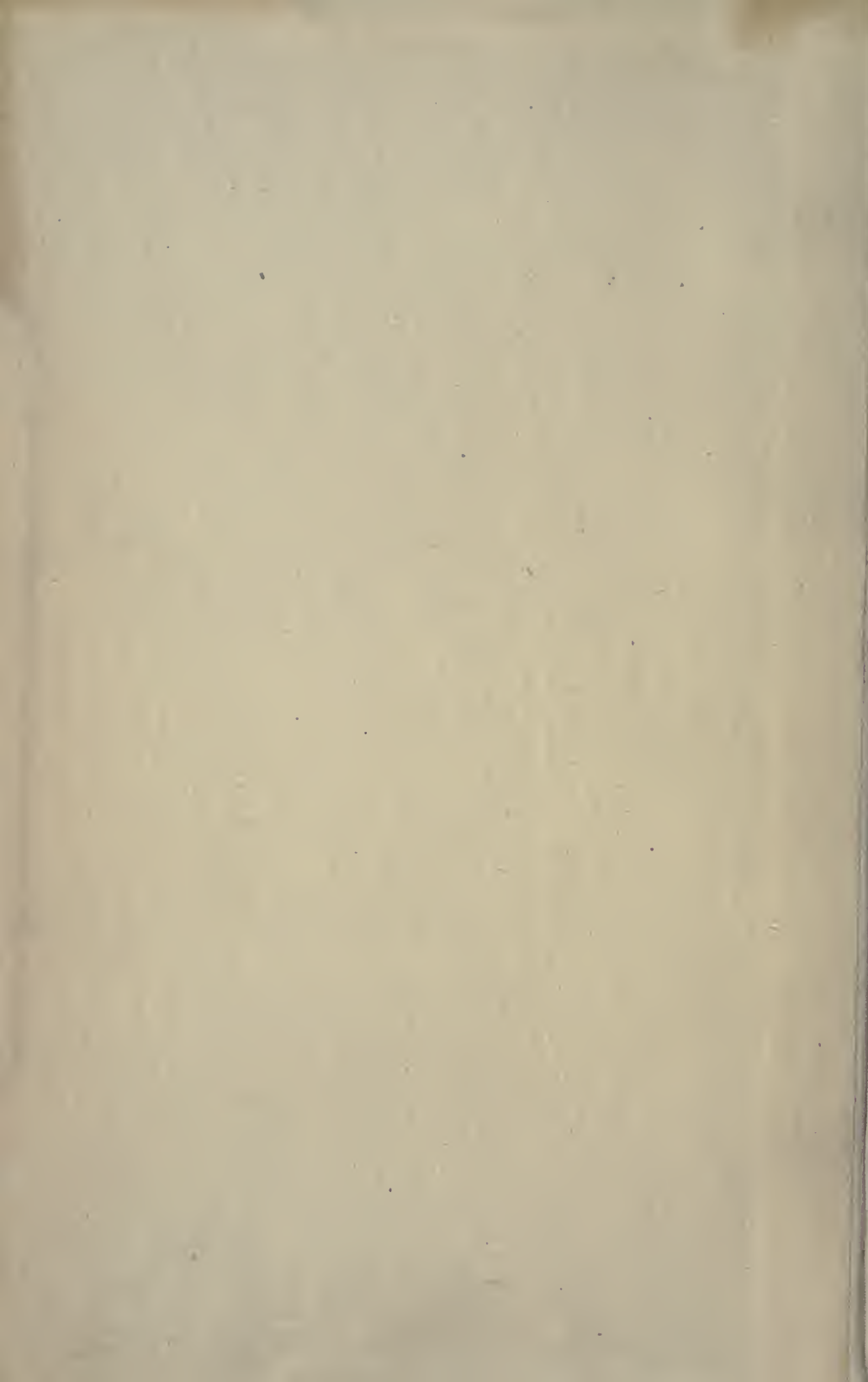
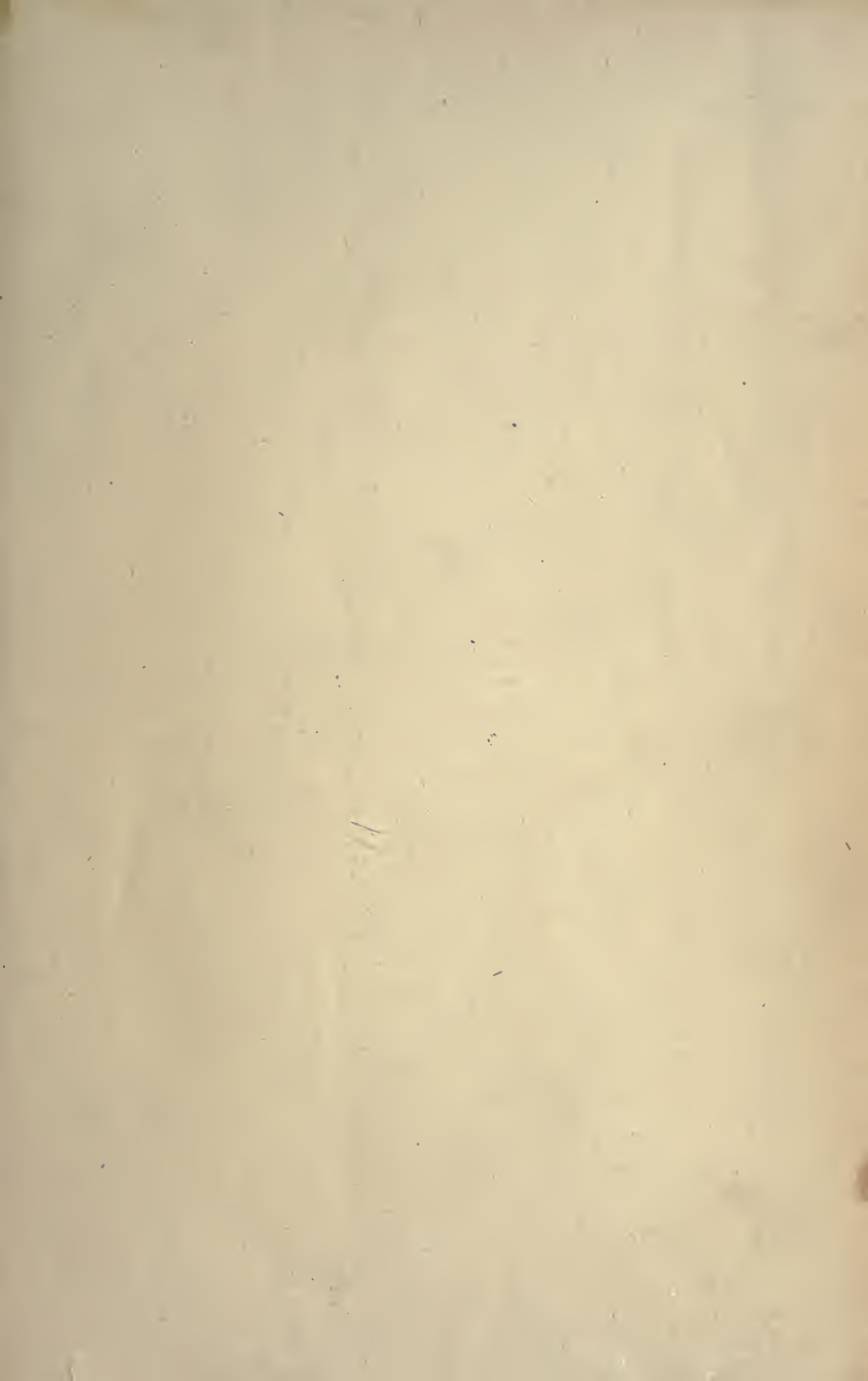


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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

JAMES WILSON BRIGHT, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

MURRAY PEABODY BRUSH      WILLIAM KURRELMEYER

JAMES EUSTACE SHAW


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THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED  
TO THE MEMORY OF

**A. Marshall Elliott**

TO WHOSE ENTHUSIASM AND FORESIGHT WERE DUE  
THE FOUNDING OF THIS PERIODICAL AND  
THE ORGANIZATION OF THE  
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION  
OF AMERICA





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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## MORE NOTES ON *PATIENCE*

### I, *Patience* 188

In his attractive edition of *Patience* Professor Gollancz proposes *Raguel* for *Ragnel* of line 188, assuming that the ms. should be read *u* rather than *n*. He then connects the name with the "apocryphal *Enoch* where Raguel is the angel of chastisement;" see his note. The reading is inviting, and had occurred to me tho I had connected it with the name Raguel in *Tobit* vi, 10 and other places in the Bible. My own difficulty has been to account for the transfer of the name to a devil. Professor Gollancz has seemed to find this easier, tho he has shown no intervening link between "Raguel, one of the holy angels who takes vengeance on the earth and the luminaries" (Schodde's *Enoch*, ch. xx, p. 91), and the devil name which he assumes.

The difficulty in determining whether the word contains *u* or *n*, a difficulty admitted for *Patience*, may perhaps be settled by comparing the other Middle English manuscripts in which the name is used. It appears in two passages of the *Chester* and one of the *Digby Plays*, and these have been examined for me by competent readers. My colleague, Professor W. H. Hulme, when in England last summer, examined both the passages in the *Chester Plays*, each occurring in three manuscripts. In all six places, Mr. Hulme assures me the reading is clearly *n*, not *u*. The first, printed in the *Shakespeare Society* edition (p. 84) as

Bouth Ruffyn and Ragnell,

reads *Ranell* in Harl. ms. 2013, fol. 39 verso, *ray[org]nell* in Addit. ms. 10,305, fol. 32 verso, and *Raynell* in Bodl. ms. 175, fol.



37. The line quoted by Mr. Gollancz from *Chester Plays*, l. 604 (EETS. ed.),

Ragnell, Ragnell, thou arte my deare,

reads *Ragnell* in Harl. ms. 2013, fol. 192 verso, in Harl. ms. 2124, fol. 129 verso, and in Addit. ms. 10,305, fol. 160 verso. The play in which this occurs is the *Antichrist*, now printing at the Oxford Press, and readings have been furnished me from two other manuscripts of it. The Peniarth reads *ragnayall*, and the Devonshire *ragnell*, thus confirming the readings in all the other manuscripts of the *Chester Plays*.

A tracing from Digby ms. 133, the source of the *Digby Plays*, has also been sent me, but the reading is indecisive. No one could, however, quote it on the side of a *u*-reading of the name. It would seem to be clear from this collateral proof of the Middle English form of the word that, until some further evidence for Mr. Gollancz's reading *Raguel* in *Patience* is found, the form *Ragnel* should remain in the text.

## II, *The Quatrain Arrangement*

In his edition Mr. Gollancz has departed from the ordinary printing of *Patience* by separating each four lines into a distinct quatrain. He says of it "there can be little doubt that the poem was written in what may be described as alliterative quatrains, and that the original number of lines was either 528 or 532." On the strength of this he brackets lines 513-16, saying in his notes "something has gone wrong with the text." He admits that "the ms. does not help in the matter of the quatrain arrangement of the lines, as the scribe has made the division marks quite mechanically."

It must be admitted that the author of *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, *Patience*, *Sir Gawain*, and perhaps *De Erkenwalde* had some fondness for regularity of structure. *Cleanness* consists of 1812 lines, a multiple of four, as is the number of lines in each of its thirteen divisions. *De Erkenwalde*, if that be included in the works of this author, has 352 lines, also a multiple of four. On the other hand, there is nothing like absolute regularity in four-line or any other structure in all the poems of this author. *Sir Gawain* consists of 2530 lines, not a multiple of four, but yet the four-line numbering appears in the Morris edition (EETS. 4). Moreover, *Sir*



*Gawain* is made up of irregular stanzas, many not containing an even number of lines. Only the *rime couée* at the end of each stanza is a quatrain, after a common fashion. *Pearl*, written in twelve-line stanzas, was apparently intended to have exactly twenty parts of five stanzas each. Yet at least three mistakes were made in this simple scheme. A sixth stanza was added to part fifteen, and clearly belongs to that part by its rime connections, so that it must have been a mistake of the poet himself. Not seeing his error, or not regarding it, he writes five stanzas for the next part as usual. Later he, or perhaps his copyist, noting the mistake in the number of lines, puts four stanzas in part sixteen, and the fifth in a seventeenth part by itself. The next part is marked eighteen, and the error is continued to the end of the poem. *Pearl* thus contains 1212 instead of 1200 lines, and the poet himself is shown to be capable of departing from an apparently rigid scheme. Four of the five parts of *Patience* are in multiples of four lines, but the fifth part has three lines too many or one line too few for a four-line structure. Yet there is no break in sense requiring an additional line, and few will agree, I think, with Mr. Gollancz in regarding any three lines as inappropriate or unnecessary.

Besides, true quatrain structure implies more than a mechanical grouping in four-line sequences. Ordinarily it means a binding together by rime, which of course is absent in alliterative verse. Even more fundamental to the quatrain is unity of thought, not to be disregarded altho the thought may occasionally overflow into two or sometimes three quatrains. Now only a casual examination of *Patience*, as of *Cleanness*, shows that the thought sequence is more commonly in couplets than in quatrains or any other stanza structure. Thus, in the first hundred lines of *Patience* as punctuated by Mr. Gollancz there are twenty-two couplets marked off by independent pauses. It is easy to say that these make eleven quatrains, but so far as unity of thought is concerned this is no more correct than it is to arrange in quatrains the couplets of such a poet as Pope.

More than this. Even in Mr. Gollancz's punctuation there are, in the first hundred lines of *Patience*, only four four-line sequences of thought, 73-76, 89-92, 93-96, 97-100. To these I should add lines 54-57, altho it disregards Mr. Gollancz's punctuation and breaks his quatrain structure. This makes only five true quatrains, so far as thought sequence is concerned. In comparison the first

hundred lines of Pope's *Windsor Forest* have seven thought sequences of four lines each. Besides these four or five four-line sequences in *Patience*, there are ten single, or ungrouped lines, 1, 34, 40, 45, 46, 58, 65, 72, 77, 86; seven three-line sequences, 2-4, 37-39, 51-53, 66-68, 69-71, 78-80, 83-85; and one well-defined five-line sequence, 29-33. In other words forty-four lines represent couplets, thirty-six lines one, two, three or five-line sequences. Only twenty lines at most represent four-line sequences. I can not think this indicates a vital quatrain arrangement.

But Mr. Gollancz says "the consequent gain [of the quatrain arrangement] is great for the right interpretation and understanding of the poem." And again, "similarly the application of this method to *Cleanness* renders that rather long and apparently monotonous poem altogether more vivid and lighter in structure." As to the latter I can not think it means any more than an appearance to the eye. Surely the essential character of Tennyson's *Locksley Hall* would not be altered by printing it without space between the couplets. Nor can I think the quatrain arrangement materially assists in the "right interpretation and understanding" of either poem. Finally, it must be remembered that the MS. is not a holograph,—the mistakes of various sorts would alone make that impossible,—and there is therefore no way of knowing whether the marks at each fourth line are the author's. On all accounts the printing as blank verse, with proper designation of paragraphs, would seem to be best.

### III, *The Oxford Dictionary and the Alliterative Poems*

In *Englische Studien* XLVII, 316, Mr. Onions has taken me to task for not using the *Oxford Dictionary* as much as I might have done. Specifically he cites my proposal to divide *glaymande* of *Patience* 269, and *ramelande* of 279. It is always a pleasure to recognize the greatness of this vast compendium of English words, but Mr. Onions might in fairness have noted that neither of the English editors of *Patience* in the last two years had mentioned, and apparently had not seen, the *Dictionary's* suggestions regarding these words.<sup>1</sup> Yet with the *Oxford Dictionary's* mild support

<sup>1</sup> Björkman also, in his admirable *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English*, p. 57, treats *glaymande* without reference to the *Oxford Dictionary's* suggestion.

of "perhaps written for" *glaym ande, ramel ande*, I shall feel fairly certain these emendations, which I proposed with some confidence (*Engl. Stud.* XLVII, 125), will be generally accepted. One of them has been in my notes on the poem for nearly if not quite twenty years, or some time before that part of the *Dictionary* was issued.

On the other hand the *Oxford Dictionary* is but too often a broken reed in relation to the *Alliterative Poems*. It missed entirely the simple explanation of the MS. *assayled* in *Patience* 301. It does not explain *poynt* (line 1) or *ne* (l. 231), on both of which I ventured a suggestion in *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXIX, 85. It assists no more on *ruyt* of line 216, which it does not notice under that form or any other, so far as I have found. It can not be wholly right in its definition of *myke* (*Cleanness* 417). In glossing the word (see *mike*) as a "crutch or forked support on which a boom rests when lowered," with the above passage from *Cleanness* as an illustrative example, it has failed to take account of the simpler ships of the period to which the *Alliterative Poems* belong. As the sail of the time was a simple cross-sail only (cf. *Patience* 102) there could have been no 'boom' to be lowered into the *myke*. The *myke* must have been for the mast when lowered, as Morris implied in his definition of the word (see his glossary to the *Alliterative Poems*). On the ships of this period, see an article by R. Morton Nance (not Lance as printed in Mr. Gollancz's edition of *Patience*) in the *Mariner's Mirror* III, 33 (Feb. 1913), with illustrations from seals or manuscript miniatures.<sup>2</sup> One of the latter (p. 36, Fig. 9) shows the *myke*, while Fig. 10 shows the mast lowered, tho in this case—a bare outline—the *myke* is absent.

It is extremely important, in attempting to explain the references in these poems to medieval shipping, that we should have a clear idea of the medieval ship. Difference in size it doubtless had at different times, but in rigging, until the last part of the fifteenth century, it retained the simple square sail of centuries before. The

<sup>2</sup> Other articles of more or less value are to be found in vol. IV of the *Mirror*, April, May, June and July numbers, the first, to which I refer later, being the most important. Perhaps I may say here that Professor Ekwall (*Engl. Stud.* XLVII, 314) has misunderstood my reference to the Norwegian herring-boat. I noted the latter to illustrate the general form and rig of the boat in *Patience*, not its size.



fore-and-aft rig seems to have been unknown until about 1475, and at any rate is unknown to the poems *Cleanness* and *Patience*. See the quotation from E. Keble Chatterton's *Fore and Aft* (1912) in my *Englische Studien* article.

I venture also that the *Oxford Dictionary's* emendation of *wyndes* for *wynnes* in *Patience* 106 is unnecessary. The word *lofe* in the expression *þe lofe wynnes* has always been a difficult one, as is its modern equivalent *luff*. Yet the passage is reasonably clear from the context and from recognized senses of the words. From the quotations cited by the *Oxford*, "*luff*" (*Patience*, *lofe*) may mean "the weather-gage or part of the ship toward the wind," and "the fullest or broadest part of a ship's bow," a peculiarly English sense. According to the *International* also, the word may apply to "the forward or weather-leach of a sail." These meanings are justified for earlier English by passages in Middle or Early Modern English poems. One which is not quoted by the *Oxford Dictionary* occurs in the *Morte Arthure*, line 750:

Launches lede upone lufe, lacchen ther depe.

Here *lufe* must mean the windward side of the ship forward, as the part on which the leadsman stood.

The other passage is in Gawain Douglas's *Æneis* v, xiv, 5-8, quoted in part by the *Oxford*:

Than all sammyn, with handis, feit and kneis,  
Did heis thar saill, and trossit down ther teis;  
Now the lie scheit and now the luf thai slak,  
Set in a fang and threw the ra abak.

Here *luf* is an adjective, but used clearly in the sense of windward, since the *luf scheit* 'luff sheet or sail' is directly contrasted with *lie scheit* 'lee sheet.'

From these and similar quotations an interpretation of *þe lofe wynnes* ought not to be difficult, especially as the next line explains the situation in unmistakable language:

þe blyþe breþe at her bak þe bosum he fyndes.

As the leeward edge of the sail is hauled round by the sailors the windward edge catches the breeze first—"wins" in the modern sense—when the sail as a whole bellies out and the boat turns from

the haven toward the sea. The reading of the manuscript needs no emendation.<sup>3</sup>

The *Oxford Dictionary* uses *Patience* 104 to illustrate *spare* 'not in actual use at the time,' a meaning which I used in my *Englische Studien* article from notes of long standing. The same meaning is required for *spare drye* (l. 338) 'unoccupied or unused dry land,' translating in *aridam* of the Vulgäte *Jonah* ii, 11. This last example from *Patience* would have furnished a case of attributive use of the adjective as applied to unoccupied land, for which the *Oxford Dictionary* gives only a predicate use. Incidentally, this citation by the *Oxford* of *Patience* 104 should satisfy Professor Ekwall who, in *Englische Studien* XLVII, 314, thought my definition of *spare* in *spare bawlyne* not sufficiently supported. In their editions neither Mr. Gollancz nor Mr. Bateson has noticed the rendering of *spare* in the *Oxford Dictionary*, and both are wide of the true meaning.

From a recent part of the *Oxford Dictionary* we get the view of the editor regarding *tramme*, *Patience* 101. This puzzling word is connected with OF. *traime* (*treme*, *trame*) 'woof of a web,' fig. 'cunning device,' instead of with LG. *traam* 'balk, beam, handle of barrow or sledge, rung of ladder, shaft of barrow or cart, upright part of gallows,' etc. The dictionary supplies no other quotation in which *tramme* is used in a nautical sense, nor can the special sense 'tackle or gear of a ship' be said to be very near 'a mechanical contrivance, a machine, an engine, an implement,' etc., the general meaning under which it is placed. I still believe the word belongs under the second *tram* above, and that in *Patience* 101 the

<sup>3</sup> In the *Mariner's Mirror* for May, 1914 (p. 156) C. A. G. B. corrects Mr. Geoffrey Callender (*Ibid.* April) who had explained *pay layden in on ladde-borde* as "they haul in on the larboard" and then "pay off on the starboard tack." As C. A. G. B. points out, hauling in on the larboard would prevent the ship's paying off on the starboard tack. In the next number of the same periodical F. G. B. suggests that the true meaning of the movement is to "fill on the starboard tack." This seems to me the only possible explanation. The boat is lying with its *ladde-borde* 'loading side,' to the shore, and the wind is from the back, but quartering on the larboard. The starboard side of the sail is hauled round until the wind is caught by the windward side, when the boat moves off on a course to the right. Is it too much to point out that this would exactly suit the conditions of a ship going from Joppa to Tarsus, if moored with its larboard to the shore at the former place?

meaning of *þay her tramme ruchen* is 'they set up their mast.' Mr. Gollancz assumes the relation of *tramme* to Norw. *traam* 'frame,' Swed. dial. *tromm* 'log, stock of tree,' the cognates of LG. *traam* cited by the *Oxford Dictionary* and, altho he does not give to the word the meaning 'mast,' that would be an easy derivative. To the other examples cited it may be added that the word occurred in older Scotch for 'beam or bar,' as noted both by Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* and the *English Dialect Dictionary*.

To this meaning I am led, not only by a natural extension of the recognized uses of the word, but by the simple form of the fourteenth century ship. If the words *þay her tramme ruchen* mean 'adjust their tackle,' what would be intended in the ship of the time? If the mast were in place, what tackle was there to adjust before raising the sail, the next point mentioned? On the other hand, the reference to the *myke* in *Cleanness* 417 is proof that provision was made for lowering the mast. If the mast were lowered in the *Patience* boat, raising it to its place would certainly be too important an action to be neglected by the poet and, of course, it would immediately precede the raising of the *crossayl* in the next line. It seems to me that the *Oxford Dictionary* has missed the simple and natural explanation of the word in this place.<sup>4</sup>

The word *typped* (*Patience* 77) is connected by the *Oxford Dictionary* with *tip* 'tilt, incline,' altho it admits the 'meaning uncertain' for the *Patience* passage. It also gives *tipped*, *tipt* ppl.a., with the meaning 'drunken,' as obsolete and slang. As I noted in *Englische Studien* (XLVII, 125) the *English Dialect Dictionary* gives the verb *tip* 'to drink,' referring it to Northumberland and Westmoreland. The meaning 'drunken' for *typped* in *Patience* gives good sense to the passage, for which the *Oxford Dictionary* admits uncertainty, and explains it much better than the labored attempts to connect it with *tip* 'tilt, incline.' The *Oxford's* meaning 'drunken' for the past participle should also be sufficient to meet Professor Ekwall's objection in his *Englische Studien* article cited above.

<sup>4</sup>I am informed by an old Danish sea-captain, now about to retire from our life-saving service, that the mast was lowered in his day on the Baltic when the boat was at rest, and the *myke* still used. He also tells me that the square sail of a full rigged ship would be raised furled and then allowed to fall, as described of the cross-sail in this ship of the fourteenth century.



In his article in *Englische Studien* Mr. Onions criticises what he calls Professor Ekwall's proposal to read *onhelde* for *on helde* (*Patience* 185), and is "tempted to suggest that *on helde* is identical with *on held* of the *Towneley Plays* (ed. of Pollard p. 181)." He would thus refer the word to the *Oxford Dictionary's* "*hield*, *sb.* 1 b," rendering it, admittedly "somewhat freely," as "huddled up in the stern sheets." That is, he uses in translation, as making better sense, the past participle which he otherwise thinks impossible for the word. It may be noted that both examples might more easily be assumed to be from OM. *onheldan* (*hēldan*) 'incline, bow down,' and I believe with more reason. The attempt to get an appropriate meaning for these two examples out of *on held(e)* 'in a slope, decline, declivity,' the primary meanings assigned to *hield* (*heeld*, *heald*) as a noun, seems to me decidedly far-fetched. On the other hand, *onheld* as a past participle would admirably suit the example in the *Towneley Plays*, *alle onheld* meaning naturally and easily 'all bent over.' These two examples ought to be reasonable evidence that OM. *onheldan* (*hēldan*) is preserved in Middle English. Both Bateson and Gollancz have independently assumed this older verb in their recent editions of *Patience*, the former making it preterit—not an impossibility—the latter a past participle, perhaps more correctly.

While on this word it may also be noted that the *Oxford Dictionary* gives but a single example under *inhelde*, *inhield* 'pour, pour in,' from the same root OM. *heldan* (*hēldan*) 'incline.' The latter in the sense of 'pour, pour in' is found frequently in Middle English, as shown by Mätzner's *Sprachproben*. The single example quoted by the *Oxford* for *inhelde* is Chaucer's *Troilus* III, 44, a clear case. Perhaps we may also place here *in helde* of *Cleanness* 1520:

As uchon hade hym in helde he heled of þe cuppe.

This illustration is placed by the *Oxford Dictionary*, as by Morris in his glossary, under *hield*, *sb.* with the figurative meaning 'inclination,' the only example for a meaning not known in Old, or otherwise in Middle English. Besides, the modern example cited from Nash, *on the hield* 'on the decline,' is not a similar one in any real sense, since it is a different idiom. The meaning of the line in *Cleanness*, "As each had poured in for himself he drew or

drank (*heled*) from the cup," would then refer to the frequent filling and rapid quaffing of the liquor in the drinking bout. Morris's connection of *helde* in *Pearl* 1193 with *in helde* of *Cleanness* 1520 seems to me improbable, if not quite impossible.

I must admit that the explanation of *hurrok* (*Patience* 185) which appeared right when I wrote my article in *Englische Studien* XLVII is clearly to be given up for that which the *Dialect Dictionary* gives under *hurrack* (*hurrik*). To this I had been led by Mr. Morton Nance's paper in the *Mariner's Mirror* of Feb. 1913, which I saw before Mr. Onions wrote. Compare also an article in the same periodical for April, 1914. To the definitions of the word in the *Dialect* and *Oxford Dictionaries* may now be added one from a *Glossary of the Shetland Dialect*, by J. S. Angus (1914). It reads, "hurrik, the shot of a boat; the rum [space] between the eft taft [last oarsman's seat] and the stern."

There still remains Mr. Onions's note on *teme*, *Patience* 316. With that Professor Ekwall implied that he was not in entire agreement, and I can no more accept it. It is possible that the meaning which I assigned to the word may be derived from its Old English equivalent, without any help of Scandinavian influence, but, as Professor Ekwall says, my meaning fits the passages better than that given under heading 6 of the *Oxford Dictionary*, and it is certainly not impossible in any case. I should add that I had no intention of discrediting Stratmann in my former note, but Stratmann and the Bradley-Stratmann *Middle English Dictionary* give no such meaning as I proposed for *tēme(n)*.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

Western Reserve University.

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## CHAUCER AND TROPHEE

Every reader of Chaucer has puzzled over the famous *cruz* in the "tragedy" of Hercules in *The Monk's Tale* (B. 3307-8):

At bothe the worldes endes, seith Trophee,  
In stede of boundes he a piler sette.

The latest scholar to cope with the doubtful identity of *Trophee*, Professor Kittredge,<sup>1</sup> cites an apposite passage in the apocryphal *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, "Ast et ad Herculis Liberique trophæa me deduxit in orientis ultimis oris" etc. But while this application of the word *trophæa* to the *columnas Herculis* or Pillars of Hercules seems to promise a solution of our problem—a promise that it only partly fulfils—it utterly fails to accomplish three very essential things. It does not show why or how *Trophee* came to be used by Chaucer as the name of author or of volume. It does not make clear why Lydgate, in the prologue to his *Fall of Princes* (st. 41), should describe *Trophe* as the "Lombard" or Italian name of a book which Chaucer translated in youth and to which long before his death he gave the English title of *Troilus and Criseyde*. And it leaves in its wonted darkness the remarkable Ellesmere and Hengwrt gloss to the Monk's citation of *Trophee*, "Ille vates Chaldeorum Tropheus."

As this marginal annotation of two important manuscripts has done not a little to befog modern commentary, let us first clear the air about us. Professor Lounsbury remarks<sup>2</sup> that "the note is presumably from the pen of the poet himself." Professor Skeat thinks<sup>3</sup> that "the note is possibly Chaucer's" and that he "perhaps confused the name of Tropheus with that of Trogus, *i. e.*, Pompeius Trogus, the historian, whose work is one of the authorities for the history of the Assyrian monarchy." To Professor Kittredge "it seems most likely on the whole that it is a reference jotted down by the poet himself. But, however that may be, we can hardly doubt that it represents substantially the shape in

<sup>1</sup> "The Pillars of Hercules and Chaucer's 'Trophee,'" *Putnam Anniversary Volume*, 1909, pp. 545 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies*, II, 408.

<sup>3</sup> *Complete Works of Chaucer*, II, lvi.

which information about 'Trophee' lay in Chaucer's mind. . . That 'Tropheus' is called a 'vates Chaldeorum' is a welcome indication that we are on the right track. For seers, Chaldean and other, play a considerable part in the history and the legend of Alexander." Now turn with me from oriental imaginings to comical realities. Be assured at the outset that Chaucer is in no way responsible for the manuscript note that makes Trophee a "soothsayer of the Chaldeans." Some Adam Scrivener penned the mystifying comment, entirely unaware that he was thereby perpetrating the most rampant "howler" in the long and joyous list of scribal lapses—only less rich in unconscious humor than the tremendous erudition to which they often lead the way. Let us see how he blundered. Open the Skeat edition at the *Trophee* passage (page 248), and then glancing across to the opposite page (249), thirty-five lines later, read this stanza anent Nebuchadnezzar (B. 3341 f.):

The fairest children of the blood royal  
Of Israel he leet do gelde anoon,  
And maked ech of hem to been his thral.  
Amonges othere Daniel was oon,  
That was the wysest child of everichon;  
For he the dremes of the king expouned,  
Wher-as in Chaldey clerk ne was ther noon  
That wiste to what fyn his dremes souned.

Daniel is, of course, the "vates Chaldeorum." How came he then to be confused with "Tropheus?" Note that the two are exactly a manuscript page apart. In the Ellesmere MS. *Trophee* appears in the ninth line from the top of the back of leaf 174, and "Chaldey" in the seventh line from the top of the front of leaf 175. In Hengwrt *Trophee* is ten lines from the bottom of the back of leaf 90, and "Chaldeye" is ten lines from the bottom of the front of 91. What could easily have happened in either of these manuscripts actually did happen in their common progenitor. The copyist of this found "Tropheus" as a gloss to *Trophee* on the inner margin of *verso*, and very close to it on the inner margin of the next *recto* "vates Chaldeorum," as a gloss to "Daniel." He mistakenly combined the two into "Tropheus vates Chaldeorum," thus leading the scribe that slavishly followed him to the final absurdity, "Ille vates Chaldeorum Tropheus." Could any union be funnier or farther from our poet's purpose? "Under thy lokkes

thou most have the scalle," Master Scrivener, for misguiding so many men of weight! We may now put asunder what the true prophet has nowise joined; and send merrily out of the *Trophee* story the "Chaldean soothsayer" along with his newly found companions, Pompeius Trogus and the mighty Alexander.

Professor Kittredge's happy discovery of "*Herculis Liberique trophæa*" serves the useful, if entirely undesigned, end of furnishing the missing link in the chain that binds *Trophee* to Guido delle Colonne. If, as was acutely conjectured long since by Skeat and is now demonstrated by Kittredge in the proper context, *τροπαία* or *trophæa* is the equivalent of *columnæ*, what more natural than the association of our name, *Trophee*, with a writer who was known as "delle Colonne," "de Columpnis" (*House of Fame*, 1469) and "of Columpna" (Lydgate's *Troy Book*, Prologue, 360)—even though we do not deem convincing the Italian Gorra's suggestion (cited by Skeat) that Guido derived his name from the Sicilian "columpne Herculis?" It is admitted, moreover, that Guido gives in the first book of his *Historia Trojana* a long and detailed account of the Pillars of Hercules, which Chaucer, elsewhere so deeply indebted to the Sicilian,<sup>4</sup> certainly knew and which Lydgate certainly rendered. But it is objected by Professor Kittredge that delle Colonne describes not the Pillars "at bothe the worldes endes," as "seith Trophee," but only the Western Columns at Gades. This objection can carry little weight with those accustomed to the looseness of medieval citations in general and to Chaucer's own inaccuracies in particular.<sup>5</sup> Chaucer knew Guido as a high authority upon the Pillars of Hercules. That, quoting doubtless from memory, he bettered out of his own knowledge Guido's information, even while citing the Italian as the source of his statement, can awake no wonder. To hold Chaucer to a twentieth century accuracy of reference is hardly in keeping with the willingness to predicate "a series of corruptions, mistranslations and mnemonic lapses" in the inexplicable evolution of *trophæa* into a mysterious Chaldean seer, Tropheus, and to discard entirely Lydgate's explicit and circumstantial mention of *Trophee*. Whatever be Lyd-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hamilton, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde to Guido delle Colonne's Historia Trojana*.

<sup>5</sup> See the many illustrations of Chaucer's errors in Lounsbury's *Studies*, II, 178 f.



gate's lapses, the author of *The Troy Book*, who knew his Guido so well, flatly refuses to be ignored, when he tells us:

In youth he made a translacion  
Of a boke which called is Trophe  
In Lumbarde tonge, as men may rede and se;  
And in our vulgar, long er that he deyde,  
Gave it the name of Troylus and Creseyde.

These lines would seem at first sight to point to the chief source of the *Troilus*, Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, but we must reckon with Lydgate's large ignorance of Italian and with his large knowledge of Guido's book. In any case Boccaccio does not satisfy in the least the other conditions of our problem. To identify *Trophee*, we must find an author whose name admits of the necessary word-play; who gives so impressive an account of the Pillars of Hercules that he may be cited as an authority upon those monuments; and who writes a book (thus far we may trust Lydgate) which Chaucer uses largely in his *Troilus*. I submit that Guido delle Colonne or de Columpna or de Columpnis, who provokes easily the *Trophee* pun, who describes lengthily (even though defectively) the famous Columns, and who aids Chaucer not a little in his version of the Troy story, is the man. His name surely glows in bright and warm contrast with those dim and wandering fires kindled, I suspect, by the mischievous magic of the thaumaturgic "vates Chaldeorum"—that false "Daniel come to judgment."

FREDERICK TUPPER.

*University of Vermont.*

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### A NOTE ON *RICHARD III*

The omission of Act IV, Scene ii, lines 112-131 of the Quarto of *Richard III* from the Folio has always been a *crux* for Shakespearean commentators. The lines are part of a scene between Buckingham and Richard. Tyrrel, having promised to murder the princes, has just left the King when Buckingham steps forward to demand that the earldom which has been promised him for his aid to Richard be granted him at once. But the King has heard of the growth of Richmond's conspiracy and his mind is full of that and of prophecies which he has heard about this dangerous foe. Then follow the lines under discussion:

*Buckingham.* My Lord.

*King.* How chance the Prophet could not at that time  
Have told me, I being by, that I should kill him?

*Buckingham.* My Lord, your promise for the Earldome.

*King.* Richmond, when last I was at Exeter,  
The Maior in curtesie show'd me the Castle,  
And called it Ruge-Mount, at which name I started  
Because a Bard of Ireland told me once  
I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

*Buckingham.* My Lord.

*King.* I, what's a clocke?

*Buckingham.* I am thus bold to put your grace in mind  
Of what you promised me.

*King.* Wel, but what's a clocke?

*Buckingham.* Upon the stroke of ten.

*King.* Well let it strike.

*Buckingham.* Whie let it strike?

*King.* Because that like a Jacke thou keepst the stroke  
Betwixt thy begging and my meditation  
I am not in the giving vein today.

Schmidt is almost alone among the critics in thinking these lines ineffective. He suggests that they were added by an actor who wished to have the histrionic effect of "dies höhnische Ignoriren und Abfallenlassen" repeated seven times "gleichviel was man dabei von Buckinghams Verstande denken wollte."<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the critics, though often at variance in their explanations of the omission, are practically unanimous in believing the

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrbuch*, xv, p. 315.



lines a distinct addition to the play. Delius believes that the passage is certainly Shakespeare's and thinks that its omission "muss reiner Nachlässigkeit des Abschreibers oder Setzers entstanden sein."<sup>2</sup> Spedding and Pickersgill, though holding opposing views of the comparative authority of the Quarto and Folio texts, agree in being puzzled at the omission of these lines. Spedding says, "Though it is not easy to see why they should have been struck out, the scene reads quite well without them. They relate to the dismissal of Buckingham by Richard, and perhaps Shakespeare thought that he had represented Richard as making too many words about it and approaching it too indirectly. 'Thou troublest me: I am not in the vein' was enough."<sup>3</sup> This note makes no pretence of being more than a superficial guess. Pickersgill says, "Here the Folio omits one of the finest bits of dialogue in the whole play—who that has ever read the scene in the Quarto does not feel that the omission of these lines is a *real loss*?"<sup>4</sup>

Furness sums up the consensus of opinion adequately when he says, "Hardly any voice will be raised, I think, in dissent from the opinion that these lines are an extremely valuable addition.—Such an omission in the Folio seems to suggest that, for dramatic purposes, scenes were here and there curtailed."<sup>5</sup> The commentators therefore seem, as a whole, to regard the lines under discussion as a distinct addition to the play. They make little attempt, however, to ascertain why they should have been omitted from the Folio. Yet the discovery of a satisfactory artistic reason for the omission of this passage might have some bearing upon the true relation of the Quarto and Folio texts of this play.

The consensus of the best opinion at present is that the original of the Quarto of *Richard III* was a playhouse copy, and that of the Folio a version of the play as originally written by Shakespeare. The omission of these lines in the latter text, however, is one of the bits of evidence tending to prove that even this original copy, before it was printed, had been thoroly revised by some one.

<sup>2</sup> "über den ursprünglichen Text des King Richard III," *Jahrbuch*, VII, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> "On the Corrected Edition of Richard III," *New Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-6, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> *Variorum Sh., Richard III*, Preface, p. 7.

This person was either an audacious and stupid corrector<sup>6</sup> or Shakespeare himself.<sup>7</sup> If a good reason for this omission be found, the intelligence of the anonymous critic of the author's postulated manuscript would be to that extent vindicated.

Mr. W. D. Moriarty has recently made an elaborate attempt to find a satisfactory explanation for all the *varia* in the Folio.<sup>8</sup> His theory, in brief, is that this text represents the play as finally corrected by Shakespeare with a view to improve the dramatic sequence. The critic goes so far as to maintain that even the longest inserted passages represent later additions devised for this explicit purpose. The lines under discussion form the one longer *varium* in which he believes that the sequence is aided by the omission of Quarto lines. He says, "Quite apart from the fact that dramatic sequence allows no place in the fourth act for introducing an eighteen-line variation merely to strike off an effective figure, Shakespeare's maturer study of character would not allow him to make the previously pictured wary and resourceful Buckingham persist so crudely under unpropitious circumstances merely because his doing so long enough would help strike off a figure of speech."<sup>9</sup>

This explanation labors under the initial disadvantage of being part of the proof of an elaborate hypothesis by no means established. Furthermore, many readers of the play will dissent sharply from the interpretation of Buckingham's character which it postulates. The omission of these lines, however, does strengthen the dramatic construction in a manner much more fundamental than that suggested by Mr. Moriarty. The reviser—whoever he was—perceived that this omission obscured the development of Richard's character at the very moment when it identified itself with the larger dramatic structure of the play.

In this scene the unnerving of Richard begins. He hears for

<sup>6</sup> Thus the Cambridge Editors, 2d ed., vol. 5, Preface p. 17: "A nameless transcriber who worked in the spirit, though not with the audacity of Colley Cibber"; also Pickersgill, *Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-6, p. 79: "The improvements which are essayed in the Folio are altogether below what we should expect of Shakespeare."

<sup>7</sup> C. G. Spedding, *Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-6, pp. 1-75 *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> "The Bearing on Dramatic Sequence of the *Varia* in Richard III and King Lear." *Modern Philology*, x, 451 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 478.

the first time the name of Richmond, the instrument of the Nemesis that is to overtake the King, as it has already overwhelmed all the smaller villains. Psychologically his conspiracy releases Richard's conscience, which, in turn, destroys his power of action. Dramatically Richmond is so obviously a symbol of avenging Fate that the mere mention of his name paralyzes Richard's will. He remembers idle prophecies which now assume the force of a portent.

I doe remember me, Henry the Sixt  
Did prophcie that Richmond should be King  
When Richmond was a little peevish Boy,  
A King perhaps.

Then, if we follow the Folio text, Buckingham breaks in upon his superstitious reverie with

May it please you to resolve me in my suit.

But Richard for the moment is in no mood to think of action of any sort; he is under the paralyzing spell of his Nemesis. He answers gruffly from his daze,

Thou troublest me, I am not in the vaine.

Buckingham's immediate defection, then, is not the natural result of a cleverly composed insult but the incalculable result of Richard's first temporary loss of his power as a man of action. After this scene he is never again complete master of events. It is extremely important, therefore, as being in a very real sense the turning point of the play.

The insertion of the passage from the Quarto, however, greatly obscures the dramatic point of the scene. The skilfully turned rebuff to the persistent Buckingham becomes the center of interest. The continual musing on the prophecies concerning Richmond then appears only as part of the King's ruse to avoid giving Buckingham a direct answer. The whole scene becomes a kind of diabolical farce only incidental to the main course of the tragedy.

Someone, therefore, who was interested in having the audience see the essential nature of the dramatic catastrophe and follow its course from its inception, cut these lines. The fact that they form one of the most adroitly composed bits of verbal play in the drama and a passage of the most effective poetry shows that the reviser, if not Shakespeare himself, was someone who had as keen an interest as he in making clear at this important moment the care-

fully conceived dramatic construction of the play. At this point, then, as at most others, the Folio proves a more reliable text than the Quartos.

O. J. CAMPBELL, JR.

University of Wisconsin.

## VARIATION IN THE OLD HIGH GERMAN POST-OTFRIDIAN POEMS

### III. *The Strophic Form of the Georgslied.*<sup>1</sup>

The almost illegible condition of the manuscript of the Georgslied and the fact that it is the work of one evidently unfamiliar with writing German have made it the subject of much critical speculation, as to both its linguistic and its metrical form. The efforts of Lachmann-Haupt (MSD xvii), Zarncke (Berichte d. sächs. gesells. d. wissenschaften, ph. hist. kl. 1874 s. 1-40), Scherer (zs. fda. 19, 104-12) and Kögel (Lit. 2, 95-108), while generally agreeing in the interpretation and reconstruction of the text, are far apart in the matter of arrangement and grouping of the verses. It is difficult to accept as final any of the suggested strophé forms and perhaps even impossible ever to determine with certainty the exact metrical conditions. I have preferred however in attempting this to refrain from the doubtful practice of arbitrarily changing the verse-order, except in such places as evidently call for repetition of a preceding verse or elimination of an apparent carelessness of the writer in repeating himself to the detriment of sense and meter. The following text represents the results of Haupt's and Piper's readings of the manuscript as corrected by Braune (Lb. xxxv), with a slight rearrangement of verses as noted later:

{	georio fuor ze malo ·	mit mikilemo ehrigo ·
	fone dero makrko ·	mit mikilemo fholko ·
	fuor er ze demo rinhe ·	ze heuilemo dinge
	daz thin uuas marista ·	gkoto liebota
5 {	ferliezcer uuerelt rhike keuan er ·	ihmilri ke ·
	daz keteta selbo der mare crabo ·	georio ·

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. xxviii, pp. 216-217; xxix, pp. 82-85.



- { · dho · <sup>u</sup>sbonen · inen <sup>a</sup>allo kuningha so mane <sup>o</sup>ha  
     <sup>a</sup>uoltoŋ si inen e<sup>b</sup>hrkeren ne uolta <sup>e</sup>ernes ohron ·  
 { e<sup>b</sup>hrte uuas dz georigen munt ne o<sup>b</sup>hrter ines shegih guot  
 10 { nuber al kefrumeti des er ce kote digeti ·  
     <sup>e</sup>daz ketota selbo s<sup>e</sup>ce gorio  
     · do teilton · inen sare · ze demo karekare  
     <sup>h</sup>darmet imo do fuorren ehngila · de · skonen  
 { dhar su...len ceuuei uuib kenerier <sup>a</sup>daz ire litb  
 15 { dho uore <sup>h</sup>· er so...z imbizs in frono ·  
     daz · ceiken · uuorta · dh...io · ce uare ·  
     georio do digita inan druhtin al geuuereta  
     (inan druhtin al geuuereta) des gorio · zimo digita } <sup>a</sup>  
 { den tumben · dheer <sup>t</sup>sprekenten · den tohuben · ohrenten ·  
 20 { den pilnten <sup>a</sup>· deter · sehenten · den haeen <sup>a</sup>· gahn · enten ·  
     ehin suhl stuonetehr magi<sup>c</sup>he ihar...os · psanr dher · lob · shar ·  
     daz · zehiken · uuorheta · dhare · gorio ze uare ·  
     <sup>e</sup>boghontez · dher rike man file ahrte zurenen · } <sup>a</sup>  
     taciasus · uoto zuhrentzes uunter · dhrato  
 25 { ehr quaht gorio uuari <sup>a</sup>· ehin · ckoukelari ·  
     ihez ehr · gor · <sup>n</sup>ien fhaen ihezen · huusziesen  
     ihezen · shlahen · ahrto <sup>mit a</sup>· uunter · uuassho · shuereto  
     dhaz uueiz · ihk · dhaz ist aleuuar · uhffherstuont <sup>a</sup>sihk gorio dhar  
     (uhffherstuont <sup>a</sup>sihk gorio dhar) uuola · prediio her dhar ·  
 30 { dhie ehnidenen man · keshante gorio · dharte <sup>ra</sup>frham ·  
     { beghontez der rhike man <sup>a</sup>filo ahrto zunrnen  
     { do ihez er · goriion <sup>a</sup>· binten ahnen · rad <sup>a</sup>· uuntien  
     { ce uare · shagehn · ihkzes ihuu · shie praken inen encenuui  
     { daz · uuez · ihk · daz · ist · aleuuar · uhffher · stuont <sup>a</sup>· sihk ·  
     { gorio · dar ·  
 35 { uhffher · <sup>a</sup>stuont · sihk · gorio · dar · uuola (.....) dar ·  
     dhie ehidenen man keshante GoRio file <sup>a</sup>frhm

{ do ihez er · GoRio<sup>n a</sup> · fhaen ihezen · harto<sup>a</sup> fillen ·  
   man goihezen<sup>a</sup> muillen · ze puluer · al<sup>a</sup> uerpernnen ·  
 40 { man uar · fhan<sup>a</sup> · in den purnnen · er uuas saliger<sup>k</sup> · sun ·  
   poloton · si derubere<sup>a</sup> · steine · mihkil · meGine ·  
   beGonton · si nen · umbekan · iehzen · GoRien · uhffher · stan ·  
 { mihkil · tata<sup>e a</sup> Ge.....r · so her io tuoht uuar ·  
   daz uuez · ihk · ..... leuuar · uhffherstuont<sup>a</sup> sihk GoRio dar ·  
   (uhffherstuont<sup>a</sup> sihk GoRio dar) uuhs psanr<sup>a</sup> der · uuaeche · sha ·  
 45 { dhie ehidenen man kesahnte · GoRio file farm ·

{ ..... ten man · uhf · ihezer · stanten<sup>a</sup> ·  
   er hiezzen dare cimo<sup>a</sup> khaen · hiezen · shar<sup>a</sup> · spreken ·  
 { Do seGita .. kobet · ihz · ih betamo<sup>a</sup> · Geloubet ehz ·  
   quuat<sup>a</sup> so uua ... ferloreno<sup>b</sup> demo tiufele al petroGena<sup>b</sup> ·  
 50 { daz cunt uns selbo sce gorio . .

do Git · er · ze dero kamero ze dero chuninginno  
 peGon her · shie · lehren · beGonta · shimes · ohren ·  
 { ellossandria si uuas dogelika<sup>a</sup>  
   shiihlta sar<sup>a</sup> uuoletun den ihero · shanc<sup>a</sup> spent ..  
 55 { Si spentota iro triso dar · daz · ihlft sa · manec iahr ·  
   fō euuon · uncin · euuou · shose en gnadhon  
   daz er diGita selbo ehro Sce Gorio ·

{ GoRio uhob dhia<sup>a</sup> · ahnt uhf erbibinota<sup>b</sup> abollin  
   Gebot<sup>a</sup> er uhper den ehtle<sup>b</sup> unht · do fuer er sar enabeurnt

The following changes have been made, the line references here being to the text as given by Braune: Kögel's extension of l. 17 into two long lines has been adopted. The resulting enjambement or binding of the two verses by repetition or variation is the commonest and simplest metrical trick in O.H.G. rhymed poetry. Otfrid has innumerable instances and it occurs in the Ludwigslied at least twice (5b-6a; 7b-8a). Instances are found in the Georgslied 14b-15a, 32b-33a, 44b-45a, 52b-53a. On the same principle the evident omission in l. 27 is supplied by repeating 26b as 27a,

as both Zarncke and Kögel have done. The senseless repetition in l. 41 has been eliminated. In regard to the tangled condition of ll. 42-43 the now commonly accepted assumption of Zarncke that l. 43 is a correction of, and a substitute for the first part of l. 42 has been accepted. Thus we gain another characteristic enjambement as in 32b-33a.

In the text as given above the brackets indicate variation groups, the variation of the individual themes being shown by **a** and **b**. The essential simplicity of the style is proved by the fact that no variation group contains more than two themes, while the intricacy and mechanical perfection of Otfrid's later style in the treatment of the variation are nowhere to be found. The division into strophes in the above arrangement is determined nearly everywhere by the natural divisions of the variation groups, Zarncke's "refrain theory" being adopted in modified form, but with the important difference that ll. 28-29, 34-35, 43-44<sup>2</sup> are not considered as part of the refrain, but rather as independent two line strophes. Thus we have a succession of two and three line strophes as in the Ludwigslied and the Samariterin, with the difference however that these strophes are interrupted at irregular intervals by a one line refrain, doubtless set to music of its own. These single line refrains are all variations of the central theme, *i. e.* Georg's activity, and in most of the instances they serve as a general variation of the particular activities enumerated in the lines just preceding. A more formalized one line refrain is found in the Petruslied where it recurs at regular intervals. That such recurrence need not however be regular is shown by the stylist Otfrid himself in one of his most artificially worked out passages, V. 19, where varying two and four line refrains recur at the following irregular intervals: 10-4-20-10-6 (cf. also V. 3-15). Zarncke is evidently wrong in calling the Georgslied "ein durchkomponiertes Lied." It is merely a succession of the two and three line strophes characteristic of the post-Otfridian period, with a one line refrain. That the strophes are not regularly grouped, nor the refrain recurrent at regular intervals is the more comprehensible when we take into consideration the all too evident unfamiliarity of the writer with his subject matter and the metrical usages of the period. As I have said, the limits of the

<sup>2</sup> The line references from this point on are to the text as it appears above.

variation groups correspond generally with the strophe divisions, as in most of the O.H.G. rhymed poetry. This is true of the Georgslied except in the following instances: ll. 7-10, where the variation binds two strophes together (cf. Otfrid II. 21, 41-44); 17-21, where a two line strophe carrying a general theme is followed by a three line strophe containing particular variations (cf. Lud. 50-54); the same is true of 23-27; ll. 37-41 show a single variation group covering five lines with the strophe arrangement 2-3, as above noted; 53-56 show another example of a variation covering two strophes.

The following differences from Kögel's strophe division are to be noted: ll. 1-3 clearly belong to the same variation group, hence may well be regarded as a strophe, particularizing the activity summarized in l. 4 by the general expression *daz thin*; 19-21 also evidently belong to one variation group, particularizing the preceding ll. 18-19. Kögel's only reason for separating 21 from the rest of the group seems to have been the necessity of using it with the final line to complete a strophe. If however we consider the final line as a refrain the natural relation of 19-21 is preserved. The strophe division in 39-44 is doubtful. Because 42-44 so evidently belong to the same variation group, I have preferred the division 39-41 and 42-44 as two three line strophes, rather than the division into three two line strophes as made by Kögel. Thus the strophe 39-41 refers to the activities of Georg's enemies, 42-44 to his own.

P. R. KOLBE.

*Municipal University of Akron.*



## BROWNING IN FRANCE

Here follows a list of all the allusions to the poetry of Browning that I have been able to find in French criticism. There are, of course, many articles and some books on Mrs. B., which I have not included. The most important of these is Dr. Germaine-Marie Merlette's *La Vie et L'Oeuvre d'Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, Paris, 1905, a tall volume of 365 pages. The early death of Miss Merlette was a distinct loss to scholarship. I have arranged the works on B. in chronological order. I am indebted to Dr. William O. Stevens, of the U. S. Naval Academy, and to J. P. Kaufman, M. A., for some references.

E. Forgues. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Aug. 1847.

There had been a series of articles on the "Poètes et Romanciers de la Grande Bretagne." The article on Tennyson, 1 May 1847, called T. a talent and genius, lacking originality; remarkable only for style. This paper on B., the ninth in the list, speaks of the proud independence of B., his contempt for popular applause, his appeal to the *élite*. *Sordello* is called ridiculously obscure. "Ce poème n'obtint d'autre succès que de rallier autour de B. une petite église de novateurs à tout prix, lesquels s'obstinèrent à voir en lui un descendant direct de Shakespeare, méconnu pour un temps, mais qu'il faudrait bien un jour, bon gré, mal gré, accepter pour tel." If B. had not written plays, the reader of his *Dramatic Lyrics* would be certain of his success on the stage. He translates *The Laboratory*. He speaks highly of *The Bishop orders his Tomb*, and of *My Last Duchess*. His summary: "Tout imparfait qu'est son talent, nous pouvons cependant, sans attendre le progrès qu'il devra peut-être à une plus complète maturité, reconnaître à B. parmi les poètes actuels de l'Angleterre une physionomie à part, un rôle distingué. Sa hardiesse nous plaît: son originalité," etc.

It is often stated that Milsand was the first Frenchman to call attention to Browning. Forgues seems to have been overlooked.

J. Milsand. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Aug. 1851.

Milsand's criticism was a fortunate thing for B. apart from its cordial recognition of his powers, for it began a most intimate friendship that lasted until Milsand's death. Very few men were

ever so close to B.'s heart as this Frenchman. They met for the first time at Paris, Jan. 1852.

Milsand wrote for the *Revue* a series of articles on *La Poésie anglaise depuis Byron*. The first was on Tennyson, the second on B. He discusses the collected edition of 1849, and *Christmas Eve*. "J'aborde une individualité singulière, les uns diraient malade, d'autres diront merveilleuse, en tout cas une individualité bien propre à embarrasser ses juges. Pour apprécier M. B., on est forcé de prophétiser, comme lorsqu'il s'agit d'une religion naissante . . . M. Tennyson habite parmi des hommes . . . M. B., au contraire, est de la famille des Milton plutôt que des Shakespeare (a singularly unhappy comparison) . . . M. B. est un Hercule . . . De tous les poètes que je sache, il est le plus capable de résumer les conceptions de la religion, de la morale et de la science théorique de notre époque, en leur donnant un corps poétique, je veux dire des formes qui soient le beau approprié à ces abstractions." (the last sentence is a comment upon *Christmas Eve*.)

H. Taine. *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*. Paris, 1865. 12th ed., 4 vols. Paris, 1905.

No mention is made of B. though Tennyson and Mrs. Browning are discussed on one page.

A. Roche. *Les écrivains anglais au XIXe siècle. Recueil de morceaux choisis*. Paris, 1868. *Title-page*, 1869.

From Tennyson he gives *The Lord of Burleigh* and *The Grandmother*. From Browning, the *Good News*. Of B. he says, p. 319, "B. a écrit les plus beaux drames de la littérature anglaise contemporaine. . . . Aucun poète anglais, depuis Shakespeare, n'a peint une galerie plus longue et plus variée de portraits faits de main de maître. Malheureusement il adopte une forme qui rend ses drames peu propres au théâtre."

This is the earliest criticism of B.'s plays that I have found in French.

L. Etienne. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 Feb. 1870.

Under the heading "une nouvelle forme de poésie dramatique," this critic says that B., although he has lived in Italy, is at last beginning to be ranked with Tennyson, who celebrates only English themes. B.'s true vein is the Dramatic Lyric—*The Bishop Orders his Tomb* is especially commended. B. is like Shakespeare and

Molière in being able to penetrate the souls of others. The great thing about B. is that he has taken historical characters like Saul and made them live.

Odysse Barot. 1876.

Berger alludes to this author on page 49 of his work on R. B., 1912.

Barot attacked B. "sans doute sans l'avoir compris et même parfois sans l'avoir lu." Berger quotes two paragraphs from Barot, whose work I have not been able to find.

E. Chasles. *Extraits des classiques anglais*. Paris, 1877.

Nothing from B. is given: but in a short prefatory notice to the citations from Tennyson, he says, "T. représente bien . . . la poésie anglaise au dix-neuvième siècle. Il a saisi . . . ces aspects divers . . . qui ont dicté des œuvres nombreuses aux poètes, tels que B. et Longfellow."

H. Testard. *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*. Paris, 1882.

He thinks posterity will be much more severe on Tennyson than contemporary judgment, and that he will not maintain his rank. On p. 459 he speaks of the failure on the stage of B.'s "tragédie de Sordello." He attacks B.'s roughness, but "nous nous trouvons en présence d'un autre poète au souffle puissant."

A. Filon. *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*. Paris, 1883.

P. 634. "Depuis la mort de Wordsworth, Tennyson tient le sceptre de la poésie anglaise . . . B. écrit encore, mais sa compagne Elizabeth, un des plus purs talents de ce siècle, a disparu depuis bien des années, emportant avec elle la meilleure moitié de la gloire poétique attachée au nom de B."

This passage was left unchanged in the ed. of 1904.

A. Baret. *Morceaux choisis des classiques anglais. Vers et proses. Deuxième partie*. Paris, 1886.

Fourteen pages are given to Tennyson, 8 to B. The selections are *Wanting is—What? Tray, Hervé Riel*. "B. n'a été pendant longtemps connu, même en Angleterre, que comme le mari de Mrs. B. La critique se laissa déconcerter par les obscurités de ses premières œuvres. . . . Plus attentive ou mieux instruite, elle reconnaît maintenant que les défauts reprochés au poète sont plus apparents que réels, et que, sous les bizarreries de son style tour-



menté, mais profondément original, se cache un des esprits les plus puissants qui aient paru depuis Shakespeare. Elle n'a même pas craint de comparer ses qualités dramatiques à celles de l'auteur d'Hamlet."

G. Sarrazin. *La renaissance de la poésie anglaise, 1798-1889.* (Shelley, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Tennyson, Robert Browning, Walt Whitman). Paris, 1889.

He says that B.'s works are a monument which might be called the "theatre of the soul." "B. est un des premiers humoristes de l'Angleterre." "B. n'a rien de commun avec son illustre rival. Son destin ne fut pas de refléter toutes les émotions de son époque, ni d'incarner, en les amplifiant, à peu près tous les traits généraux de sa race, mais d'accentuer tout à coup et de développer d'une façon surprenante certaines des facultés intellectuelles de celle-ci: d'en tirer, pour la poésie et la pensée, des richesses aussi imprévues qu'énormes, et, en un mot, de créer la psychologie dramatique." He continues to give great praise to B., whom he has evidently thoroughly read: at the same time he admires Tennyson.

Boucher, L. (Prof. at Besançon). *Histoire de la littérature anglaise.* Paris, 1890.

In Chap. 18, Victorian Period, there are separate paragraphs on Tennyson, B., Mrs. B., Arnold. B. is "le rival de Tennyson, sinon en influence et en popularité, du moins en puissance poétique, à ce que croient ses admirateurs, dont le cercle, assez restreint d'abord, semble s'élargir. On va même jusqu'à dire que depuis Shakespere, il n'y a pas eu de poète aussi profond que l'auteur de Sordello, ce qui est bien possible." On the whole, he condemns B. "La poésie, a dit M. Scherer, ne peut tenir en solution qu'une certaine quantité de philosophie. B. a presque toujours dépassé la dose." He thinks *Men and Women* the best work of B.

Blanloeil, A. *Les grands poètes anglais.* Paris et Lyon, 1893.

This contains a special article on Tennyson. Under a short paragraph on E. B. B. he says, "La gloire de Mrs. B. a rejailli sur son mari qui lui-même a beaucoup écrit. Mais Mr. B. se perd trop souvent dans une métaphysique obscure et bizarre." This is all about B. in the book.



Milsand, J. *Littérature anglaise et philosophie*. Dijon, 1893. pp. 502.

The introduction to this important book is signed by the publishers. "Que personne chez nous ne connaissait Constable, Turner, etc. M. Milsand signala leurs œuvres: . . . en 1861 [should be 1851, and is not true of either date] . . . il était le seul Français qui pût comprendre et critiquer B. . . . Entre lui et R. B. se noua une intimité quasi fraternelle qui s'est exprimée dans une correspondance bien honorable pour tous les deux. Le plus grand, avec Tennyson, des poètes modernes de l'Angleterre, soumettait les épreuves de ses chefs-d'œuvre au jugement de son ami de France. En le remerciant de l'assistance inestimable qu'il lui prêtait: 'Je n'avais jamais, écrit-il, espéré ni rêvé d'avoir une intelligence telle que la vôtre à ma disposition, et je n'essaye pas de vous remercier, bien cher ami.'

This volume contains two long essays on R. B., one on Mrs. B., and two on Tennyson. Of the B. essays, one is a reprint of the article in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1851. The other is a long criticism of *Men and Women*, with much translation into French prose. "Il fait vivre ses phrases. . . . Il est poète par la grandeur et la puissance de ses créations."

Jusserand, J.-J. *Histoire abrégée de la littérature anglaise*. Paris, 1896.

A little more space is given to B. than to Tennyson. The latter has "une odeur de 'snobism'," though he is called a "merveilleux ouvrier." Jusserand gives higher praise to B. than I have seen in any other literary history or criticism of a general nature published in France.

"La puissance de sa fantaisie est extraordinaire: ce mystérieux, ce ténébreux excelle, quand il veut, aux effets de soleil . . . B. fut sans comparaison l'âme la plus haute et la plus forte que compte la poésie anglaise depuis Shakespeare. Pendant de longues années, il n'eut que peu de vrais admirateurs: ils sont maintenant innombrables."

M. Jusserand's eminence as a scholar and critic and his thorough knowledge of English literature make this appraisal of B. highly important.

Duclaux, Mary. (Mary James Darmesteter). *Un ménage de poètes. Revue de Paris*, 15 Sept. and also 15 Oct. 1898. This was afterwards included as pages 173-269, in her book *Grands écrivains d'outre manche: les Brontë, Thackeray, les Brownings, Rossetti*. Paris, 1901: 2d ed. 1901.

This author knew R. B. well, and her reminiscences are interesting, though not particularly important as criticism.

Wyzewa, T. de. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 May 1899.

In a review of the B. Love-letters, called *Un Roman par Lettres*, the critic protests against their publication, but says they explain the faults in B.'s verse. "Voilà ce qui l'a toujours empêché d'être le grand poète qu'il voulait devenir." He says also this explains why B.'s reputation is steadily declining whilst the glory of Tennyson is growing. He regards Mrs. B. as much superior to her husband.

Dronsart, M. *Correspondant*, 10 June 1899.

Le Roman de deux poètes.

Dominique, Abbé J. *Le poète B. à Sainte-Marie-de-Pornic. La légende de la chevelure d'or*. Vannes, 1900.

An historical account of the facts about the poem *Gold Hair*.

Maeterlinck, M. *Monna Vanna*. 1902.

On my writing to Maeterlinck, asking if he had borrowed a scene from *Luria* for *Monna Vanna*, he replied in the affirmative, and incidentally gave some highly interesting testimony as to his critical estimate of B. The letter is dated Paris, 22 March, 1903.

"Je viens de lire avec intérêt, ds *The Independent*, la note que vous avez bien voulu consacrer à *Monna Vanna*. Vous avez parfaitement raison: il y a entre une scène épisodique de mon 2e acte (celle où Prinzivalle démasque Trivulzio) et l'une des grandes scènes de *Luria* une similitude que je m'étonne de n'avoir pas vu signaler plus tôt. Je m'en étonne d'autant plus que, loin de cacher cette similitude, j'avais tenu à l'affirmer moi-même en prenant exactement les mêmes villes ennemies, la même époque et presque les mêmes personnages; alors qu'il eût été bien facile de transposer le tout et de rendre l'emprunt méconnaissable si j'avais eu l'intention de le dissimuler.

"Je suis un lecteur assidu et un ardent admirateur de Browning

qui est selon moi l'un des plus grands poètes que l'Angleterre ait eus. C'est pourquoi je le considère comme appartenant à la littérature classique et universelle que tout le monde est censé connaître. Il est donc licite et naturel de lui emprunter une situation ou plutôt un fragment de situation, comme on en emprunte journellement à Eschyle, à Sophocle, à Shakespeare. Ces emprunts, quand il s'agit de poètes de cet ordre se font, pour ainsi dire, *coram populo*, et constituent une sorte d'hommage public. . . .

" Cette scène s'élève donc dans mon œuvre comme une sorte de stèle isolée que ma mémoire pieuse y a dédiée au souvenir du poète qui avait créé en mon imagination l'atmosphère où se meut *Monna Vanna*, au souvenir d'un maître entre tous admiré."

I received a second letter from M. Maeterlinck, dated 12 May 1903. " Je crois seulement me rappeler que je disais que la scène entre Prinzivalle et Trivulzio avait été *empruntée* à Browning—Il serait plus exact de dire qu'elle m'a été *inspirée* par la lecture de *Luria*. C'est d'ailleurs ainsi que ma nouvelle pièce = *Joyzelle*, m'a été inspirée par la Tempête de Shakespeare—S'il semble naturel de chercher un point de départ et un motif d'inspiration dans Shakespeare, pourquoi s'étonnerait-on qu'on les cherche dans Browning? "

I was naturally surprised that Maeterlinck believed that everyone in France was supposed to be familiar with the works of Browning, and I asked Emile Faguet if French critical opinion placed Browning among the universal world-poets. He smiled, and answered, " Pas encore."

But Maeterlinck's admiration of Browning and his debt to him are significant in any study of Browning's influence in France.

Beljame, A. and Legouis, E. *Morceaux choisis de littérature anglaise*. Paris, 1905.

The introduction by Legouis speaks with respect of B., grouping him with Tennyson and Mrs. B. The only poem given is the *Pied Piper*. In one sentence, p. 343, B. is called "a strong and subtle psychological poet, whose defects are obscurity and want of artistic perception."

Grappe, G. *Essai sur la poésie anglaise au XIXe siècle*. Paris, 1906.

The B. societies are ridiculed and B. condemned for giving them

encouragement. B. is of course attacked for his obscurity, but he is placed on an equality with Tennyson, as one of the two great leaders of their age. Three pages are given to Tennyson: seven to B. P. 47: "Penseur et artiste beaucoup plus original que Tennyson, il était moins apte à satisfaire le goût moyen du public." P. 46: "En dépit de ce charlatanisme, un peu excessif sans doute, mais que l'on n'ose reprocher à des gens qui furent peut-être convaincus, B. demeure une des plus hautes figures de la littérature anglaise au XIXe, le plus grand poète avec Tennyson."

Berger, P. *Quelques aspects de la foi moderne dans les poèmes de R. B.* Thèse de doctorat. Paris, 1907.

The gist of this appears in Berger's biography of B., 1912.

Rancès, M. "*Through English Literature.*" Paris, 1907.

B. is mentioned immediately after Tennyson in the chapter "Victorian Era." Prefatory note to the selections states that B. died in Florence. The poems given are *Pippa's Song*, *Home-Thoughts from Abroad*, a scene from *Strafford*, *Good News*, and the *Patriot*.

Baillière, P. *Poètes allemands et poètes anglais. Figurines et pièces détachées avec une préface de M. Gaston Deschamps.* Paris, 1907.

Of this volume, 157 pages are devoted to German and 286 to English poetry. Of B. he translates *My Last Duchess*, and *Prospice*, under the title *La mort en face*. Both are well done. The introduction says that B. died in 1890. "Il n'est pas un dramaturge." The dramatic monologues are called his best work. "Ses œuvres renferment en ce genre des trouvailles merveilleuses."

Thomas, W. (Professor at Lyons). *Littérature anglaise.* Paris, 1909.

All his dates concerning B. are correct. P. 134. "L'énergie et l'originalité de la conception qui font trop souvent défaut à lord Tennyson sont, au contraire, les qualités maîtresses de R. B. Ecrivain beaucoup plus inégal, au point de vue de la forme poétique, B. fut plus long que son rival à gagner l'oreille du grand public." In spite of blemishes, "sa poésie porte l'empreinte d'un génie vigoureux, d'une psychologie magistrale, et reste l'une des gloires de l'époque victorienne."



Berger, P. *Robert Browning*. (A volume of 253 pages in the series, *Les grands écrivains étrangers*). Paris, 1912. Second ed. same year.

This is an admirable book, and ought to be read by all students of B. "Au service de cette noblesse de pensée, il a mis la connaissance la plus profonde de l'âme humaine qui se soit trouvée depuis Shakespeare. . . . Il a été largement humain, sa pensée a voyagé à travers tous les temps et tous les pays; il serait difficile de trouver en aucun de ses poèmes l'idéal exclusivement anglais qui domine tant ailleurs, par exemple, dans Tennyson. . . . il est plus Shakespearien et plus grand."

Morisse, H. *Traduction de Hervé Riel, marin du Croisic*. *Revue bleue de l'Anjou*, June-July, 1912. Angers.

Sinclair, Sir J. *Larmes et sourires. Poésies originales et traduites des chefs-d'œuvre de la poésie anglaise*. Paris, 1912. pp. 1023.

Sinclair is a Scot baronet who writes original verse and translates much in this bizarre volume. Only one poem by B.—*Evelyn Hope*, translated in three French stanzas by Sinclair.

*La Revue Maritime Française*. May, 1913. Account of dedication of the monument to Hervé Riel at Croisic. Contains prose translation of *Hervé Riel* by Madame Darmesteter.

F. Delattre. *Revue germanique*, May-June, 1913.

In an article called *L'obscurité de Robert Browning*, this subject is treated at great length. Various reasons are assigned to account for the obscurity. "Nous persistons à l'aimer et à le placer au premier rang," not because of his artistic irregularities, but in spite of them.

Delattre is well-known to students of poetry, by his voluminous work on Robert Herrick.

F. Delattre. *De Byron à Francis Thompson*. Paris, 1913.

This volume contains a chapter on *La pensée religieuse de R. B.* "L'Angleterre a reconnu en son œuvre une sorte d'évangile nouveau, un grand cri de paix qui a surmonté le tumulte des années inquiètes, comme le testament enfin d'un christianisme libéral et généreux, nullement incompatible avec les aspirations, si larges, de l'âme moderne."

WM. LYON PHELPS.

Yale University.

## REVIEWS

*Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm.* Neu bearbeitet von JOHANNES BOLTE und GEORG POLÍVKA. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Theodor Weicher, 1913-15. lex. 8vo, Erster Band (Nr. 1-60), pp. viii + 556; Zweiter Band (Nr. 61-120), pp. v + 566.

One hundred years ago the second volume of the *Household Tales* of the Brothers Grimm was published at Berlin by Reimer ("in der Realschulbuchhandlung"), completing the immortal work. The first volume was issued late in 1812, and contained eighty-six numbers (ninety-four stories, of which four were fragmentary). The second volume contained seventy stories. The first volume was dedicated to "Frau Elisabeth von Arnim für den kleinen Johannes Freimund," and had a preface by Wilhelm Grimm (reprinted in his *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 320-328), "Zeugnisse für Kindermärchen," an Appendix of notes to the stories in the volume, and some examples of children's beliefs. The second volume had likewise a preface by Wilhelm (*Kleinere Schriften*, I, 328-332), and an Appendix of notes to the seventy stories. The notes were written by the brothers in common, according to Herman Grimm, who says that in one of his father's copies of the first volume stood written, "Die Anmerkungen gemeinschaftlich." This is probably true of the second volume also. The notes fill seventy pages in the first volume and fifty-one in the second. In the notes of the first volume the geographical distribution of the stories of oral origin is not given. It is always given in the notes of the second volume. The material for comparison was at that time not large, and is very sparingly cited in both volumes. The Pentamerone, Straparola, Gesta Romanorum, Thousand and One Nights, Scotch and Danish ballads, and fable collections, are among the most frequently cited sources, and the references to mythology, classical and mediæval (northern), are not numerous.

In the second edition of the *Household Tales* (Berlin, 1819, 2 vols.) the notes were collected into a third volume (Berlin, 1822, pp. vi + 441). The notes, the editors say in the preface, give first the locality where the stories of oral origin were collected,

and expressly mention the cases where something is taken from another story or where two are combined. An actual fusion has not taken place and what has been inserted can easily be detached again. Then are given the variants, generally as briefly as possible, in some cases as completely as necessary. Those who complain of too great minuteness or seriousness may be right in some instances, but the editors think their way the best, for a more popular treatment ("leichteres Anfassen") would afford only a slight advantage, and in no case the true freedom which the creative poet needs, and would have entirely destroyed the scientific aim of the collection. The agreement with foreign traditions, often far separated by time and place, is carefully pointed out, since weight is justly laid upon this circumstance because it is not easy to explain. One will suspect here and there direct communication, perhaps show its probability; in most cases, however, it cannot be done, and then the fact remains unexplained and not the less remarkable. The references and suggestions in regard to the contents and mythological significance must not be understood as implying in every case sure and undoubted truth; much is cited only because the suspected connection may appear more clearly in the future. The introduction to the first volume (1819) shows how the editors wish these things to be used. The compilation of testimony ("Zeugnisse") proves the existence of *märchen* in different times and among different nations, or it contains judgments on their value, which are the more weighty since they are pronounced in an unprejudiced and impartial way by men who have preserved a free and unbiased view. The section on the literature of the subject should meet with approval, especially from those who have not time themselves to examine the matter more closely. If it had been possible to use previous works in this field the section would perhaps have been more complete, but the editors have been compelled to look up and read everything through themselves. To this section belongs the merit of having made known the entire contents of Basile's *Pentamerone*, a work that previously was cited at best by its title.

This third volume of notes, the work of Wilhelm, contains much new and interesting matter. The first edition had only five "Zeugnisse," the second has nineteen. Much space is given to Straparola and Basile. The latter is fully analyzed (pp. 280-369),



and (pp. 370-371) a survey is given of the forty-eight stories which correspond more or less to the German ones. The literature of the subject fills pp. 269-441, and is interesting as showing the enormous additions which have since then been made to the literature of popular tales. Under the heading "Spain," Wilhelm remarks: "There is no doubt of the existence of *märchen*. A passage in Cervantes (cited above in the "Zeugnisse") speaks of them and a fragment from a story of giants in Calderon is mentioned in the notes to No. 112. Also a passage in the comedy "It is worse than it was" (translated by Malsburg, 1, 335) seems to be based upon a *volksmärchen*." This is all that was known of Spanish popular traditions in 1822.

The third edition (Göttingen, Dieterich, 1837, 2 vols.) contained in the preface the following reference to the volume of notes: "The third part, the contents of which relates solely to the scientific use of the collection and hence could find admission only to a very narrow circle, is not printed this time with this edition, as copies are still to be had from Reimer at Berlin. In the future this third part will appear as an independent work, in which will also be found the introduction to the second edition 'Über das Wesen der Märchen,' and 'Kinderwesen und Kindersitten.'" It was long before this promise was fulfilled. The brothers left the library at Cassel for Göttingen in 1829, and were dismissed from their professorship there in 1837. In 1840 they were called to Berlin, where they remained until they died, Wilhelm in 1859, and Jacob in 1863. Jacob had become engrossed in his philological work and had relinquished to Wilhelm the care of the *Household Tales*. This is not the place to recount the interesting story of the constant revision of the collection, the omission and addition of stories and the continual stylistic changes in the individual tales. All this has been admirably told by Ernest Tonnelat in his *Les contes des frères Grimm, Étude sur la composition et le style du recueil des Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Paris, 1912.

Editions of the *Household Tales* were published in 1840 (fourth), 1843 (fifth), 1850 (sixth), and 1857 (seventh), all at Göttingen, Dieterich, in two volumes. To the first volume of the sixth edition was prefixed, with additions, the essay on the literature of the subject which first appeared in 1822. Otherwise no changes, except in the number and style of the stories, were made in the



last four editions. The long promised third volume of notes did not appear until 1856, and bears on the title page: "Dritter Band, Dritte Auflage." The promise made in 1837 was not fully kept, for the introductions to the first and second volumes of the second edition (1819), on the "Wesen der Märchen" and "Kinderwesen und Kindersitten" were not reprinted and must be consulted by scholars in Wilhelm Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 333-358, 359-398. The very brief preface dated Berlin, May 25, 1856, says that "the long time which has elapsed between this and the previous editions of the third volume has afforded opportunity for many additions, to which belong the references to the collections of tales that have since become known. The more extensive essay on the literature of the subject which was printed in the first volume of the edition of 1850, I have completed and added to the earlier essay" (of 1822).

The third volume of notes was not printed again. Wilhelm, as we have seen, died in 1859, and Jacob had for many years left to his brother the care of the various editions of the *Household Tales*. The first seven editions are the only ones of value for the text, prefatory matter and notes. They are all scarce and the student will have to content himself with the reprint of the first edition by Panzer (München, Beck, 1913) and of the seventh edition (1857) in Reclam's *Universal-Bibliothek*, three volumes, the third of which contains the notes as in the third edition of the third volume (1856). We may add that the notes are translated in the English version of the *Household Tales* by Margaret Hunt (with introduction by Andrew Lang) published in Bohn's *Standard Library*, London, 1884, 2 vols., the notes being divided between the two volumes.

How enormous has grown the literature of the subject can be seen from a comparison of the works cited by the Grimms in 1822 and 1856 with, for example, the excellent, although far from exhaustive, bibliography in Adolf Thimme's *Das Märchen*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 166-201. Well might the editors say, even in 1856: "How unique was our collection when it first appeared, and what a rich crop has sprung up since! At that time people smiled indulgently when we asserted that thoughts and intuitions were preserved in these stories, the origin of which was to be sought for in the darkness of antiquity. Now this is hardly ever denied.

Stories of this kind are sought for with full recognition of their scientific value and with a dread of altering any part of their contents, whereas formerly they were only regarded as worthless amusements of fancy which might be manipulated at will."

The history of the study of folk-lore in general, and of popular tales in particular, is long and interesting, but cannot be recited here, except to say that the study of popular tales was powerfully promoted by the three theories of their origin and diffusion: the mythological (philological), the Indian, and the anthropological. These theories succeeded each other just as the extravagances of the preceding one had caused it to fall into disrepute. Max Müller, Cox and De Gubernatis were followed by Benfey and Cosquin, and these in turn yielded to Frazer and Lang. Tales have been collected from all parts of the world, and societies have been founded for their study. Periodicals, general and local, have sprung up to preserve popular traditions and the student of any particular branch stands aghast at the mass of material which he must master. He is fortunately aided by such monographs as Miss Cox's *Cinderella* (Folk-Lore Society, London, 1893), and Hartland's *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894-96, to say nothing of the last edition of Frazer's *Golden Bough*, with its exhaustive index, constituting a rich bibliography of every field of folk-lore.

No attempt was made for many years to revise and complete the notes of the *Household Tales*, although one German scholar in particular had spent practically his whole life in the collection of materials for such a purpose. Reinhold Köhler was born in Weimar in 1830 and died there in 1892, occupying for thirty-six years a position in the ducal library. In many respects he resembled the Grimms in his personal modesty, his wide erudition, and his passionate attachment to his native place. He became interested early in the study of the themes or *motifs* of popular tradition and displayed extraordinary learning in following them through the labyrinth of an ever-increasing literature. For many years he was the oracle consulted by scholars from every quarter of the globe, and rarely was the oracle ever silent. He furnished collectors with notes for their stories and in the form of reviews made independent contributions to every field of the subject. After his death, his articles, scattered through a host of periodicals in every country of Europe, were collected and published by Johannes Bolte and Erich Schmidt (1894-1900).

No one was more competent to continue Köhler's work, and to do what he had not done—to prepare a new edition of the notes of the *Household Tales*—than Professor Bolte, *Oberlehrer* of the gymnasium at Berlin, famous for his annotations to Jacob Frey's *Gartengesellschaft*, Martin Montanus's *Schwankbücher*, Valentin Schumann's *Nachtbüchlein* and Georg Wickram's *Werke*, all published by the Stuttgart *Litterarischer Verein*, as well as by his masterly editing of the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, vols. XII-XXIV, 1902-1914. Sixteen years ago Herman Grimm entrusted to Professor Bolte the annotated copies of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* which had belonged to his father and uncle with the view to a new edition of the third volume of 1856. The difficulties in the way of the enterprise were considerable. It was easy enough, as Professor Bolte says, to insert in the text notices about the authorities and the time of collection, and to repeat from the earlier editions the stories which the brothers Grimm had later suppressed or only partially printed. As soon, however, as it came to the insertion of the huge mass of new stories from all countries of the inhabited globe, it appeared that the editor, in the arrangement as well as in the valuation of the individual themes or *motifs*, would often have to pursue his own course, even if he endeavored to preserve the wording of the third edition wherever it was feasible. In order to keep the work within reasonable limits, it was imperative to give the contents of the numerous variants very concisely, and, with no reference to attempts at mythological interpretation, to present merely a survey of the geographical diffusion of the individual themes and their traces in earlier centuries. This plan has been followed in the two volumes before us, and the editor promises for the last volume a survey of the literature of the subject, an index of the *motifs* of the stories and a systematic index of the contents of the *märchen* and a brief history of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. The first volume contains the notes to the first sixty *märchen*, the second the notes to sixty more, making a total of one hundred and twenty for the two volumes. At this rate it will scarcely be possible to finish the work in a third volume. The completion of the task is, as the editor says in the preface of the volume just published, postponed until the end of the war "which has brought into bloody conflict nations whose friendly intercourse in the exchange of their intellectual products we have endeavored to depict."



Professor Bolte was fortunate enough to find a most valuable collaborator for his great work in Georg Polívka, professor of Slavic philology in the University of Prague, who has consulted the southeast and east European, Caucasian, and central Asiatic popular traditions, so far as they have been published in Slavic translations. The result of the collaboration of these two scholars has been the collection and orderly arrangement of an amount of material simply astounding in its extent. For the first hundred and twenty *märchen* the notes in the third edition are contained in two hundred small octavo pages. In Bolte and Polívka they fill eleven hundred and twenty-two large octavo pages. The editors have retained all that was possible of the original and have indicated at the beginning of each story the pagination of the third edition. Further than this they could not go, as it would have been impossible to show the changes and additions that they have made unless they had simply reprinted the third edition and then added their own material in foot-notes or supplements. This perhaps would have been the most satisfactory way, especially if the object of the work was a pious reproduction of the Grimm notes.

Take for example the second *märchen*, "Katze und Maus in Gesellschaft," the notes to which in the third edition fill seventeen lines. In Bolte and Polívka the place of the story in the first edition (1812) is indicated, with the note from Wilhelm's copy, "von Gretchen Wild in Kassel, 1808." The thirteen following lines are preserved, but the final four are swallowed up in more than three pages of additional references. The Grimms knew versions only from Further Pomerania, Holstein, and Norway. Outside of Europe the only reference is to an African story in Koelle's *African native Literature*, London, 1854. In Bolte and Polívka references are made to French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek (modern), Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Greater Russian, Lesser Russian, Lettish, Kisgis, Esthonian, Tun-gus, Kabyle, Algerian, Madagascar, American Negro, French Guiana, Islandic, Indian stories, besides several north European versions unknown to the Grimms.

In addition to the wealth of parallel stories the editors have introduced from time to time copious bibliographies of story-incidents, e. g., the girl from whose mouth roses, pearls or money



fall when she laughs; the secret of the language of animals; the Water of Life; the dragon's tongue cut out as means of hero's recognition; the sale of a cat in a catless land (Whittington); the speaking spittle (blood-drop, furniture, etc.) in lovers' flight; Life Index; helpful animals, and many others. Even the name of "Aschenputtel" is subjected to a long examination and comparison with the similar designations in various countries, by which the word is connected with the widespread belief in the stupidity of the youngest of three sons (or daughters).

Were this great work limited to the collection and arrangement of parallels to the stories of oral origin it would be indispensable to all students in this rather narrow field of work, but the stories in the *Household Tales* are many of them (over thirty-four per cent.) of literary origin. It was generally supposed that the Grimms collected their stories from oral sources and published the tales as they took them down. It was not until the publication of R. Steig's article, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Märchen und Sagen der Brüder Grimm," *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 107 (1901), Hermann Hamann's *Die literarischen Vorlagen der Kinder- und Hausmärchen und ihre Bearbeitung durch die Brüder Grimm*, Berlin, 1906 (Palaestra, XLVII), and E. Tonnelat's study cited above, that the literary character of the Grimms' immortal work clearly appeared, and the fact that much of it was taken from printed, literary sources. The fact is that the brothers rewrote and arranged their material and subjected it for many years to minute stylistic changes, so that it is impossible for the reader to distinguish between a *märchen* taken down from the lips of the story-teller, Frau Viehmännin of Niederzwehren, and a story originally told in verse by Hans Sachs in his *Schwänke*, or in prose by Hans Kirchhof in his *Wendunmuth* (Grimm, Nos. 148, 177). The stories of literary origin constitute, as we have just said, over thirty-four per cent. of the *märchen* in the *Household Tales*, and afford Bolte and Polívka occasion for extensive and valuable excursions in the field of comparative literature. It is a very interesting question how great a rôle literature plays in the diffusion of popular tales. The importance of the mediaeval sermon with its *exempla* has long been recognized, and the theory of Benfey rests largely upon the use by the people of stories transmitted by the translations of the Indian story and fable books.

This is a subject which has not yet received due attention and the work we are reviewing contributes valuable materials for the purpose. Our space permits us to cite only a few examples. Grimm, No. 78, "Der alte Grossvater und der Enkel," relates the story of the son who threatens to treat his father as the latter has treated his. The *Disciplina clericalis* made this tale famous and it is found in Jacques de Vitry and many other sermon-books, from which it filtered into popular use. Another favorite story of preachers is the pathetic *märchen* No. 109, "Das Totenhemdchen," which is also found in many popular versions and finds an echo in classical literature. Another good example of the relation between literary and popular use is found in No. 82, "De Spielhansel," where the editors have collected a mass of literary material which illustrates very well the tendency of the popular tale to become localized and assume the form of a legend ("Sage"). No. 94, "Die kluge Bauerntochter," is another example of the same thing, with an amazing wealth of references to the use of riddles and the accomplishment of difficult tasks. This is one of the stories which Benfey traced back to an Indian original, "über die Lücken der Überlieferung kühn hinwegschreitend," as the editors say. Literary diffusion plays a more important part in stories of the character of jests and fables, such as No. 98, "Doctor Allwissend," No. 104, "Die klugen Leute," and No. 119, "Die sieben Schwaben."

It would be an endless task to mention all the fascinating topics of study suggested by the Anmerkungen. It will long be the incomparable work of reference for all students in this field and an unsurpassable monument of scholarship at once minute, exact and broad. Although the editors will not at present proceed with the printing of the third volume, it is pleasant to be able to state that Professor Bolte is now publishing in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* some of the *märchen* contained in the papers left by the brothers Grimm, the first instalment having appeared in the *Zeitschrift*, Heft 1-2, 1915, pp. 31-51. It contains two stories from the Münster territory, collected by the Haxthausen family before 1816. These stories (two of six which Dr. Bolte intends to publish) are contained in a package of papers left by the Grimms, entitled: "Märchen, aus den Quellen des Buches aufgehoben, weil noch einiges darin stand, das nicht

konnte benutzt werden, oder weil die Quellen noch einmal nachzusehen sind," and: "Zweifelhaftes, Fragmente, Spuren. Einzelnes." The stories in this package were not used and are of interest as being *märchen* not represented in the final collection of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. The two now in question: "Des Toten Dank" and "Der dankbare Tote und die aus der Sklaverei erlöste Königstochter," belong to the cycle of "The Thankful Dead," about which so extensive a literature has clustered. This literature is passed in review by Dr. Bolte (who has here again been aided by Professor Polívka) with his usual astounding erudition and his article presents a complete monograph of the subject. The range of the stories in the Grimms' collection is very wide and it is interesting to learn that tales and *motifs* which do not appear there existed in Germany at the time in forms which the brothers did not feel that they could use. Dr. Bolte has again laid all students of comparative storiology under deep obligations and they will look forward with interest to the continuation of the article in the *Zeitschrift*.

T. F. CRANE.

*Cornell University.*

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*The Dramas of Lord Byron: a critical study.* By Samuel C. Chew, Jr., Ph. D. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1915.  
[Hesperia: Schriften zur englischen Philologie, 3.]

Dr. Chew's *The Dramas of Lord Byron* is an admirable dissertation: admirable (1) for accurate and wide familiarity with technical studies, with the English drama of the early nineteenth century, and, notably, with the literary backgrounds of European literature; (2) for analysis, insight, and meditation as to literary phenomena (with the exceptions noted below); and (3) for craftsmanship—skilful arrangement, balance, evolution in the presentation, and a simple, gentlemanly style. I tabulate thus precisely because the little work is in a way an answer to two types of fault-finders: (1) to those outside the university world for whom a close and systematic study of a literary problem seems trivial, pedantic, futile; and (2) to those inside the university world for whom literary research means only the discovery and collation of facts (as influences of events or of other writers, averagings of metaphors, col-



unms of statistics), and not the discovery and collation of ideas (as an author's technique, intent, meaning, accomplishment). The dissertation, while helpful to any one interested in the dramas as such, has definite correlations with the Romantic era and especially with other phases of Byron's ever potent and many-sided activities. It is, indeed, a tribute to the Byronic spell, which, suspended in the generation of our fathers, has reasserted itself a hundred years after upon his definitive editors, Prothero and Coleridge, and upon his all but definitive biographer, the almost too clever Ethel Mayne.

But, like most dissertations, it is a young man's book. Why not? There are certain ideas that yield up their meaning to us only in the fulness of time. One welcomes Dr. Chew's enthusiasm for his man, perhaps even wishing he had at times been less consciously striving to control it in the interest of a "judicial attitude"—that painful idea of the young scholar which most scholars never outgrow. A gracious criticism should not object to youthful enthusiasm; but it may at least point out what seems inexperience. It is surely inexperience that implies for Byron a philosophy of life in his chafed assertion of mind over matter higher than Goethe's Olympian vision; in fact, through a number of allusions to *Werther* and *Faust* one feels that Dr. Chew, unless he dwindles sadly with the years, is likely some time to see much deeper into that marvelous mind which, as Bayard Taylor said in his prefatory poem to his translation of *Faust*,

Verkoerperte das werdende Jahrhundert.

It is inexperience which makes such short and easy work of the basic distinctions between classic and romantic. It is inexperience, I think, which applies, however keenly, to the analysis of dramatic structure, the standards of Freytag's antiquated schematismus, with the implication that they *are* standards, immutable and organic, and which implies that, because there is in a given drama no *development* of character, there is thereby some short-coming in characterization. Perhaps Dr. Chew's really thoughtful dramatic criticism would have gained in breadth and wisdom by more familiarity with the Continental, English, and even American dramatic achievement of the present day. Present modes of practice and criticism of the drama would presumably modify in more than



one respect the traditional view of Byron's dramatic defects and virtues; and, though he wrote his dramas, as he wrote no other of his works, according to a consciously conceived theory, nevertheless a final appraisal of his practice should be made not so much according to Byron's own theory, or Freytag's, or Lessing's, or Bradley's, as according to what we actually find done—by Hauptmann and Brieux, no less than by Shakespeare, Racine, and Alfieri. And at the risk of seeming captious, I may mention a casual lapse into merely traditional opinion (reiterated by Saintsbury, the ever young) in the praise accorded Coleridge's translation of *Wallenstein*: despite moments of original inspiration (sometimes too original for literary honesty), as a whole it is, to any one that has lived long with Schiller, heavy in movement (as might be expected from the impecunious Coleridge's own irked mood in the writing), and absurd in its blunders (owing to his school-boy's knowledge of German); Coleridge as a master translator is a superstition handed down from the days when our best translators of German were Mrs. Collier, Mrs. Inchbald, Benjamin Thompson, and Monk Lewis.

In reading Dr. Chew's explanation of the apparent Byronic anomaly, the chief Romanticist as a reactionary, the creator of *Childe Harold* and *Don Juan* as champion of the so-called classic models in drama, one should bear in mind that here too we have the Byronic revolt—the spirit of contrariness that motivated so much of his conduct—a revolt more congenial to some aspects of his nature than we would at first surmise; for there was in his make-up an intellectual acuteness (witness the compact and telling couplets of his satire early and late) and an artistic response to order and “good sense” (witness his admiration for Pope) which relate him more than any of his great contemporaries to the literary ideals of the eighteenth century.

The most illuminating chapter seems to me the first, “The Drama of the Romantic Period.” The most interesting, however, is the fourth, “Manfred” (including Appendix II). Dr. Chew's investigation of literary antecedents is here (as throughout his study) well-informed and sane, especially in discussing the relations of *Manfred* to *Faust* and to *René*. But the interpretation of this, Taine's *frère jumeau du plus grand poème du siècle*, seems to me in some places mistaken. I waive the philosophy; I mean dramatic and biographic interpretation.

Dr. Chew, like Moore and E. H. Coleridge, and practically everybody, excepting the anonymous author of the German pamphlet *Manfred*,<sup>1</sup> thinks that "The Incantation" ("When the moon," etc.), act I, scene 1, "fits but imperfectly into the context." Obviously, when first printed in the *Chillon* volume of 1816 as a (pretended) "Chorus in an unfinished Witch Drama which was begun some years ago," it was an angry husband's compliment to his better half. But it is the known privilege of authors to refit and adapt; Byron himself lifted (to quote the composing room) the opening of the third canto of *The Corsair* from the then unpublished *Curse of Minerva* (though here of course no shift of application was involved). In any case, he who reads "The Incantation" as it stands in the drama and abstracts all recollections of Byron's private life should find it psychologically and dramatically apposite, as the utterance of the Seventh Spirit (appropriately Manfred's own fateful star, his evil genius) "appearing in the shape of a beautiful female figure"—namely the figure of Astarte herself—with a curse upon the author of Astarte's ruin, none other than Manfred. To argue the point would be to analyze the whole piece as well as details of the lines. But note, in passing, Manfred's words as the figure appears:

Oh God! if it be thus and *thou*<sup>2</sup>  
 Art not a madness and a mockery,  
 I yet might be most happy. I will clasp thee,  
 And we *again*<sup>3</sup> will be—

[*The figure vanishes.*

My heart is crushed!

[*Manfred falls senseless.*

The address, even to the sudden breaking off before divulging the nature of the relationship, is in perfect keeping with Manfred's subsequent address to Astarte herself. And why, otherwise, should he swoon? And compare

Nor to slumber, nor to die  
 Shall be in thy destiny,

of the last stanza, with Manfred's

<sup>1</sup> Oldenburg and Leipzig [No date].

<sup>2</sup> Italics Byron's.

<sup>3</sup> Italics mine.

There is a power upon me which withholds,  
And makes it my fatality to live.

of the soliloquy at the beginning of the *next* scene.

But more vital is Dr. Chew's biographical interpretation of the person of Astarte. Rejecting Edgecumbe's astonishingly perverted external evidence from Byron's biography, but accepting his to me almost equally absurd findings in "what the poems reveal," Dr. Chew builds up a tentative hypothesis that the original of Astarte is Mrs. Mary Chaworth Musters. The pang that should find a voice is explained by comparison with the famous *Dream*, written shortly before *Manfred*. That Mary is the lady of *The Dream* is common knowledge; that the crime of *Manfred* was incest is clear to Dr. Chew, as to all the world except Richard Edgecumbe. But Dr. Chew, quoting from *The Dream*

Her sighs were not for him; to her he was  
*Even as a brother*,<sup>4</sup>

suggests that "the fact that he betrayed that confiding friendship made Byron in *Manfred* record this sin as the 'deadliest.'" Apart from the mere play on words involved in "brother," the two poems are irreconcilable in inspiration and mood. Byron is under compulsion to dwell in *The Dream* on what should have been, in *Manfred* on what should not have been: in the former the yearning for the woman is touched with tender reminiscence, in the latter with fierce remorse. The phrase in *Manfred*,

One without a tomb,

means for Dr. Chew that Astarte-Mary is "'dead to him' just as the Lady [in *The Dream*] married to another and then insane is dead to the Wanderer." Another play on words; and, moreover, a lapse of imagination: the phrase is surely but one of those dark sayings (like Browning's "I gave commands") that more than once make more wistful our sympathy for this woman of vanished life—hinting presumably at some violent mountain-death without her maiden strewments and the bringing home of bell and burial. But finally and chiefly, if Byron, after a fruitless boyhood-wooing, had won during his London glory, won even guiltily according to the statutes of the realm, the love of Mary, he could never have

<sup>4</sup> Italics Chew's.

indulged the tears of *The Dream*—tears entirely over a love never won. And he would certainly have felt no remorse. Mary was separated from a brutal husband; Byron was as yet unattached. Had she yielded to him, he would have exulted. It is not necessary, in order to give this plausibility, to recall Byron's loose practices with women; any one who knows human nature knows (if he reflects) that almost any man under precisely those circumstances would have exulted, and borne with him in after years, not remorse, but the memory of golden hours. (I am talking sex-psychology, not social ethics.) No, the pang that should find a voice, the pang of *Manfred* is another story—and I fear that Byron's grandson, Lord Lovelace, in his book *Astarte* gives us in the chapter "The Correspondence of Eighteen Nineteen" the only key to its solution. Mary was one troubled Memory that Byron bore with him in exile; his wife was another . . . but the chief was Augusta Leigh.<sup>5</sup>

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

*University of Wisconsin.*

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*A First German Grammar* by Professor George O. Curme. New York, Oxford University Press, 1914. (Oxford German Series by American Scholars. General Editor: Julius Goebel.)

Professor Curme's new book is notable for giving very full treatment of the grammar based on the fundamental principles of the present living, growing language. The result is bound to be a little confusing and perhaps disturbing for a time, because the application of these principles has in some cases upset the traditional classification and nomenclature.

The law of phonetic decay of final unstressed "e" is applied to noun declension with the result of reducing the three classes of strong nouns to two, the *e-plural* type and the *er-plural* type. Nouns like *Lehrer*, *Wagen*, *Apfel*, *Mädchen* and *Röslein* belong to the *e-plural* type, but have merely lost their ending owing to the operation of phonetic law. The same tendency is also shown to be

<sup>5</sup> The proof-reading is thorough; but the *errata* should contain: p. 65, note 3: for "Anglestische" read "Anglistische."



at work on the "es" and "e" of the genitive and dative singular of nouns, and also to be operative in adjectives and verbs ending in -el, -en, -er. The living noun declension is presented in the second lesson with *Heft*, *Lehrer* and *Aufgabe* as model paradigms. The declension of nouns like *Buch* and *Knabe* is consigned to the foot-notes until the very full treatment of nouns is given in lessons XXXII-XXXVII.

The treatment of the verb on the basis of the living language yields some surprising results. *Ich schreibe, du schreibst*, etc., is given as "the common type of present tense followed by most German verbs" [§ 21 (a)]. Nothing is said about strong or weak conjugation in this connection. This paradigm answers for the present tense of the weak verbs and for 65 per cent. of the strong and irregular verbs. Forms like *hält, wird, hat, läuft*, etc., are treated as irregularities (§ 39) and when they occur are given along with the principal parts of the verb. The use of *haben* and *sein* as auxiliaries of the perfect tenses of intransitive verbs (§ 45) is quite elaborately worked out under the headings, 1. *Sein* with Perfectives, and (a) with Mutative Perfectives. 2. *Haben* to Denote Duration. 3. *Haben* to Denote an Act, *sein* to Denote End of Act and Change of Place. 4. *Sein* with some Verbs of Rest. The explanations are clear and sharp, but the elaboration of such distinctions in a work for beginners makes this lesson one of the least successful in the book, as the reviewer can testify from class-room experience with it. To off-set any real or fancied trouble here, we have the delightfully incisive handling of the passive voice. The actional passive with *werden* and the perfective passive with *sein*, accompanied by carefully chosen examples fix the matter clearly in mind once for all. And not a paradigm is given. The learner is simply referred to *werden* and *sein* which he has already studied. Professor Curme's statement [§ 53, 1 (a)] that the imperative of the actional passive is formed with *sein* not *werden* will of course be disputed by the grammarians who give just the reverse.

The subjunctive is quite fully discussed, and aside from the matter usually given is a discussion (§ 51) of the value of tenses in the subjunctive which helps to clear up for the student the rather difficult subject of time and tense. In this connection should be mentioned an innovation in classification and nomenclature. The conditional mood with its present and perfect tenses has gone, and

in its place we have a past and a pluperfect periphrastic subjunctive.

Each of the three preposition lists has been amended to conform to the facts of present usage. To the dative-accusative list *ausser* has been added. In the dative list *dank*, *entlang*, *ob* and *gemäss* have been included, and *ausser* is omitted. The accusative list has been increased by the addition of *entlang*, which is used "often also with the dative, sometimes with the genitive" (§ 58). In other words we are brought face to face with the fact that the hard and fast rules are breaking down and must be amended, if they are to state accurately the facts of present usage.

The reading texts are from the first fairly difficult and idiomatic, and this leads to what seems to the reviewer to be one of the drawbacks in the earlier lessons; *viz.*, the large amount of needed and valuable information which it has been necessary to put into the foot-notes, pending treatment in a regular grammar lesson. The effect on the student is confusing, for by force of habit he regards foot-note information as more or less of an after-thought on the editor's part and expects to find only the discussion of exceptions, special cases, questions, cross references, etc. in foot-notes and is not looking for important general principles which he should master. For example, problems of word-order are discussed in foot-notes almost from the very first (Lesson II, A note 3). Yet the regular treatment of word-order is the last lesson in the book. Separable prefixes are used rather freely from the eighth lesson on, but until the full discussion in the seventeenth lesson information about them is confined to foot-notes. The student finds himself in a dilemma. He must either accept the foot-notes at what seems to him to be more than their par value, or else he must hold in solution the facts there given him until a regular grammar lesson shall precipitate them into his mental stores. Two or three paragraphs on the topics in question in one of the earlier lessons would drive the fundamentals home far more incisively than the present notes, and would enable the student to give the facts a more accurate valuation.

Pronunciation has been given special care. The international phonetic alphabet is employed as a means of securing accuracy; vowel quantities not clear by rule are marked, and the stressed syllables are indicated by placing the usual accent mark *before* the syllable which is to receive the stress.

All teachers who prefer *Realien* and who wish to use a great deal of spoken German in the class-room will find the book well suited to that purpose. The reading exercises picture modern Germany and its life, with a favorite poem occasionally woven in. Each reading exercise is accompanied by a set of German questions carefully framed to bring out the facts just read and also to provide systematic drill on forms and constructions. Even more excellent than the questions are the English sentences for translation into German. They are always in idiomatic English, "free" translations of the German, and compel the learner to go back of the mere words to the thought involved. They prevent the formation of the habit of translating words and force the student to think and to translate ideas.

The book is very thoro and not "easy." In the preface, which deserves to become one of the classics in modern language pedagogics, the author declares his faith in the abiding value of hard work, and also his faith in the willingness of the American student to work hard, if the proper incentive is furnished, and the book is based on these premises.

JAMES A. CAMPBELL.

Knox College.

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LUCIEN FOULET, *A Bibliography of Medieval French Literature for College Libraries*. Edited by ALBERT SCHINZ, and GEORGE A. UNDERWOOD. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1915. vii + 30 pp.

Professor Foulet's pamphlet grew out of a list which he drew up last year for the guidance of the French department in Smith College. The publication of this list in a revised form is an excellent idea. The Bibliography will be of the highest service to colleges founding a collection of the kind, university librarians will do well to assure themselves that the books included in it are all on their shelves, and students having access to large libraries will find it of assistance in the choice of books to read. Specially commendable is the use of asterisks to mark more important works, a feature one would like to see incorporated in all bibliographies, and particularly in Professor Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne*. Professor Foulet remarks (p. vi): "J'ai préféré les livres français aux livres allemands: (1) parcequ'ils sont français, (2) parcequ'ils sont en général meilleurs."

This principle has not, however, led him far from the path of strict justice: he adds correctly enough: "Cependant j'ai fait la part assez belle à l'Allemagne médiéviste," though now and then, as in the preference of Normand and Raynaud's edition of the *Aiol* to that of Foerster, American scholars might differ from him. A convenient addition, rarer than it should be in bibliographies of the kind, is the indication of prices, occasionally high, at which the firm of Champion is prepared to furnish the books.

The selection of texts in the list is abundant and excellent. Admirers of Philippe de Novare would like to see his remarkable *Mémoires* starred, but in general there is little to criticise adversely in this part of the book. The choice of works bearing on language is less satisfactory. One is surprised to find Körting's compilation mentioned to the exclusion of the fundamental etymological works of Diez<sup>1</sup> and Meyer-Lübke. The latter's *Historische Grammatik der französischen Sprache*, which is entirely omitted, would be of more service to an elementary student than the *Einführung*. Among the works on literature a regrettable omission is that of Carl Voretzsch's *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur* (2d edition, Heidelberg, Niemeyer, 1913), with its very useful bibliography. One is sorry to find that Bédier's *Légendes épiques* has not been starred. A certain tendency to prefer more popular works is seen in the placing of an asterisk before Gaston Paris' *Légendes du moyen âge* and *Poésie du moyen âge* rather than before his monumental *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*. Somewhat similar is the starring of Brunot's historical grammar in preference to the works of Antoine Thomas. There are few striking misprints. *Plus* is omitted (p. 21) in the title of Koschwitz's work *Les plus anciens monuments*; p. 25, for 1536-1538 read 1836-1838; and p. 26, for François Michel read Francisque Michel. No two men ever agree upon the books to be included in a selected list, and it will be apparent from the preceding remarks that Professor Foulet has done his work with unusual competence and success.

D. S. BLONDHEIM.

*University of Illinois.*

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that Diez's name does not appear in the list at all, though the *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, for instance, assuredly would be of more use to the beginner in Provencal than Stimming's *Jaufre Rudel*.



*De Jómsvíkingasaga*, door Sophia Adriana Krijn. Amsterdam University dissertation. Leiden, E. Ijdo, 1914.

The title of this excellent piece of work ought, rather, to have been: a study of the MS. relations of the *Jómsvíkingasaga*; for even chapters IV and V which deal with the sources of both parts of the saga really concern the relation of the saga proper to the part narratives in other monuments, such as *Heimskringla*, *Fagrskinna* and the Scaldic verses. No study on the wider bearings of the saga has been attempted. Within these narrow limits, however, sober and thorough work has been done.

It would be a hopeless task to enter here into a discussion of the very intricate problem involved in this study; but it may be well to summarize very briefly the most important results arrived at.

The author believes that there are late elements in *all* extant versions, none representing the original saga. This I believe, is true with the exception of Codex Holmianus 7 which, as I have tried to show elsewhere, cannot be proved to have either abbreviated or added a single important point.

AM291, Flateyrbók, and Holmianus seem to form a group in which, again, the former two stand against Holmianus. Arngrim and AM510 each stand alone. As to the assertion that all five versions hark back to one MS. (to which AM291 is closest, AM510 farthest) it must be said, (1), that there seems very little choice between 291 and Flateyrbók as to the amount of matter added, (2), that the material offered in proof of these contentions is quite insufficient, both in weight and bulk, to bear them out. For my part I believe that it will be necessary to assume a *number* of intermediary MSS.

The author shows, and convincingly, against Gustav Storm, that the saga is not an organic whole, but that the first þáttur was added a short time after the writing down of the saga.

Of course, a number of details are open to debate, for example, on p. 59, the scheme of King Sveinn in making Sigvaldi attack Norway seems to me to have three (not two) possibilities: Sigvaldi either backs out, or he conquers Norway, or he is annihilated. All are to the king's advantage who, it is well to note, according to history was a clever ruler.—I have my doubts as to whether Holmianus (or, for that matter, any other MS.) loaned from the *Heimskringla*, seeing that Snorri cautiously avoids a number of

mistakes found in the saga.—Curiously enough, all references to Holmianus (of which, to my knowledge, there exists but one edition, by Cederschiöld, Lund 1875) are wrong.

L. M. HOLLANDER.

Madison, Wis.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## THE DEATH OF THE RED KNIGHT IN THE STORY OF PERCEVAL

Newell, in his *Legend of the Holy Grail* (p. 82), says: "The incidents of the German, Welsh, and English versions of the story [of Perceval], where they vary from the tale of Crestien also disagree with each other. . . . Minor agreements between traits of the English poem and those, for example, mentioned by Wolfram, are to be disregarded, being in every case explicable as due to a common interpretation of the data of the French original." This is one of the large statements of the school of Foerster which can be easily disproved by a close examination of the texts. One of the incidents where the variation can not be explained as Newell believes is the killing of the Red Knight.

In *Sir Perceval* (ed. Campion and Holthausen, ll. 691-2) we read that Perceval

Smote hym in at þe ee  
And oute at þe nakke.

In *Peredur* (Loth's trans., *Les Mabinogion*, 1913 ed., II, 57) we read: "Il lui lança un javelot à pointe aiguë, qui l'atteignit à l'oeil, lui sortit par la nuque et le renversa mort à l'instant."<sup>1</sup> In Wolfram the incident is thus concluded (*Parzival*, ed. Martin, § 155, 9-11):

durchz ouge in sneit dez gabylôt,  
unt durch den nac, sô daz er tôt  
viel, der valscheit widersatz.

In Chrétien (ed. Potvin, ll. 2305-9) we find a notable variation from the simple statement of the versions just quoted:

Et let aler son gaverlot  
Si qu'il n'entent, ne voit ne ot,  
Sel fiert parmi l'uel et cervel,  
Et, d'autre part le haterel,  
Le sanc et la cervelle espant.

It seems highly improbable that the English, Welsh, and German narrators, in different times and places, took this account from the French and with one accord omitted the last detail. Far more probable is it that the detail is an addition by Chrétien to a narrative from which all four writers drew.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lady Guest's trans., ed. Nutt, p. 250.

Confirmation of this view is found in passages in Chrétien's *Erec* and *Yvain* where the same detail occurs though it is lacking in the corresponding Welsh stories. In *Erec* (ed. Foerster, 1890, ll. 4444-7) the slaying of the giants who held the naked captive knight is thus told:

Et fiert le promerain an l'uel  
Si parmi outre le cervel  
Que d'autre part le haterel  
*Li sans et la cervelle an saut.*

The parallel passage in *Gereint* (Loth, II, 176) reads: "Alors il tira son épée, fondit sur le géant et le frappa d'un coup dur, rapide, énorme, violent, vaillant, sur le haut de la tête, si bien qu'il lui fendit la tête et le cou jusqu' aux deux épaules et l'abattit mort."<sup>2</sup>

The account of Count Limors's death (*Erec*, 4863-6) reads:

Et fiert parmi le chief le conte  
Si qu'il l'escervele et esfronte  
Sanz desfiance et sanz parole;  
*Li sans et la cervelle an vole.*

This in *Gereint* (Loth, II, 178): [Gereint] "s'elança jusqu' auprès du comte et lui déchargea un coup furieux et perçant, cuisant comme le poison, vigoureux et assuré, sur le haut de la tête, si bien qu'il le fendit en deux et que l'épée entama la table."<sup>3</sup> Yvain's killing of the Knight of the Fountain concludes in Chrétien thus (*Yvain*, ed. Foerster, 1887, 867-870):

Qu'il li ot desoz le chapel  
Le chief fandus jusqu'el cervel  
Si que *del cervel et del sanc*  
Taint la maille del hauberc blanc.

The Welsh parallel has (Loth, II, 18): "Owein bientôt donna au chevalier un tel coup qu'il traversa la heaume, la cervelière et la ventaille et atteignit à travers la peau, la chair, et les os jusqu' à la cervelle."<sup>4</sup>

To these passages where we have a corresponding story without the "blood-and-brains" feature of Chrétien may be added one in *Cligés* (ed. Foerster, 1910, ll. 1941-3) containing a very similar idea:

Et cil fieremant les anchaucent  
Qui les reoignent et estaucent  
Et detrenchent et escervellent.

Against this, as going to show that the detail which I have called an addition is Chrétien's individual touch, may be noted a passage in the *non*-Chrétien introduction to *Perceval* (ed. Potvin, ll. 703 7), where in a quite similar situation the detail is lacking:

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *id.*, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *id.*, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *id.*, p. 176.

Cil r'a Bliocadras féru  
 Par deseur l'orle del escu,  
 Emmi le vis, parmi le cière,  
 Que par le hateriel derrière  
 Parut tous li fiers de la lanea.

There are other incidents where the French text differs in a similar way from the corresponding versions mentioned above. They form, it seems to me, another link in the chain of evidence showing that Chrétien's poem can not be the "original" from which the other writers drew.

ROY BENNETT PACE.

Swarthmore College.

### THE ANGLO-SAXON *Juliana*

At the suggestion of Professor Strunk, I give here some titles supplementary to the bibliography in his edition of *Juliana*, 1904. Though doubtless incomplete, the list may be of use to students of the poem. The division and arrangement are those of Professor Strunk.

#### I. Editions

1904. W. Strunk, jr., *Juliana*, pp. xlv + 1 + 133. Boston. Reviewed in *Athenaeum*, April 29, 1905, i. 529; by G. Binz, *Englische Studien*, xxxvi. 130 (1906); by F. Holthausen, *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, xxviii. col. 10-13 (1907); by R. Inelmann, *Anglia Beiblatt*, xix. 1-8 (1908).

1913. An extract, ll. 494-505, is printed in F. Klaeber's *The Later Genesis and other Old English and Old Saxon Texts relating to the Fall of Man*, p. 42. Heidelberg.

#### III. Translations

1906. C. W. Kennedy, *The Legend of Saint Juliana translated from the Latin of the Acta Sanctorum and the Anglo-Saxon of Cynewulf*. Princeton.

1910. C. W. Kennedy, *The Poems of Cynewulf*, pp. 129-152. London. [This volume contains a bibliography.]

#### IV. Language, Collation, Textual Criticism

1905. F. Klaeber, "Cynewulf's *Juliana* l. 293 f.," *Anglia Beiblatt*, xvi. 227.

1905. G. P. Krapp, "Parenthetical Exclamations in Old English Poetry," *Modern Language Notes*, xx. 36.

1906. G. P. Krapp, *Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles*, pp. lvi. lvii. Boston.

1907. M. Trautmann, "Berichtigungen, Erklärungen, und Vermutungen zu Cynewulfs Werken," *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, xxiii. 92-97, 137.



## VI. Author and Date, Literary Criticism

1907. C. F. Brown, "The Autobiographical Element in the Cynewulfian Rune Passages," *Englische Studien*, xxxviii. 196-233.

1908. G. Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften der älteren germanischen Darstellungen des Jüngsten Gerichtes*, pp. 157-162. Halle.

1908. K. Jansen, *Die Cynewulf-Forschung von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Bonn. Reviewed by A. Mawer, *Modern Language Review*, v. 396; by T. Schmitz, *Anglia Beiblatt*, xxii. 6-8; by C. Brown, *Englische Studien*, xlv. 98-101 [some additional titles, p. 100].

1910. G. A. Smithson, "The Old English Christian Epic: A study in the plot technique of the Juliana, the Elene, the Andreas, and the Christ, in comparison with Beowulf and with the Latin literature of the Middle Ages," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, i. 303-400.

1911. T. Schmitz, "Die Cynewulf-Forschung 1908 und 1909," *Anglia Beiblatt*, xxii. 337-340.

[Titles given by Jansen and by Schmitz are given separately here only when the bearing on *Juliana* seems sufficient to justify the repetition.]

1911. F. Tupper, "The Philological Legend of Cynewulf," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xxvi. 235-279.

1912. F. Tupper, "The Cynewulfian Runes of the Religious Poems," *Modern Language Notes*, xxvii. 131-137.

## VII. The Legend

1912. E. Brunöhler, *Über einige lateinische, englische, französische, und deutsche Fassungen der Julianen-Legende, mit einem Abdruck des lateinischen Textes dreier Münchner Handschriften*. Diss., Bonn.

B. S. MONROE.

Cornell University.

MILTON'S *L'Allegro* AND *Il Penseroso*

It seems a little strange that Charles Diodati, the son of an Italian physician living in London, whom Milton met at the St. Paul Grammar School, and with whom he formed such a strong friendship has never been mentioned as the possible model for *L'Allegro*. The letters of the two friends reveal opposite natures that correspond respectively to the characters portrayed in *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro*, one, studious, serious; the other, light-hearted, nature-loving. Milton writes for instance,

" It makes also for my favor that I know your method of studying to be so arranged that you frequently take breath in the middle, visit your friends, write much, sometimes make a journey, whereas my genius is such that no delay, no rest, no care or thought almost of anything holds me aside until I reach the end I am making for and round off, as it were, some great period of my studies." (Milton's Prose Works, edited by St. John, III, 492.) In another letter he writes, " How well you describe the feasts, the merry December and preparations for Christmas, and the cups of French wine round the gay hearth. . . . One sees the triple influence of Bacchus, Apollo, and Ceres in verses you have sent me. . . ." Further on, with what seems to be an allusion to their different natures, he says, " To poets of this order (Diodati's), therefore, conviviality is allowable as they may often indulge in draughts of good old wine. But the man who speaks of high matters. . . . the man who now sings the holy counsels of the gods above, and now the subterranean realms guarded by the fierce dog—let him live sparsely after the manner of the Samian master; let herbs afford him his innocent diet, let clear water in a beechen cup stand near him, and let him drink sober draughts from a pure fountain " (Quoted by Corson, *Introduction to the Works of Milton*, pp. 31-32).

The letters of Diodati reflect the same difference in character. Note as a contrast to the seriousness of Milton the sprightliness of the following letter from Diodati, " Yet now take courage, my friend, and stand to what is arranged between us, and put on a holiday frame of mind, and one gayer than to-day deserves. For to-morrow all will go well, and air and sunshine and stream and trees and birds and earth and men will keep holiday with us, and laugh with us, and, be it said without offense, dance with us " (Masson, I, 162). In another letter Diodati reveals himself as a lover of nature and pleasure and speaks even in light reproof of Milton's studious habits, writing, " I have no fault to find with my present mode of life, except this alone, that I lack some kindred spirit that can give and take with me in conversation. For such I long, but all the enjoyments are abundant here in the country; for what is more wanting when the days are long, the scenery blooming beautifully with flowers, and waving and teeming with leaves, on every branch a nightingale or goldfinch or other small bird glorying in its songs and warblings, most varied walks, a table neither scant nor overloaded, and sleep undisturbed. . . . But thou, wonder that thou art, why dost thou despise the gifts of nature? Why dost thou persist inexcusably in hanging all night and all day over books and literary exercises? Live, laugh, enjoy youth and the hours as they pass, and desist from those researches of yours into the pursuits and leisures and indolences of the wise men of old, yourself a martyr to overwork all the while " (Masson, I, 163).

Could not a letter like this have easily suggested to Milton the idea of the two poems, the one picturing himself and his preferred life, the other, his friend? Dr. Garnett says, "The *Allegro* and the *Penseroso* seem almost the only two [early poems of Milton] written at the urgency of an internal impulse, and perhaps if we knew their history, we should discover that they were prompted by extraneous suggestion or provoked into being by accident" (*Milton*, p. 40). It has occurred to me that this "extraneous suggestion" might be found in the contrast, as Milton saw it, between himself and Charles Diodati. Could not also the Italian titles of the poems be accounted for on the ground of his friendship with the Italian youth?

F. M. DARNALL.

*Southwestern Presbyterian University.*

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#### THE AUTHORSHIP OF *The Sot-Weed Factor*

Few histories of American literature make any mention of the colonial satire entitled, *The Sot-Weed Factor: or a Voyage to Maryland*, by Ebenezer Cook, Gent., published in London, 1708. Tyler in the second volume of his *History of American Literature* (p. 255) quotes liberally from the poem, and says of the author. "Who he was, what he was, whence he came, whither he went are facts that now baffle us." Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, who in 1900 edited *The Sot-Weed Factor* for the Maryland Historical Society (Fund Publication No. 36) attributes to the same author two other works. These are *Sot-Weed Redivivus or the Planters Looking-Glass*, by E. C. Gent., printed at Annapolis in 1730, and a newspaper elegy in 1728 on *The Death of the Honourable Nicholas Lowe, Esq.*, signed by E. Cooke, Laureat. Cairns in his *Early American Writers* (1909) prints a generous selection from the *Sot-Weed Factor*, but is inclined to doubt that the other two poems are by the same author. In a later work, *A History of American Literature* (p. 15), Cairns says, "It is not known who Ebenezer Cook was, or whether this was his real name," and "Indeed, it is by no means certain that Ebenezer Cook was really a resident of Maryland."

There seems now no reason for the doubt thus expressed. Mrs. Hester Dorsey Richardson has shown in her *Side Lights on Maryland History* (I, 243) that Ebenezer Cooke was a real person, who received in 1720 a commission as Deputy Receiver General under Henry Lowe, Esq. The signature, E. Cooke Laureat, to his elegy on Lowe, published eight years later, may possibly indicate some



more or less official appointment as poet laureate of the colony. His identity is further established by a will discovered by Mrs. Richardson among the land records of Cambridge, Maryland. In this document, dated 1711 and probated in 1717, Captain Andrew Cook, Gent., of London, gives to his son and daughter, Ebenezer Cooke and Anne Cooke, besides property in London, the land in Dorchester County Maryland known as Cooke's Point. The tradition survives that the testator was buried on this estate, and that the land on which the grave-yard stood was carried away by the waves. In view of the fact that the name of the father is spelled Cook and the son's, in the same document, appears as Cooke, there seems no reason to doubt that Ebenezer Cook, Gent., E. C. Gent., and E. Cooke, Laureat designate the same person, and that he was not only a resident of Maryland but also a person of prominence in colonial affairs.

JOHN C. FRENCH.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

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#### FULLER AND ARNOLD

Under the title, "Apace, Apace," in *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*, Tom Fuller moralizes on the course of the Thames. The waterman has told him, what he already has noticed on the maps, that "the river, westward, runs so crooked, as likely to lose itself in a labyrinth of its own making," but that beyond London it follows a more direct channel, "as if sensible of its former laziness; . . . or else, as if weary with wandering, and loath to lose more way; or last, as if conceiving such wildness inconsistent with the gravity of his channel, now grown old, and ready to be buried in the sea." The information starts in the author's mind these reflections: "Alas! how much of my life is lavished away? O the intricacies, windings, wanderings, turnings, tergiversations, of my deceitful youth! . . . High time it is now for me to make straight paths for my feet, and to redeem what is past by amending what is present and to come."

The reader is reminded of the description of the Oxus river at the close of *Sohrab and Rustum*. Fuller, as is his custom in all the *Good Thoughts*, gives the reader no chance of missing the moral application of the anecdote, whereas Arnold leaves the symbolism of his beautiful picture unexplained. Arnold's application of the fact to life as a whole is broader than Fuller's. But the correspondence of thought may seem significant to those who are interested in either Arnold or Fuller.

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON.

*The State University of Iowa.*



## BRIEF MENTION.

Professor William Lyon Phelps has composed an introduction to Browning (*Robert Browning: how to know him*, Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1915) that is unlike the usual primer, with its conventional biographical sketch, critical essay, and annotated selections. The book reads like a series of lectures prepared for a literary club,—lectures, however, that are primarily not to entertain idle minds but to teach with clearness and flexible force the essential facts concerning the poet's character, mind, and art. More than fifty poems are reproduced in complete form and interpreted, but this is done by way of inculcating, in separate chapters, a notion of the poet's theory of poetry, and of expounding the purpose and the art of his lyrics, dramatic lyrics, dramatic monologues, and poems of paradox, and finally to exhibit the poet's optimistic view of life. Professor Phelps lays the foundation for the special study of the poems in a clear exposition of what Browning held to be the poet's highest ideal and aim. To him

a perfect bard was one  
Who chronicled the stages of all life.

And the comment runs: "Sound, rhythm, beauty are important, because they are a part of life; and they are to be found in Browning's works like wild flowers in a field; but they are not in themselves the main things. The main thing is human life in its totality" (pp. 43-44). A vastness of reach is implied in "the stages of all life" that must be subject to personal limitations,—altho it may also be argued that the comprehensive doctrines of life are easily numbered. However that may be, Professor Phelps gives, in this connection, one of his leading generalizations: "The more one studies Browning, the more one is convinced that the poet's astonishing mental vigor is shown not in the number and variety of his ideas, but rather in the number and variety of illustrations of them. I can not at this moment think of any poet, dramatist or novelist who has invented so many plots as Browning. He seems to present to us a few leading ideas in a vast series of incarnations. Over and over again the same thoughts, the same doctrines are repeated; but the scenery, the situations, and the characters are never alike" (p. 115). Browning's theory is that "the poet should not produce thoughts but rather concrete images of them." The interpretations of the selected poems, tho noteworthy for a number of new suggestions and pertinently illuminated by side-lights, are in many instances lacking in such detail as the reader must wish for; but what is offered is sure to encourage him in a careful reading of the poet's text and to send him ultimately to the more ample commentaries; and, what is of culminating importance, he will be induced to study the complete works of the poet. The genial personality of the writer is felt to pervade his style, which secures the confidence of the reader in an agreeable and effective manner.

The Zupitza-Schipper *Alt- und Mittenglisches Übungsbuch* (Wien und Leipzig, Wilhelm Braumüller, 1915) has now reached the eleventh edition, and in this form it will be cherished by many scholars because of its association with the last days of Professor Schipper. In this last revision the expert assistance of Professors R. Brotanek and A. Eichler came to the aid of the editor and made possible the *neubearbeitung* of the glossary, which had been planned for the tenth edition but for lack of time had been withheld. This standard "Reader" is a German University text-book, *zum Gebrauche bei Universitäts-Vorlesungen und Seminar-Übungen*, as the title-page declares. It is a book for the technical anglicist and is minutely accurate. The two successive editors kept the work closely in hand and spared no pains to improve each edition. One must believe that both Zupitza and Schipper took special pride in answering the demand for the book by bestowing on the revisions and amplifications the utmost care of the scholar; and now that the second editor also has taken his leave, a doubled grief will be associated with this text-book, which represents so worthily one aspect of the study of English. It is hardly necessary to add that the book is too specifically adapted to the German University to become widely used in America; but the special student should not, on that account, fail to profit by it.

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The first edition of Professor O. F. Emerson's *Middle English Reader* (New York, The Macmillan Co.) appeared in the year 1905. Since then the demand for it has been answered by the record. "Reprinted 1908, 1909, 1912," and now by a "New and revised edition" (1915). It is to be regretted that no space has been allowed in the new edition for a prefatory statement to which one may turn for a description of the character and extent of the revisions. All that is given in this way is found in the publishers' announcement, which, tho brief, may be summarized in still fewer words: minor changes in the Introduction and an addition (eight pages) on syntax and versification; minor changes in the notes; thoro revision of the texts, "in many cases from a collation of numerous manuscripts"; improvements of the Glossary that required it to be rewritten and reset. The Glossary is, therefore, in a sense, new. It has been enlarged by some ten pages, an enlargement accounted for in part by the separate entry, with cross-references, of the parts of the irregular verbs. The separate list of these verbs in the preceding edition (eight pages) has, in consequence, been cancelled. Professor Emerson knows his craft, and has judiciously accepted suggestions offered by his reviewers, who will be prepared to find a good book made a better one by the efforts of a conscientious and pains-taking scholar. Joubert's saying, 'the good is worth more than the better: the better rarely lasts,' does not apply to such a

case. The revisions of the Zupitza-Schipper 'Reader' exemplify the rule to be followed: let the better be made still better. Professor Emerson has happily now started his excellent and useful book on its career in the comparative degrees.

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To the books just noticed must now be added Professor Albert S. Cook's *Literary Middle English Reader* (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1915). The emphasis is on the new word in the title, which is justified by the statement that the book "has been framed, not in the interest of grammar, or of dialectical study, or of lexicography, but of literary enjoyment and profit." A brief Introduction gives an impressionistic view of the vernacular literature of the period (1100-1500); this is followed by a few grammatical paragraphs, just enough to indicate the pronunciation and some of the outstanding features of inflection, and by a selected list of books useful for the study of Middle English. As to the description of the pronunciation, one statement may be questioned: "Double consonants before a vowel are always pronounced twice"; and as to the list of books, a revision will surely be found desirable, inasmuch as several of the most available and useful books for introductory study have not been included; and it is surely an important help, if the reader be supplied with the designation of the publishers of the books named. There is no glossary, but the words are defined at the foot of the page,—a tedious task that has been well performed. The selected texts occupy 554 pages, and are grouped as Romances, Tales, Chronicles, Stories of Travel, Religious and Didactic Pieces, Illustrations of Life and Manners, Translations, Lyrics, Plays. The program is attractive in promise, and its execution is in no respect disappointing. The divisions of the book are well balanced, and the total effect of the pieces may be confidently expected to correspond to the editor's laudable purpose. Professor Cook has not made the preparation of the book an easy matter. In selecting the texts he has shown a fresh interest in the standard and inevitable works, and a purposeful deviation from the beaten track; in no instance has he sought novelty for its own sake. Much learning is condensed in the short introductions to the pieces; and the texts are critically handled, in some instances with the help of the editor's own collations of the manuscripts. It is the work of a ripe, industrious scholar and sympathetic critic. The technical reader will find it useful for some of the hitherto less accessible texts; and it will be especially welcomed by the nontechnical reader, whom the editor has primarily aimed to assist and benefit. It is thus made manifest that the accurate and thoroughly informed scholar can best prepare a feast for the "literary enjoyment" of the uninitiated; but a certain lurking literaristic revolt against the painstaking study of language and of literary sources will presumably not be altogether quieted so long as superficiality and indolence and ignorance are defended with a



plausible complacency, which is so easily uncovered in much that is popularly accepted as satisfactory criticism.

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The fifty-third volume of the Weimar edition of Goethe (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1914) marks the completion of the text proper, there being only two more volumes of indices in prospect. This final volume is made up almost entirely of matter supplementary to various earlier volumes, which has in the meanwhile become accessible. The principal rubrics are: *Gedichte, Dramen, Jugendschriften, Ansprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Antliche Thätigkeit, Testamente*; under the latter heading are given Goethe's last wills and testaments, dated 1797 and 1831. At the close of the volume are some 45 pages of *Textverbesserungen*, mostly in connection with the poems. These emendations could be considerably increased, for the editors of some of the earlier volumes followed too closely the *Ausgabe letzter Hand*, unmindful that many of its readings have their origin and warrant in spurious and unauthorized editions. To cite only a few examples, in the *Mailed* (i, 73, 23) Goethe wrote originally: *Wie blinkt dein Auge*. The pirated Himbürg edition, however, changed the verb to *blickt*, and this unauthorized reading persists to the present day. In fact, the very title of this poem can be traced to Himbürg, for Goethe had written *Mayfest*. Similarly, in the Weimar edition, the first lines of *Die Musageten* (ii, 96) run thus: *Oft in tiefen Mitternächten Rief ich an die holden Musen*: here, *Mitternächten* is a misprint introduced by the edition of 1815, while the original and correct reading, *Winternächten*, is not even cited in the apparatus. Again, in *Deutscher Parnass* (ii, 26, 82) Goethe had written: *Was im stillen Myrthenhaine Amor schalkisch ihr entwendet*. Here the spurious *Doppeldruck* of 1806 puts *Morgenhaine*, which incorrect and unwarranted reading persists to this day. Numerous similar cases could be shown, such as *schichtet es zum Brande* (instead of *schlichtet*) in *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*; *Seid doch nicht so frech*, (Epigramm 59) and *Ein Epigramm, ob wohl es gut sei?* (Epigramm 61) in each of which the particles *doch* and *wohl* were introduced by the *Doppeldruck* of 1806. In *Die Mitschuldigen* (ix, 40 and elsewhere) the same unauthorized edition replaces the old and characteristic form *Keller*, which is still used along the Rhine and in Frankfurt, by the modern literary form *Kellner*, and all the later editions perpetuate the change, with the result that the Grimm Dictionary cites *Keller* for the dialect of Frankfurt, but not from the works of her most illustrious son.

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*A History of Italian Literature* by Florence Trail, printed in New York, 1903, has recently reappeared (pub. Boston: Richard G. Badger) in more attractive type and paper, but without substantial alterations. It is particularly noticeable that the part dealing with



contemporary authors has not been brought up to date: Pascoli, *e. g.*, is spoken of as still alive (p. 345). The chief merit of this work—and not a small merit—is that it is largely the result of the author's own wide reading of the literature. It has, however, the defect of this quality, that the works discussed are judged according to the personal tastes of the author, without regard to more enduring standards. The ideas of the times in which any of the works in question was written, and the character and purpose of the writer rarely contribute anything to the judgment that is passed upon it: the works of Boccaccio, which are dismissed in less than two and a half pages out of the 364, are a striking example. The following extract (p. 341) regarding Francesco De Sanctis is an example of a case in which Miss Trail has depended upon the opinion of others: "Cantù died bewailing the fact that Italy had not produced a first-class critic. But Messrs. Gayley and Scott in their 'Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism' pay repeated homage to De Sanctis as one who has answered all the philosophical and psychological requirements of the most advanced Modern Criticism. Three great works, 'The History of Italian Literature,' 'Critical Essays,' and 'New Critical Essays,' embody the judgments of De Sanctis, which are more brilliant than Carducci's, but less profound."

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The almost simultaneous appearance of two such text-books as *En France*, by C. Fontaine, of Columbia University (D. C. Heath & Co.), and *French Life*, by P. S. Allen and F. L. Schoell, of the University of Chicago (H. Holt & Co.), is significant of the effort now being made to give the elementary student of modern languages something more than a mere reading knowledge of the foreign idiom. The new texts are a helpful addition to the few books of the sort already available, principally H. David's *Chez Nous* (H. Holt & Co.), and L. R. Talbot's *Le Français et sa Patrie*, (B. H. Sanborn & Co.). *En France* recounts a visit to France made by two young high school graduates, a brother and sister, under the guidance of their father. A large part of the country is traversed, and the story is interesting. The author, a teacher of long experience, has known how to introduce valuable historical details without burdening the narrative, and has cleverly selected those peculiarities of manners most likely to arouse the curiosity and interest of the American student. *French Life* illustrates the manners and customs of France in an entirely different way. There is no hint of a connected narrative, on the contrary it "is a carefully planned series of short chapters which advance by gradual and regular steps from initial descriptions of the home and home-life to the consideration of the manifold activities of the world without." Both books are provided with questionnaires and full vocabularies, making them equally useful as "readers" and as manuals of conversation.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## *THEOPHANIA:*

### AN ENGLISH POLITICAL ROMANCE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Many tales and romances were published in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of which we have an inclusive knowledge since the publication of the very complete bibliography of Arundell Esdaile.<sup>1</sup> Some of these tales were translations from other languages, especially the French; others were purely imaginative, altho the product of imagination appears very dry; and others had some connection with history. It would be saying too much to declare that the historical tales had a plot, yet there appear occasionally climaxes or crises or *dénoûements* which are different from the usual form of a slender narrative interspersed with long stories recited by different persons of the drama. In a few cases, the history is used for a setting while the tale may run wild between occasional facts; in others, ancient kingdoms are mentioned without much regard for accurate statements. In still others, however, the form of a tale is used as a medium for satire, or for comment upon contemporary conditions. There are not many of the latter; the earliest is the translation of John Barclay's *Argenis*, 1625, and there are a few which follow, interesting from both the historical and the literary side.

One of these historical romances is *Theophania*, published in 1655, and covering about fifty years of English history in its supposed account of the Kingdom of Sicily. Very little seems to be known of this book, for none of the general accounts of English literature of the period mention it, nor do any of the historians

<sup>1</sup> *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740.* By Arundell Esdaile. London, 1912. See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX, 45 f.

who cover the period refer to it. There are at present in existence, according to my investigations, at least five copies,—in the British Museum; Chetham's Library, Manchester; City Library, Manchester; Library of Congress; and The Newberry Library, Chicago. Henry Kersley owned a copy in 1851, for he wrote to *Notes and Queries* to inquire further about the book; James Crossley owned a copy at the time, for he replied in 1852 concerning it. Kersley's copy may be one of those already mentioned (except the British Museum copy); Crossley's, which had certain manuscript notes, cannot be traced in any library, or in the sales catalogs of Crossley's books. Doubtless there are other copies extant, and it is to be hoped that Crossley's copy will be found.

The author of *Theophania* is anonymous,—“An English Person of Quality,”—but Crossley's copy had a manuscript note, “Sir William Sales.” According to this, the Library of Congress attributes the book to him, but no biographical list so far examined makes reference to such a man.

In the Newberry Library copy, a few manuscript notes appear in the margin. One of these identifies Theodora, Queen of Sicily, with Elizabeth of England. With this as a clue, and with two other slight intimations, I have come to conclude that the whole book as it stood was but a mask for a mildly partizan account of the early years of the Civil War in England; and that every name both of person and of place conceals a real character or a locality in the English history of the time. With this revelation of historical opinions and of literary problems, the deadly dull romance assumes a new character, and its deciphering becomes a real pleasure.

The story, in brief, is of several noble gentlemen who by chance find refuge from shipwreck, or from their enemies in civil war, at the house of Synesius, a courtly gentleman who lives on the coast of Sicily. These include, first, Demetrius, a comely prince of Achaia, who is doubtless William II of Orange. A marginal note on page 5 calls him “King ———,” while on page 41 it calls him “Prince of Ora——”; unfortunately the margins have been cut, so that in neither case is the annotation complete. The purpose of Demetrius is the pursuit of Mariana, daughter of Antiochus (Charles I) and sister of Alexandro (Prince Charles), altho historically the Prince of Orange and Mary were married in



1641, and Demetrius's sighs served only to heighten the story anachronously.

The second recipient of the hospitality of Synesius is Alexandro, who is no other than Prince Charles, in love with Theophania, for whom he also sighs frequently. His heartfelt affection for her, shown in the early pages and in one or two references later, offers the only occasions for mentioning the character that gives the title to the book. Probably she was the French princess with whom negotiations for marriage with Charles were carried on for a while. Charles himself is represented as a god-like being, whom everyone recognizes immediately by his superb form and divine grace.

Cenodoxius is the third chief guest, and he is recognized as the Earl of Essex, not only from his story but also from the marginal note of "Erl of Es——."

These three men have to pass the time away somehow at the house of Synesius, especially while Demetrius is recovering from sickness brought on by exposure; the object is accomplished by having the stories of the chief characters told. Prince Charles is too unfortunate and too sacred to have a story; so the first tale is that of Demetrius and Mariana, told by Lysander, the companion of Demetrius, with the latter's permission while he is still in bed under a physician's care. The story is rather simple. Demetrius being a remarkable youth who has won fame as a young soldier for the Peloponnesians (Dutch) is sent on an expedition against the Emperor of Greece (Greece is probably Spain, altho sometimes the description seems to fit the German Empire as well or better). On this expedition Demetrius penetrates with ease to Constantinople, the capital, but spares it because of the noble demeanor of the Empress, and because of the love at sight he conceives for the princess Mariana (the English Mary), who has been betrothed to a Grecian prince and is still in Greece mourning the death of Leonidas, her betrothed. Demetrius returns home with great plaudits, but when his parents suggest a marriage with the Queen of Armenia(?) to support the position of the Orange family, he leaves home; he falls into a misunderstanding with Mariana with whom he has never spoken; but he manages to impress his devotion upon her, and it is upon his way to England in pursuit of her that he is shipwrecked, as told at the opening of the romance.



Fortunately for the book, about the time that Lysander finishes Cenodoxius appears, and altho he is looked on with suspicion because he led the Parliamentary forces against the king, he has a chance to tell his story and that of his father Heraclius, as justification for his actions. This story of the Earls of Essex starts with the reign of Elizabeth and deals rather harshly with her, attributing the main reasons for England's present unfortunate condition to her. The unhappy fate of the older Essex is described in detail, and the equally unhappy circumstances of the early life of the younger Essex are used to show why he was willing to be a leader in the war against Charles I, altho not in entire sympathy with the cause he was leading. In the course of his story he gives an account of several battles of the Civil War. His story ends with his leaving the army and escaping by chance to the house of Synesius, where he recognizes Prince Charles; without being at all humble, he seeks accommodation with Charles and the royalists.

This latter proposition forms the wedge to admit a discourse by Synesius on the English Constitution, which is directed to the end of urging Charles to a reconciliation with Essex. This is about to be accomplished when a captive is brought in from the Royal army, a leader of ability and prowess. He too recognizes Prince Charles and tells the story of Clorimantes (himself) and Perrotus, two noble soldiers, both of whom had fallen in love with another paragon of womanliness, Monelia. Perrotus is killed, Monelia therefore kills herself, and Clorimantes was on the way to find those responsible for the death of Perrotus, when he was brought in a captive. The story of Monelia ends thus; but as there was in it some reference to Philocles (Prince Rupert), Cenodoxius (Essex) upon request gave Prince Charles a full account of the passage concerning Philocles, which Clorimantes had touched on in his discourse; then, "it being already far advanced in the night, left him to his privacy. Finis."

Certainly an unsatisfactory ending from the point of view of romance, for Demetrius has not as yet any hope of Mariana, altho Alexandro (Charles) has promised a good word for him; Cenodoxius is a leader fled from his own party and not received by the others; Clorimantes seeks vengeance, which he seems unlikely to accomplish. As to the historical features, also, there is

no conclusion,—Prince Charles is trying to make up his mind what to do, and Cromwell is hovering in the background. Such are the separate stories that are woven into the tale, and such is the complete tale of *Theophania*.

Altogether no less than one hundred and eight names of persons appear, some mentioned only once or twice, and some having very insignificant parts, yet most of them introduced with a certain degree of carefulness, suggesting that they are counterparts of real persons. Only occasionally does it seem that the character is fictitious, in order to fill out the story. In many cases the array of names of minor characters serves to deaden what interest there is in the tale, unless one is reading with a detective sense for identification. In a very few cases there is some similarity, or a reason, in the choice of names,—as, Mariana for Mary, or Evaldus, a transposition for Laud; but for the most part the names are without significance, except that the author tries to make them in keeping with the country they come from.

Similarly, there are twenty-seven places named, and there is an attempt to keep them in some sort of geographical relation. Sicily is England; Palermo, the capital, is London. The Grecian Empire is Spain; the Peloponnesus, which revolts, is the United Provinces; Sparta is the capital. Cyprus is Scotland; and Sardinia, Ireland, with its capital, Oristagnum (= Dublin, 'dark pool'?). Thessaly seems to be the Palatinate of the Rhine. In the account of the Civil War, the ingenuity of the author wanes somewhat,—Essex marches against Cornavii (Cornwall?); the King's standard is unfurled at Mottingham (Nottingham); the King marches into Coritani(?); Tropanio was Edgehill. Nicosia stands for Oxford, and Coves (Coves?) is where Essex tried to intercept the king. Galia is France.

While there is an attempt to keep these names in their proper places, there are some confusions or complete fictions. Philocles, for instance, combines characteristics of both Frederick V, the Winter King of Bohemia, and his son, Prince Rupert, who fought with Charles I. Demetrius, also, combines the persons of Maurice of Nassau, the wonder in fighting, and William II, who marries Mary; or else Polidor, his father, combines the characters of William I, and of Maurice. Also at times there seems to be confusion between Spain and the Holy Roman Empire as to which is meant by "Greece"; and between the German Emperor and

the Pope, as to the counterpart of "Roman Emperor." Elizabeth is recorded as doing some of the acts of Henry VIII, and the chronology of the older Essex is false; but for the most part the historical and geographical relations are kept clear.

The political opinions of the "English Person of Quality," who wrote the book, center about four topics. First is the person of Charles, already referred to. He is spoken of (p. 23) as a "knight that seemed to perform more than humane actions," of "admirable valour," of "majestick beauty," the "perfection of all his sex," of "such a royal meine that both knees and hearts were ready to bow at his devotion." As the person of the prince indicated divinity, Demetrius calls him "Divine creature," and Synesius says "my Genius gives me an assurance that you have divinity about your person," and again (page 196), "a Prince who is deputed by Heaven, to exercise a Kingly power upon earth, ought in this to imitate the Supreme Deity." From these extracts, it is easy to understand the attitude of the "English Person of Quality" towards the monarchy and the person of the royal heir.

As to Elizabeth, the main source for opinions is the story of Cenodoxius, which not only relates facts, but attributes motives, altho it occasionally gives Elizabeth credit or discredit for more than she did. It tells how she secured the crown, and "thro a seeming popularity brought the people into a slavish obedience." Her character was "cruel and ambitious," but "nevertheless surpassing even all her sex in the art of dissembling, she so veiled it with a mark of affability" that even her violent proceedings, her frequent oppressions, her violation of the laws, and her profound dissimulations, were so cloaked that she won the hearts of the people and of the nobles. Her marriage schemes were political until England's position was established, then she admitted "divers Favourites to more than ordinary familiarity, as often as her fancie pleased, [and] disgraced some and advanced others, to the same hopes." This brings us to the beginning of the regard she showed Essex; also to the relations with Rome, which supported "Aurelia, Queen of Cyprus" (Mary, Queen of Scots) in her claim to the throne; and the attempt of Castorex (Ridolfi) to kill Elizabeth, from which he was prevented by Essex (error). This event is given as the cause of the hostility to Rome, and all the arguments and acts against Rome follow immediately. The priests were driven out, and the temples destroyed, while the people



approved. Elizabeth said (page 115), "We must no longer suffer these idle superstitions to reign among us," and "she assumed to herself and her successors the sacred office of the High Priesthood." "I have not altered," she said, "anything of the ancient forms"; but she declared she was forced to oppose Rome because it would not give up its support of "Aurelia."

The third topic of political interest discussed is what Synesius calls the "English Constitution,"—really a discussion of English policy, both domestic and foreign, compared with the policies of other nations. Synesius rather idealizes other countries, while depreciating the English, "who confident of their own strength and the natural defence of the sea, despising all rules and condemning their wisdom and virtue, have by degrees imbraced the imperfections and vices of all other nations, the pride of the Grecians, the luxury of the Romans, the intemperance of the Peloponnesians, the levity of the Sicilians<sup>2</sup> and in conclusion whatever may render them contemptible or contribute to their own ruin." England lost the gains of the early French wars, had internal contests between king and nobles, and the Wars of the Roses between two princely houses; "but not to be tedious," Synesius says, "the publick affairs have been still swayed by the interests or inclinations of particular persons," of whom Somerset neglected the interests of England for Scotland; Buckingham was jealous of all men except the most submissive; Stafford laid new foundations; and Laud built on quicksands. "Thus what one built, another presently destroyed," and so the country, being subordinated to personal interests, naturally became the prey of factions and discontents.

Finally, on the political side, arises the question of what to do in the crisis of affairs in 1645. The kingly dignity and power has been brought low. Essex has left the Parliamentary forces, but Coroastus (Cromwell) is now leading them. Prince Charles, in the story, intimates a desire to come to terms with Cromwell, and Synesius acknowledges that that would be well, for Cromwell is frank, and his followers are of more integrity than the Scotch or the party of Essex. But as Cromwell is firm in his purpose and has a strong army, he probably would not abandon his chances of success, especially as he holds London with all its wealth. The

<sup>2</sup> He means the French, altho he twice calls them Sicilians.



question then is, where shall the Royalists get aid? Not from Spain, for she has suffered "so many pointed affronts"; not from France, or any foreign power. The obvious thing is, therefore, a reconciliation with Essex and his party. "They can be trusted, for they know that if you receive them not into favor, they are absolutely ruined." Having received this advice from Synesius, Prince Charles admits its worth, and says, "I confess myself vanquished, and furnished with these reasons shall easily induce the King to imbrace your advice."

These are the subjects of the political discussion. They are interesting in themselves, but there are two other important points. These are the question of the date of the book, and that of the Essex-Elizabeth ring-story.

The date of *Theophania* on all copies with a title-page is 1655, but the publisher in his preface vaguely suggests the possibility of its having been written earlier. The tone and the facts suggest an earlier date. In the first place, King Antiochus (Charles I) is mentioned several times as being alive. For instance, Prince Charles says (page 28), "have not the sufferings of my royal parents satisfied your wrath? Will you still persecute them?" And again, "Heap affliction upon my parents, deprive them of their Empire, and me of my succession." On page 99 Synesius says, "But you will never be able to divert that torrent of confusion which threatens the total subversion of this flourishing monarchy." It is evident then that the book was written while the King was still alive, therefore, before January, 1649.

The fact that the Civil War is called the "Seven Years War" might incline one to the opinion that 1649, seven years from the outbreak in 1642, was meant; but if the troubles of England are dated from the first outbreak in Scotland in 1638, then the date is thrown back to 1645. This agrees with the opinion given of Cromwell, for he is spoken of as rising (with his "new acquired greatness" after Essex's departure); and described in a friendly manner (page 187), for Prince Charles says,—he "cannot be truly said to rebel against the King"; "the frankness of his proceedings is so generous"; "I would rather to enjoy a divided Empire with him than be fully restored by the assistance of Cenodoxius." This, unless a hoax, throws new light on the early attitude of the Royalists towards Cromwell, and also serves to confirm the opinion

of the earlier date on the book. Finally, and most convincing, is the fact that there would have been no point to a large part of the book had not Essex been still living (he died in September, 1646); and had he not left the Parliamentary army, which he did in September, 1645. It can be asserted with reasonable confidence that the book was written towards the end of 1645. Whether it was examined then by the "respectable gentlemen," whom the publisher speaks of in his preface, or not, is unknown. Certainly it would have been very difficult for anyone, because of subsequent events, to write in the spirit of this book, for the attitude towards Cromwell and the facts themselves would all have changed.

If written in 1645, why was it not published till 1655? Was it a political pamphlet intended to strengthen the Royalist cause, which rapid changes or uncertainty of events made difficult or impossible of publication in 1645? Was it actually published in 1645, and was there another edition in 1655? Why was it published in 1655 at all, unless to discredit the Commonwealth, and if so, why was the pleasing characterization of Cromwell retained? These are questions which arise out of the book and make it of great interest.

The remaining point of interest is the ring-story. This comes in the life-tale of Heraclius, the first Earl of Essex, told by Cenodoxius, his son. Elizabeth gives the older Essex a ring, which he is to send to her whenever he is in trouble and she will save him, even his life (p. 120). After Essex has been to Ireland and comes back to England disgraced, he raises a small body of men, as is well known, to rescue Elizabeth from her advisers. He is charged with treason and condemned to death. He sends the ring (pp. 148-50) to Elizabeth by the Countess of Nottingham, who out of jealousy fails to deliver it, and Essex is executed. But remorse overcomes the Countess and on her deathbed, shortly afterwards, she sends for Elizabeth and tells her. Elizabeth, who had a real affection for Essex, is overcome by grief, and dies of a broken heart.

The ring-story has been worked out by Ranke (*History of England*, Oxford translation, I, 352-3) and by Brewer (*Quarterly Review*, 1876, I, 23; see *D. N. B.*, Robert Devereux). The first appearance of the story in its generally accepted form was about 1650, in the *History of the Most Renowned Queen Elizabeth and her Great Favourite, the Earl of Essex. In Two Parts. A Romance.*

It was repeatedly re-issued (fifteen editions to 1740), and John Banks dramatized it in *The Unhappy Favourite*. The important point is that if *Theophania* was written in 1645 as seems likely, then the ring story there was the earliest account. Whether the author of the above romance saw the manuscript of *Theophania* or knew its author, or whether the author of both pieces was the same, or whether the romance was published earlier, is still undetermined. It seems unlikely, however, that two different authors should have developed the same story independently.

This brings us to another point on which no final judgment can be rendered at present, and that is the possibility that Clarendon was the author of *Theophania*.<sup>3</sup> Clarendon says (*Life*, II, 69) that about this time (1643-6) he was writing a good deal of fugitive material including parodies. Very little of this has been identified as his. He began his *History* in 1646. Several passages read like similar passages in *Theophania* (thus, p. 200, the account of Armandus stirring up rebellion in Scotland; cf. *History*, Bk. IX, p. 748, Richelieu). Moreover, the political opinions with some exceptions (which are placed, however, in the mouths of different characters) agree with Clarendon's general position. In 1655, he was on the continent in exile and there was no reason why, if Thomas Heath, the publisher, wanted to publish a work by "An English Person of Quality" he should not do so. On the other hand, in "The Difference and Disparity between George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Essex" (*Reliquiae Wottonianae*, p. 184), Clarendon speaks more favorably of Elizabeth and says, "I am nothing satisfied with that loose report which hath crept into our discourse about the ring."

In conclusion then, this romance, which at first sight seemed so dull, is interesting enough and abounds in problems. It appears to be clear that it was written ten years before it was published, and that it contains the first account of the ring. There are some resemblances to Clarendon, tho it is far from being proved that he was the author.

AUGUSTUS HUNT SHEARER.

*The Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.*

<sup>3</sup> Dr. T. C. Pease, of the University of Illinois, whose doctor's dissertation at the University of Chicago was on "The Levellers," has made this suggestion.



## GOETHE'S USE OF *VERGAKELT*

The discovery a few years ago at Zurich of a manuscript of *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung*<sup>1</sup> was an important event not only from a literary but also from a philological point of view, inasmuch as it has added a very interesting document to the sources for the grammatical study of Goethe's language. The manuscript abounds in individual grammatical forms, and while we are not always certain that the anomaly belongs to Goethe and not to the two Swiss ladies who copied his manuscript, there remain enough instances in which there can be little doubt as to the correctness of the copy. Among the latter instances I should reckon the word *vergakelt*, found in the first and in the second chapter of the *Sendung*.<sup>2</sup> The fact that this word occurs—in the same spelling—in two different passages seems to preclude the suspicion of a clerical error, being at the same time a safeguard against possible misinterpretation.

The first passage reads:

“‘Sei nur stille,’ sagte die Alte, indem sie die Kleider der Puppen, die sich etwas verschoben hatten, zurecht rückte . . . ; ‘wie ihr klein, wart ihr immer drin vergakelt, und trugt euch mit euern Spiel- und Naschsachen herum die ganze Feiertage.’” (‘You’d better hold your tongue,’ said the old woman, while adjusting the dresses of the puppets which had become slightly disarranged . . . ; ‘when a child, you used to be infatuated with them and to carry about your toys and titbits with you throughout the holidays.’)

While *vergakelt* is here construed with the preposition *in* (*drin*) in the sense of ‘vernarrt in,’ it occurs without preposition and in a slightly different shade of meaning in the next chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung*. Mitteilungen über die wiedergefundene erste Fassung von W. Meisters Lehrjahren von G. Billeter. Zürich 1910.—*Goethes Werke*. Hrsg. im Auftrage der Grossherzogin Sophie v. Sachsen. Bd. 51 u. 52. Weimar, 1911.—Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung*. Nach der Schulthess'schen Abschrift hrsg. v. H. Maync. Stuttgart u. Berlin (Cotta) 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Billeter, pp. 22 and 26.—*Goethes Werke*, vol. 51, pp. 5 and 9.—Maync, pp. 2 and 6.—The two passages are also found in *Selections from Classical German Literature*, by Klara H. Collitz, New York, Oxford University Press, 1914, pp. 437 and 440.



"Dieser Aktus endigte sich. Die übrigen Kleinen waren alle vergakelt, Wilhelm allein erwartete das Folgende und sann darauf." (This act thus came to an end. While all the other children were in a trance, Wilhelm alone was waiting for the performance to be resumed and reflecting on its outcome.)

As shown especially by the contrast "Wilhelm allein erwartete . . . und sann," *vergakelt* apparently is used here as a synonym of 'bezaubert' or 'verzückt.' The state of mind of the majority of the children no doubt resembles the one described a few lines back by the verb *vergeistern*: "Der Hohepriester Samuel erschien mit Jonathan, und ihre wechselnde Stimmen vergeisterten ganz ihre kleine Zuschauer." Very likely their enthusiasm manifested itself even more plainly at the end of the act, so that *vergakelt* may be taken in the sense of 'närrisch' or 'von Sinnen.'

The word *vergakelt* is not recorded in our dictionaries. As far as I am aware it does not occur in German literature except in these two passages. We can hardly then accept it as a regular Modern German word. How did it find its way into Goethe's language? and what is the etymon?

The only attempt to answer these questions that has come to my notice is a brief reference in vol. 51 (p. 298) of the Weimar Goethe edition to the participle *gegäckelt*, used by Goethe in a letter to Frau von Stein: "Friz hat mich vor vieren geweckt und das neue Jahr herbey gegäckelt" (*Goethes Briefe*, Weimar edition, vol. iv, p. 1). Yet *gäckeln* and *gakeln* are obviously two different verbs. *Gegäckelt* in the letter to Frau v. Stein means 'geschwätzt' or 'geplappert.' Sanders in his *Wörterbuch* I, 529<sup>a</sup> no doubt is right in regarding Goethe's *gäckeln* as a by-form of Mod. Ger. *gackeln*, meaning (1) 'to cluck, cackle,' (2) 'to prattle, chatter.' The co-existence of the two present forms, the one without and the other with umlaut, has many parallels. Cf., e. g., Mod. Ger. *schwätzen* (M. H. G. *swatzen*) and *schwätzen* (M. H. G. *swetzen*) 'to prattle,' or Mod. Ger. *babbeln* (a variant of *plappern*) and Rhenish Prussian *bäbbeln*<sup>3</sup> 'to babble.'

If we agree to identify Goethe's *gäckeln* with Mod. Ger. *gackeln*, the gulf correspondingly widens—as regards both the form and the meaning—between this verb and the term *vergakelt*. The spelling

<sup>3</sup> "babele, auch bäbele, klatschen, schwätzen" Hoenig, *Wörterbuch der Kölner Mundart*, Köln, 1905, p. 11.

of the latter word seems to indicate that the stem vowel is long, and while the verb *gackeln* designates the utterance of sounds rather than the existence of thoughts, *vergakelt* clearly refers to a state of mind produced in exceptional circumstances. Inasmuch as it implies a contrast between every day life—or the regular course of human thoughts—and a mental condition out of the ordinary, it reminds us of certain Modern German words implying a similar contrast between reality—or common experience—and visions due to artificial means or belonging to an imaginary world, such as *Gaukler*, a synonym of 'Zauberer, Jahrmarktskünstler, Taschenspieler,' and *Gaukelei*, meaning 'Zauberei, Blendwerk, Narrenspossen.' Is *vergakelt* then perhaps connected with the Modern German verb *gaukeln* 'to juggle, delude'? Taking it for granted that the meaning of the word admits this suggestion, it remains to be shown that in Goethe's language (or let us say at once, in Goethe's dialect) the vowel *ā* (i. e., long *a*) may replace the Modern German diphthong *au*.

The substitution of this *ā* for the old <sup>4</sup> diphthong *au* is characteristic of the Bavarian and of several Central German—especially Rhinefrancian and Eastfrancian—dialects. A detailed delineation of the area in which this vowel-change occurs, may be found in one of Wrede's reports on Wenker's *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reiches*, in the *Anz. f. dt. Alt.* XXIII (1897), 209 and 217 and XXIV, 123. As regards the district from the Siegerland to the Vogelsberg, Wrede's statements were revised by E. Maurmann, "Zur Verbreitung von *ā* für wgerm. *au* = ahd. *ou*" (*Zs. f. dt. Mundarten* hrsg. v. O. Heilig u. H. Teuchert, 1913, p. 193). The region in which this *ā* is met with includes the city of Frankfurt on the Main. The noun 'Auge,' e. g., is in Frankfurt pronounced *Aag*, pl. *Ääge* (see A. Askenasy, *Die Frankfurter Mundart u. ihre Literatur*, Frankf. a. M. 1904, p. 159), 'Baum' is changed to *Baam*, pl. *Bääm* (e. g., *Kerschbaam* p. 90, *Aepelbääm* p. 135), 'taub' appears as *daab*, 'Frau' as *Fraa* (*ib.* p. 160), etc.

The form then in which we might expect to find the Mod. Ger. *gaukeln*, if preserved in this dialect, would be *gaakeln*. As a mat-

<sup>4</sup> By the "old" diphthong *au* we understand the one corresponding to Gothic and Westgermanic *au* in distinction from the New High German *au* developed from earlier *ū* in words like *aus*, *Braut*, *Gaul*, *Haus*, *Mauer*, *Maul*, *sauer*, etc.

ter of fact, this very verb, together with the noun *Gaakeleie*, has survived in Frankfurt to this day, and the identity of these words with Mod. Ger. *gaukeln* and *Gaukelei*, although apparently not yet noticed, is so evident as to leave no room for any doubt. I shall quote again from Askenasy, *Die Frankfurter Mundart*:

(1) P. 217: "*gaakele* (Spass machen) *mit de Määd gaakele* Fries, *St. A. S. 6.*"

The reference is to the historical comedy "Das Studenten-Attentat 1833" by Joh. Jac. Fries (in *Altfrankfurter humoristisch-historische Sittenbilder in dramat. Form* von Johann Jacobus. Frankf. a. M. 1899).—For the interpretation 'Spass machen' we may substitute, without altering the sense, 'Narrheit treiben' ('to fool') in the sense of 'to jest' or 'to joke.'—The words *mit de Määd* of course mean 'with the girls.'

(2) P. 72: "die Mädchen dürfen keine *Gaakeleie* (Fries, *Rev. S. 162*) treiben und müssen ruhig an ihrem *Fleissklingel* arbeiten."

The reference here is to the comedy *Die Revolution 1848* by the same author and found in the same collection (*Altfrankfurter humoristisch-histor. Sittenbilder*).—*Gaakeleie* may be translated by 'Narrheit' ('tomfoolery').

Was Goethe aware of the fact that he was using a dialectal form when he employed the term *vergakelt* in his first draft of *Wilhelm Meister*? In other words, was he aware of the connection of the verb *gakeln* with High German *gaukeln*? The answer must be in the negative, for the reason that Goethe uses the regular Modern German form alongside of the one belonging to the Frankfurt dialect. In the second chapter of the *Sendung*, on the same page on which the word *vergakelt* is found, we read: "Wilhelm aber geriet in eine Nachdenklichkeit, darüber er das Ballet von Mohren und Mohrinnen, Schäfern und Schäferinnen, Zwergen und Zwerginnen nur wie im Schatten vor sich hingaukeln sah."

HERMANN COLLITZ.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

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SPENSERIANA: *THE LAY OF CLORINDA*

In the one-volume Oxford Spenser (p. xxxv), Ernest de Sélin-court suggests, for the first time I believe, that the *Lay of Clorinda* commonly attributed to the Countess of Pembroke is in fact Spenser's, "that Spenser wrote it in her name." This conclusion I had reached some years since, and now wish to confirm with further observations. Sélincourt rests the case solely on its "peculiarly Spenserian effects of rhythm and melody"—he does not descend to instances,—and on the fact that it is "woven into the plan of the volume, and not a separate work standing by itself, like those that follow." If Sélincourt's suggestion is to carry conviction, it would seem in need of further development.

The *Lay* is in fact introduced very much as are certain short poems incidental to the *Shepherd's Calendar*, namely, the plaints in the eclogues for August and November, and the song to Eliza in that for April. At the end, two stanzas without change of metre introduce the Alexandrines of Ludovic Bryskett. From what precedes it is separated, not by title or pagination, but solely by an ornamental capital and band. The following lines serve as transition :—

But first his sister that *Clorinda* hight  
 . . . . . began this dolefull lay.  
 Which least I marre the sweetnesse of the vearse,  
 In sort as she it sung, I will rehearse.

These lines constitute, I believe, the only evidence—certainly ambiguous evidence—that Lady Pembroke wrote the *Lay*. I think, however, it is demonstrable that she did not.

Spenser's *Astrophel* and the *Lay*, which are thus linked, are composed in the same sestet, riming ABABCC. In each case, furthermore, the second line usually ends in a colon. The *Lay* offers eleven instances in sixteen stanzas, while in four of the remaining five lines an interrogation point forbade it. *Astrophel* offers thirty-four instances in thirty-nine stanzas. (I use the text of B. M. 11536, since Sélincourt's text offers seven of these colons in *Astrophel*.) Such a resemblance can hardly be fortuitous. That it is no accident of publication or caprice becomes certain from the facts that in the one hundred sestets (ABABCC) of *The Teares of the Muses* it occurs but three times; in the *Elegie* of thirty-nine



stanzas following *Astrophel* it occurs but three times. Similarly a colon after the second line almost never appears in Spenser's sonnets except in the *Amoretti*, where it marks seventy of the eighty-nine.

This metrical similarity indicates that the *Lay* is an integral part of *Astrophel*, interwoven just as Spenser interweaves the lament of Alcyon in *Daphnaida* (197-539). There feignedly a husband, as here a sister, mourns the deceased. If it be objected that he definitely attributes the *Lay* to Sidney's sister, no less so does he attribute the *Daphnaida* complaint of seven times seven stanzas to Arthur Georges. Witness *Colin Clout* (384-7):—

And there is sad Alcyon bent to mourne,  
Though fit to frame an euerlasting dittie,  
Whose gentle spright for Daphne's death doth tourn  
Sweet lays of loue to endless plaints of pittie.

These circumstances by themselves do, indeed, admit of the interpretation that Spenser in writing *Astrophel* conformed to the style of Lady Pembroke's *Lay*. And it is clear that the *Lay* preceded *Astrophel* in composition—if we may trust Spenser's words. In *The Ruines of Time* (316-9) occurs an allusion to the *Lay*:—

But who can better sing,  
Than thine owne sister, peerless Ladie bright,  
Which to thee [Sidney] sings with deep harts sorrowing . . .

Shortly after, in his dedicatory epistle to this poem, addressed to Lady Pembroke, Spenser states that he has been reproached for suffering his patrons' names "to sleep in silence and forgetfulness," and has therefore composed *The Ruines of Time*. This apology has naturally been taken to imply that he had as yet written nothing in memory of Sidney, and therefore that *Astrophel* is of subsequent composition. It does not, however, forbid his having written for the Countess the *Lay* in question, except that his praise of it (319-22) becomes sly self-praise.

Return to the colon: we may be sure that Spenser did not adopt it from the Countess. It is an old device in Spenser, found in the same stanza in 1579, as in the January and December eclogues. In January it serves for nine of thirteen stanzas; in December, for nineteen of twenty-six. The October eclogue presents it in fifteen of twenty.

One may go so far as to say that Spenser, feigning himself in the shepherd Colin, uses this device as a trademark of Colin. Where it appears in January and December, Colin speaks. It appears where his songs are sung: in the April lay eight times of thirteen; in the November lament ten times of fifteen. It is begun in Colin's lament in the August eclogue, but not continued—probably because of the difficulty of including it in a *sestina*. It is often carried into Colin's speeches in *Colin Clout* (101, 292, 465, 621, 687, 750, 928). The one marked exception occurs in October, where Piers and Cuddie use it regularly. But even here E. K. declares in his gloss: "I doubte whether by Cuddie be specified the author selfe, or some other."

Apart from this detail, several specific features serve to link *Astrophel* and the *Lay*. *Astrophel* is addressed to "shepheards"; the *Lay* to "shepheards lasses" (37). Each treats at length of the flower *Astrophel* (mentioned elsewhere by Spenser only, and only in Alcyon's lament in *Daphnaida* 346). And certain lines, not striking out of their context, present in the reading marked parallels: (1) "dearest unto mee" *Astr.* 150; "greatest losse to mee" *Lay* 36; (2) "Merrily masking" *Astr.* 28; "Your mery maker" *Lay* 48; (3) "layes of love" *Astr.* 35; "such layes of love" *Lay* 44. However insignificant alone, these help to clinch the matter.

We know that the practice was not new, but was common, for poets to write verses to bear their patrons' names. Therefore, even if the *Lay* at first circulated in manuscript as Lady Pembroke's,—and we have no assurance that it did,—still this is not inconsistent with Spenser's authorship. And to suppose her authorship forces an assumption that Lady Pembroke appropriated this trick of punctuation and sentence structure which Spenser had made distinctively Colin's. Note, moreover, that in the *Lay* Colin allegedly still speaks; for he says:—

In sort as she it sung, I will rehearse.

Will anyone versed in Elizabethan letters hazard an hypothesis that Spenser revised into a distinctive form an earlier poem actually composed by Lady Pembroke? *Ce ne vaut pas la peine*.

To some, I hope, the line of argument followed above will appear superfluous. It should be sufficient to elaborate a little on the argument which Sélincourt might readily have developed, that

Lady Pembroke could hardly have achieved such characteristically Spenserian effects, as for instance the following lines (*Lay* 61-4):

But that immortall spirit, which was deckt  
With all the dowries of celestiaall grace:  
By soueraine choyce from the heuenly quires select,  
And lineally deriu'd from Angells race . . . .

The æsthetic critic, especially if a Platonist, should compare with this Spenser's sonnet to the Countess in memory of her brother, or *The Ruines of Time* (281-9). He will not be unrewarded. They contrast clearly with the lame imitation of Colin's style offered by Spenser's friend Bryskett in his ensuing *Pastorall Aeglogue*. Indeed, one cannot read the passages side by side without concluding that if Lady Pembroke wrote the *Lay*, she has come measurably nearer imitating Spenser than did such passionate admirers of his verse as Shelley or Keats.

PERCY W. LONG.

Harvard University.

#### ANGLO-SAXON *UMBOR* AND *SELD-GUMA*

The Anglo-Saxon noun *umbor* occurs in a semi-Malthusian passage in the gnomic verses of the Exeter Book (line 31), and twice (in composition) in *Beowulf*: 46, *umbor-wesende*; 1188, *umbor-wesendum*. This list of occurrences is not to be increased by Otto Schlotterose's conjectured *fugel-umber* (for *fugel-timber*, *Phanix* 236; *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik* xxv, 26, 62).

The undisputed meaning of *umbor* is 'child.' This is clear in each occurrence of the word, and it is supported by the alternative compound *cniht-wesende*, which is also found in the prose (*Engl. Stud.* XLII, 321). Heyne, however, in the early editions of his *Beowulf* kept on questioning the meaning, and Nathaniel Müller (*Die Mythen im Beowulf*, Leipzig, 1878, 6 f.) contended for an identification with Scandinavian *ôborni* (cf. *Icel. ú-borinn*, 'unborn'), deducing a specialized meaning to fit his interpretation of the mythical history of Scyld in the opening passage of *Beowulf*. The inevitable 'first thought' that the second syllable of *umbor* may connect the word with the verb *beran* antedates Müller, and survives to this day in the definition 'Neugeborner,' adopted by Holthausen (*Beowulf*, II. Teil, 1906).



There is another line of transmission in the suggested etymological definitions of *umbor*. In the Glossary to his edition of *Beowulf* (1875), Thorpe repeated the question (presumably from Ettmüller, p. 44) of the possible relation of *umbor* to *ympe*, 'graft, shoot,' and regarded the word as "of similar formation to *lambor*, *hālor*, etc." This view is favored and set forth in detail by Leo (*Angelsächsisches Glossar*, 1877). Since Leo's time the development of *-es*, *-os* stems has come to be better understood, and the morphological presumption against his argument is conclusive. It must be admitted, however, that the word *imp* did in later times take on the figurative sense of 'child' [see *NED.*].

The etymological explanation of *umbor* now submitted for consideration has not, so far as I know, been suggested hitherto. It can be stated in the formula *æf: eafora* = \**umb* (*ymbe*, *ymb*): *umbor*.

In this connection it will be kept in mind that the preposition *ymb* (*ymbe*) has often been mistranslated. Altho Ettmüller (p. 48) recognized the signification 'post, after,' Sweet, for example, failed in successive editions of his *Anglo-Saxon Reader* to define it correctly in certain 'phrases of time,' which may be illustrated by *þæs ymb III niht hīe gefuhton* etc.: *tertio post pugnam die* etc. (*Orosius*, 246, 5); *ymb VII wintra ond ymb lýtline ēacon* (*id.*, 252, 19); *ymbe gēares ryne* (*id.*, 248, 16); *ymb āne niht* (*Beowulf*, 135). But this matter is surveyed by Sievers (*Beiträge* XXIX, 323 f.), and of special importance in this discussion is his statement: "Für eigentlich lebendig kann also offenbar nur die Bedeutung 'nach' dienen." The meaning 'after' is thus established, especially for Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon, as that which should be effective in a derivative from the radical syllable of *ymbe*.

It may be thought that a difficulty is encountered in obtaining the basic form \**umb* assumed in the suggested derivation of *umbor*; but an investigation of Johannes Schmidt (*K.Z.* XXVI, 37 f.) sufficiently warrants this assumption.

The conclusion, therefore, is that *umbor*, 'child, offspring, descendant,' is derived from \**umb*, 'after, post' (cf. Lat. *posterī*; German *Nachkomme*) just as *eafora* (*u*, *o* umlaut, *Engl. Stud.* XXX, 270; cf. O.S. *abarō*, Noreen, *Abriss der germ. Lautlehre*, 124) is derived from *æf* (accented form of *of*). Altho in theme-formation *umbor* does not follow *eafora*, it is in close agreement with two other words of like meaning, namely, *tūdor* and *wōcor*.



The warden of the coast, greeting Beowulf and his company, refers specifically to Beowulf in the words 'one of you is a more distinguished warrior than I have ever before seen; if his incomparable appearance does not misrepresent him, he is not a mere *seld-guma*' (l. 249). That is, according to the commentators, he is not a mere hall-man, retainer, henchman; or stay-at-home, carpet-knight; or, finally, peasant, who possesses only a *seld* (*i. e.* a poor dwelling, or a small plot of ground), "Mann niedrigen Standes."

This diversity of suggested meanings, however, leaves the epithet *seld-guma* still in doubt, for the most probable of these suggestions, 'retainer,' is not suitable in this particular application, and by implication it puts a depressed estimation upon the rank of a social-military class that is always highly honored in epic usage. On the other hand, the meanings that have been less favored by editors and translators, these, I hold, are set aside by the fact that both in simple form and in composition the English *seld* does not agree in specialized significations with the German *selde*. This is made strikingly manifest by the absence in English of compounds that would correspond to the German *seldmann*, *selmann*, *seldner*, 'bewohner, besitzer eines als *seld* bezeichneten gebäudes oder gutes'; and *selden-gut*, *selden-hof*, 'kleines, meist selbständiges bauergut' (Grimm's *Wörterbuch*).

To come at once to the point, a slight change in the text of *Beowulf* will make it clear that this unique occurrence of *seld-guma* offers no difficulty. By reading *Is* (for *ms. Nis*) *þæt seld-guma*, the meaning of the epithet becomes fittingly 'seldom, rare, superior man, *vir nimis egregius*.' This is in accord with the known compounds of *seld-* in Anglo-Saxon, *seld-cūð*, 'seldom known, wonderful'; *seld-cyme*, 'a rare visit'; *seld-siene*, 'seldom seen, uncommon,' etc.; and it is in accord with the tradition by which words of this type were kept alive, and which made possible such words of later periods as *seld-speech*, *seld-time*, *seld-known*, etc. [see *NED.*].

Kemble made an approach to the right understanding of the passage when he recorded "*seld, raro*" in his glossary, but *nis* of the context diverted him into a curiously impossible rendering: "That man is not one seldom dignified in feats of arms."

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

## ZUR SYNTAX DES VERBUMS *MEINEN* IM ALTHOCH- DEUTSCHEN

In dem Monseer Bruchstücke *De Vocatione Gentium* (xxviii, 17-18) kommt das Zeitwort *meinit* in der 3. pers. sg. vor: *Et ita in illo primo mandato dei, de quo in euangelio interroganti se respondens dominus ait; Enti so sama in demo eristin gotes gabote in gotspelle meinit daz fragentemo (Hs. fangentemo) sih truhtin antuurta, quad.* Es fragt sich nun, ob man *meinit* hier als persönliches Zeitwort, dessen Subjekt aus dem folgenden Nebensatz zu verstehen ist, oder als unpersönliches Zeitwort mit ausgelassenem Subjekt (*iz*) auffassen sollte. In der Ausgabe von Endlicher und Hoffmann (*Fragmenta Theotisca*, Viennae, 1841) wird *meinit* hier als persönliches Zeitwort aufgefasst, indem es das lateinische *ait* (*Vokab.*, S. 41, *meinit*, *ait*, 28, 18) wiedergeben soll. Das ist nun offenbar falsch, da *quad* das lateinische *ait* wiedergibt, während *meinit* die Verbalidee ausdrückt, welche im lateinischen *ita in illo primo mandato dei* zu verstehen ist. Das Verbum substantivum (*esse*), welches hier wie oft im Lateinischen nicht ausgedrückt ist, wird öfters in den ahd. Übersetzungen durch das unpersönliche Zeitwort *meinit* vertreten (vgl. unten). *Meinit* ist hier also als unpersönlich mit zu ergänzendem Subjekt (*iz*) aufzufassen, während der folgende Nebensatz (*daz fragentemo sih truhtin antuurta*) als dessen Objekt anzusehen ist. Nach *meinit* steht das demonstrativ-relative Pronomen (*daz*) in Apokoinou-Konstruktion als Objekt sowohl von *meinit* als auch von *antuurta*. Die ahd. Übersetzung heisst dann buchstäblich: "Und auf gleiche Weise im ersten Gebot Gottes in der Heiligen Schrift heisst es, nämlich, was der Herr demjenigen antwortete und sprach, welcher ihn fragte." *So sama . . . meinit* heisst 'gleichfalls heisst es' 'es bezeichnet dasselbe,' 'es hat dieselbe Bedeutung,' nämlich die *Liebe* (*charitas*, 1. Kor. XIII), wovon die Rede ist. Zwar kommt das ahd. *meinen* mit persönlichem Subjekt<sup>1</sup> im Sinne von 'meinen,' 'sagen,' sehr häufig vor, aber an der betreffenden Stelle kann von persönlichem Subjekt keine Rede sein, da das fehlende Subjekt nicht aus dem

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Otfrid I, 3, 31, *ih meinu sancta mariun*, III, 7, 33, *thie fisga zeinent*, *uuaz forasagon meinent*, und Isidor XIV, 15, *et filium et patrem ostendit*, *chiuuisso meinida ir dhar sunu endi fater*.

folgenden Nebensatz gefolgert werden darf (vgl. unten). Das Subjekt muss also unpersönlich sein, und daher muss *meinit* als unpersönliches Zeitwort mit zu ergänzendem Subjekt aufgefasst werden. *Meinit* heisst dann ' (es) bezeichnet, bedeutet, heisst.'

Dieser unpersönliche Gebrauch von *meinen* mit dem Akkusativ kommt besonders häufig in den Monseer Bruchstücken, seltener aber bei Otfrid vor. Otfrid hat z. B. nur II, 4, 63, *iz meinit hiar then gotes drût*, welches offenbar das Lateinische des Hrabanus Maurus (in Matth. 22) *de viro sancto prophetia est* wiedergibt. In der Isidorübersetzung hingegen (Henchs Ausgabe, *Quellen und Forsch.* LXXII, Strassburg, 1893) kommt das unpersönliche *meinit* öfters auch mit fehlendem Subjekt (*izs*) vor, da es bei den unpersönlichen Verben im Ahd. überhaupt nicht notwendig war, das Subjekt auszudrücken: z. B. xv, 18, *ecce tria, see hear meinit nu dhri*, XLIII, 16 *Hic locus in hebreo habet, Dheasa stat auh meinit in dhemu ebræischin chiscribe*. Hier ist der ahd. Übersetzer vom lateinischen Vorbild insoweit syntaktisch abgewichen, als er die im Lateinischen persönliche Konstruktion (*ecce (sunt) tria, hic locus —habet*) durch eine im Deutschen unpersönliche (d. h. *meinit* mit dem Akkusativ) wiedergegeben hat. An allen diesen Stellen regiert *meinit* den Akkusativ, obgleich das Lateinische einen anderen Kasus dafür verlangt: *drût* (akk. = *viro sancto*, abl.), *dhri* (akk. = Lat. *tria*, nom.), *dheasa stat* (akk. = Lat. *hic locus*, nom.).

Ebenso muss *meinit* an der betreffenden Stelle des Traktates *De Vocatione Gentium* als unpersönliches Zeitwort mit *daz* als direktem Objekt aufgefasst werden. Der Nebensatz *daz—truhtin antuurta* ('das, was der Herr antwortete') steht dann gleichfalls als Objekt von *meinit*, indem *daz* diesen Nebensatz einleitet. Letzteres steht also in Apokoinou-Konstruktion als Objekt sowohl von *meinit* als auch von *antuurta*.

Ein syntaktisch etwas ähnliches Verhältnis liegt in der Isidorübersetzung (v, 10) vor. Hier kommt der Infinitiv *meinan* in indirekter Rede vor. Das Subjekt (*izs*) fehlt und das Zeitwort regiert, wie in den obigen Fällen, den Akkusativ. Is. v, 10, *Dum enim audis deum unctum, intellege christum, Dhar dhu chihoris umbi dhen chisalbodon got meinan, ziuuare firnim dhanne dhazs dhar ist christ chizeichnit*. *Got* steht nicht als Subjekt, sondern als Objekt von *meinan*, dessen Subjekt (*izs*) fehlt. Der Infinitiv ist also als unpersönlich aufzufassen, so dass er für die 3. Person



ind. sg. (*got* acc.) *meinit* (d. h. 'es wird Gott bezeichnet,' 'es bedeutet dasselbe als Gott mit Rücksicht auf den Gesalbten' = 'mit dem Gesalbten wird Gott gemeint') der direkten Rede steht. Derselbe Gedanke wird in der nächsten Zeile durch *zeihnan* persönlich ausgedrückt; *thar ist christ chizeihnit*. *Thar meinit christ* (acc.) und *thar ist christ* (nom.) *chizeihnit* bedeutet ja ein und dasselbe.

An der betreffenden Stelle des Monseer Bruchstückes *De Vocatione Gentium* darf man *meinit* aus zwei Gründen nicht als persönliches Zeitwort auffassen; nämlich (1) weil der Übersetzer keinen Grund hatte, das lateinische *ait* zweimal (*meinit, quad*) wiederzugeben, und (2) weil sich ein Pronomen<sup>2</sup> im Ahd. niemals auf ein erst nachher genanntes Subjekt bezieht.<sup>3</sup> Wenn der Übersetzer auch das lateinische *ait* zweimal hätte wiedergeben wollen, so hätte er doch keinen Grund gehabt, dafür im Deutschen verschiedene Tempora (vgl. *meinit*, präs., aber *quad*, prät.) zu wählen. Vielmehr bezieht sich *meinit* auf das gegenwärtige Thema der Predigt, während sich *quad* offenbar auf die historische Vergangenheit (d. h. auf die Worte Christi) bezieht. Es ist weiter falsch ein sich auf *truhtin* beziehendes Personalpronomen (*ir*) als fehlendes Subjekt von *meinit* anzunehmen, da sich ein Pronomen im Ahd. niemals auf ein erst nachher genanntes Subjekt bezieht (vgl. oben Fussn. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Wenn man das Zeitwort *meinit* als persönlich auffasst, so muss man hier ein unausgedrücktes pronominales Subjekt annehmen, welches sich auf das folgende *truhtin* beziehen würde.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Kögel's Bemerkung zu dem *Georgslied*, Z. 17, in seiner *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*, Strassburg, 1894, I, S. 100. Die ahd. Regel, dass sich ein Pronomen nie auf ein erst nachher genanntes Subjekt beziehen darf, gilt auch im Altnordischen (vgl. M. Nygaard, *Norroen Syntax*, Kristiania, 1905. §10, 11, 12 ff.) und im Altsächsischen (vgl. Otto Behaghel, *Die Syntax des Heliand*, Leipzig, 1897. §433-442).

In diesen beiden Dialekten darf das pronominale Subjekt nicht aus dem erst nachher Genannten gefolgert werden, daher kann sich das Subjekt auch nicht auf das erst nachher Genannte beziehen. Zwar folgt zuweilen im Altsächsischen bei mehreren an einander angereihten Hauptsätzen das Subjekt dem zweiten Verbum, aber dann ist beim ersten kein pronominales Subjekt ausgelassen, sondern das Subjekt des zweiten Verbums ist auch zugleich Subjekt des ersten, z. B. H. 1075 *tho bigan eft niuson endi nahor geng unhiuri fiund*. Dasselbe gilt auch vom Objekt, z. B. H. 2185 *carode endi cumde iro Kindes dod* (vgl. nhd., wir trafen und erquickten den Menschen, da gingen und sprachen wir).



Dagegen ist das Subjekt von *quad* ausgelassen, weil dasselbe (*truhtin*) schon im *vorigen* Nebensatze ausgedrückt war.

Um den Sinn der Stelle deutlicher und anschaulicher zu machen, benutzte der Übersetzer das unpersönliche *meinit* anstatt des Verbums substantivum, welches im Lateinischen oft fehlt: *ita (est) in illo primo mandato dei, so sama . . . meinit*, gerade so wie in der Isidorübersetzung v, 10, *Dum audis deum unctum (esse)*, *Dhar dhu chihoris . . . got meinan*; xv, 18, *ecce tria (sunt)*, *see hiar meinit nu dhri*, und bei Otfrid II, 4, 63 *de viro sancto prophetia est, iz meinit hiar then gotes drüt*.

Selbst das persönliche *meinen* führt der Übersetzer, wo er die Stelle etwas klarer auslegen will, ohne lateinisches Vorbild willkürlich ein: z. B. Is. xxii, 15, *Paruolus enim christus quia homo, meinida dher forasago chiuuisso in dheru christes lyuzilun*, und auch Notker (Ps. 25), *ut audiam vocem laudis tuae*, *daz ich kehôre*, ICH MEINO, *daz ih ferneme unde bechenne die stimma dînes lobes*.

Ferner war es im Ahd. überhaupt nicht notwendig, das *iz* als Subjekt der unpersönlichen Verba auszudrücken. Einige unpersönliche Verba kommen sogar niemals mit *iz* vor (vgl. *gilustit*).<sup>4</sup> Auch bei denjenigen persönlichen Verben, welche ein unbestimmtes Subjekt verlangen, wird das Subjekt oft nicht ausgedrückt. Diese Neigung findet man besonders stark in der Isidorübersetzung. Als Überschrift des Kapitels fügt der Übersetzer oft ein *Hear quhidit umbi* oder *huueo* (vgl. iv, 1; xiii, 4; xxi, 15) willkürlich hinzu, wo das lateinische Vorbild nur den Titel hat. *Hear quhidit umbi* heisst 'hier spricht man über . . .', 'hier wird besprochen.' Die Auslassung des unbestimmten Subjektes bei diesem persönlichen Verbum ist nun der Auslassung des Subjektes bei dem unpersönlichen *meinit* ganz analog, nur dass im ersteren Fall eine Person (vgl. Nhd. *man*), im letzteren dagegen das unpersönliche *izs* als Subjekt zu verstehen ist. Im ersteren Fall (*hear quhidit*) setzt die Verbalhandlung irgend welche Person als Handelnden voraus, während im letzteren das Verbum unpersönlich ist, d. h. ein Verbum, dessen Subjektsnominativ entweder eine Sache als Träger der Handlung andeutet, oder als bloss formale Ergänzung des Satzes aufgefasst werden darf. Dass dieses *quhidit*, sowohl als

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Erdmanns Ausgabe von Otfrid (Halle, 1882), S. 335, Note zu I, 1, 10<sup>b</sup>. Ferner Erdmanns *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, Stuttgart, 1886, I, §6.

*meinit*, mit zu ergänzendem Subjekt dem ahd. Sprachgebrauch gemäss war, beweist die Tatsache, dass dieselben vom lateinischen Vorbilde unabhängig vorliegen. Für das lateinische Verbum substantivum benutzt der Übersetzer auch das persönliche *quhedan*, lässt aber dessen unbestimmtes Subjekt aus; so z. B. II, 12, *Hinc est et illud in libro iob, Umbi dhazs selba quhad auh in iobes boohhum*. Die ahd. Übersetzung heisst dann, 'über dasselbe sprach man auch im Buche Hiob,' 'das wurde auch in dem Buche Hiob besprochen.'

Solche persönlichen Verba, die ein unbestimmtes Pronominalsubjekt verlangen, wie *quhedan* bei Isidor, sind also mit den unpersönlichen Verben insoweit verwandt, als das Subjekt des Verbums in beiden Fällen unbestimmt ist. Daher fehlt wohl oft in beiden Fällen<sup>5</sup> das Subjekt, weil die Verbalform ohne ausgedrücktes Subjekt an und für sich genügte, um das Subjekt zu bezeichnen. Das war aber nicht der Fall bei den persönlichen Verben mit bestimmtem Pronominalsubjekt. Da musste das Pronominalsubjekt entweder ausgedrückt oder aus dem *vorher* Genannten verstanden werden, sonst war die Verbalform bei diesen Verben nicht an und für sich genügend, um das Subjekt zu bezeichnen (vgl. Erdmanns *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, I, § 5). Bei Otfrid zwar findet man diese Regel oft durchbrochen, aber das kann man der poetischen Freiheit zuschreiben, die an einem viel älteren (dem Gotischen entsprechenden) Zustand der Sprache festhält. In der ahd. Prosa galt diese Regel auch viel früher als bei Otfrid, in den Monseer Bruchstücken.

Da nun die Auslassung des Subjektes sowohl bei den persönlichen Verben, welche ein unbestimmtes Pronominalsubjekt verlangen, als bei allen unpersönlichen Verben regelmässig stattfinden durfte, so liegt im Ahd. die Gefahr desto näher, das persönliche *meinen* mit dem unpersönlichen *meinen* zu verwechseln. Das ist jedenfalls, was sich Endlicher und Hoffmann an der betreffenden Stelle des Traktates *De Vocatione Gentium* haben zu schulden kommen lassen.

<sup>5</sup> Ebenso fällt im Altnordischen (vgl. Nygaard, §15, 16) sowohl das unbestimmte als das unpersönliche pronominale Subjekt oft aus, Z. B. OH. 233, 29 *svá segir í Tryggva flokki* = so erzählt man in dem 'Flokkr' über Olaf Tryggvason, welches dem ahd. (Isidor II, 12) *umbi dhazs selba quhad auh in iobes boohhum* in dieser Beziehung genau entspricht (vgl. auch *hér getr þess* = hier erzählt man, was so oft in den Sagen vorkommt, mit dem *Hear quhidit umbi* oder *huueo* des Isidor (IV, I. XIII, 4. XXI, 15).

Man beachte auch, dass das unpersönliche Subjekt *iz* nur da vorkommt, wo dem Verbum kein Teil des Prädikates voransteht; eine Neigung, die sich bei den unpersönlichen Verben auch im Nhd. stark merken lässt. Otfrid hat z. B., II, 4, 63, *iz meinit hiar then gotes drût*, Isidor aber xv, 18, *See hear meinit nu dhri*, und XLIII, 16, *Dheasa stat auh meinit in dhemu . . .* An der betreffenden Stelle des Traktates *De Vocatione Gentium* steht ein beträchtlicher Teil des Prädikates dem Verbum voran, *Enti so sama in demo eristin gotes gabote in gotspelle meinit daz . . .*

Ferner darf man das dem Verbum gleich folgende *daz* nicht als bestimmtes Subjekt von *meinit* auffassen. Zwar steht *daz* manchmal als Subjekt von *meinit*, aber dann darf das Objekt desselben nicht fehlen, weil *meinen* ein transitives Zeitwort ist und den Akkusativ verlangt; wie z. B. bei Otfrid V, I, 26, *nim gouma, uuaz thaz meinit*. Hier steht *thaz* als Subjekt, *uuaz* aber als Objekt von *meinit*. An der betreffenden Stelle des Traktates *De Vocatione Gentium* konnte *daz* nicht zu gleicher Zeit sowohl als Subjekt wie als Objekt desselben Zeitwortes dienen. Das anzunehmen, ist umso weniger nötig, als *meinit*, wie oben gezeigt, so oft als unpersönliches Zeitwort vorkommt. Das Natürlichste ist also, *meinit* als unpersönliches Zeitwort mit ausgelassenem Subjekt (*iz*) aufzufassen, gerade wie an den schon oben erwähnten Stellen der Isidorübersetzung. Dann steht *daz* in Apokoinou-Konstruktion als Objekt sowohl von *meinit* als auch von *antuurta*. Das unpersönliche *meinit*, sowohl als das persönliche *quhedan* mit unbestimmtem Pronominalsubjekt, liegt besonders häufig in der Isidorübersetzung vor, mit der das Monseer Stück *De Vocatione Gentium* sprachlich verwandt ist. Die Umschreibung des Südrheinfränkischen (oder eher Elsässischen, vgl. Nutzhorn, *Zs. f. d. A.* XLIV, 265 ff.) ins Bairische betraf nur das Lautsystem. Dass die Syntax dadurch verändert wurde, lässt sich kaum annehmen.

Wenn Endlicher und Hoffmann *meinit* an der betreffenden Stelle als persönliches Zeitwort (*meinit*, *ait*, 28, 18) auffassten, so zeigt sich darin wieder, dass vieles auf dem Gebiete der Syntax der altgermanischen Sprachen bisher hinter der genauen Untersuchung der Formenlehre hat zurückstehen müssen.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT.

*Kansas University.*



## A NOTE ON CYNEWULF'S *CHRIST*

Much controversy has centered around lines 558-585 of Cynewulf's *Christ*. They occur in the middle of the second part, which relates the story of Christ's Ascension. At first glance, it would appear that the passage is out of place and introduces a subject, the Harrowing of Hell, which has no connection with the Ascension.

The poet has described the gathering of the disciples on the mountain, the appearance of the white-robed host, and finally the Ascension itself. In accord with the gospel account, two angels remain behind to explain the scene to the awestruck people. This explanation (lines 517-526) is hardly more than a naïve amplification of *Acts* I, 11. At line 527 the poet resumes the narrative and describes the return of the disciples to Jerusalem and the entrance of Christ into heaven. This would seem to be all that could be said about the incident of the Ascension, and we might next expect to hear the story of Pentecost.

Instead, however, with line 558 begins, what seems to me, beyond all controversy, a second explanation by the angels of the Ascension scene; this time emphasizing a feature which has been, at most, only hinted at in the two previous descriptions—the ascension with Christ of the patriarchs and prophets whom He had, after His death and before His resurrection, rescued from Limbo. This second speech of the angels is undoubtedly, like the first, directed to the disciples, who are represented as still staring into heaven after their vanishing Lord, in spite of the narrative of lines 527-557. Otherwise there is no meaning in the form of direct address and in the repeated *gē* of lines 570, 573, and 575; while the words *þe gē hēr on stariað* are not only reminiscent of *Acts* I, 10, 11, but are also a repetition of line 521<sup>b</sup>, where it is perfectly clear that the angel is speaking to the disciples; and to whom more appropriately can lines 575-576<sup>a</sup> refer than to the disciples and to their return to Jerusalem? Moreover, the last part of the passage beginning at line 576<sup>b</sup> must refer to Christ's leading the redeemed into heaven. The angel at this point of his explanation grows dramatic. With a memory of the *Attollite portas* cry of Christ when He harrowed hell (the event he has just described) he exclaims, as he



looks up to the gates of heaven, which Christ and the attendant angels and the redeemed are entering,

. . . . . geatu, ontȳnað;  
 wile in tō ēow . . . . . ealles Wāldend,  
 Cyning on ceastre . . . . .  
 . . . . . folc gelædan

*in tō ēow* and *on ceastre* can hardly be construed to mean anything other than the gates of the heavenly city and that city itself. The Earthly Paradise, whither the patriarchs and prophets were taken after the Harrowing of Hell, would hardly be spoken of in such terms.

But this does not dismiss the difficulties the editors have found in the passage. If lines 517-526 and lines 558-585 are both speeches of the angels, addressed to the disciples who are gazing after the ascending Christ, why are the passages separated by the narrative of events clearly subsequent to both? Professor Cook, in his notes, calls attention to other chronological lapses in this class of medieval compositions. To those familiar with the Greek and Latin homilists, of which this part of the *Christ* is reminiscent, the repetition and the ignoring of the exact order of events offer no difficulty.

But seemingly a discriminating artistic purpose prompted this transposition. After the Ascension scene had been pictured twice, there still remained one thing too important to be treated as a mere feature of a general description; for the Ascension of those rescued from hell was prophetic of the final ascension at the Last Judgment of all who believe in Christ. Yet if a third description followed directly on the other two, even the dramatic intensity and the new point of view could not save the poet from repetitious monotony. As it stands here, however, set off from the others by the story of the return to Jerusalem, while its intent and relationship is clear enough, its transposition brings in the element of surprise which enhances the value of the new point of view and makes this speech of the angels a distinct addition to the picture of the episode. The clue to the reason for this third description lies in the lines

Cyning on ceastre, . . . . .  
 . . . . . folc gelædan  
 . . . . . þe hē on dēoflum genōm.

This passage (lines 558-585) opens with a vigorous description of Christ's Harrowing of Hell, and the question has repeatedly been raised as to why these angels of the Ascension should go back and tell the story of the overthrow of Satan and the rescue of the souls from Limbo. The interpretation has been that, because the patriarchs and prophets ascended with Christ, their presence had to be explained to the disciples, who, of course, knew nothing of all that had previously taken place in Hell. The Ascension scene from the *Frankfurter Dirigierrolle*,<sup>1</sup> which I describe below, makes it absolutely plain to me that this is the connection between these two incidents. When I brought this part of the German Passion-play to the attention of Professor F. G. Hubbard, he agreed that nothing which has been hitherto brought forward as evidence so adequately and finally clears up the questions that have arisen with regard to these lines.

This *Frankfurter Dirigierrolle* is the manuscript of the stage directions and the *incipits* of the speeches (in Latin and in German vernacular) of a fourteenth-century Passion-play. After an introductory scene between S. Augustine, the prophets of Christ, and a group of Jews who question Christ's Messiahship, the play goes on to portray the life of Christ from the beginning of His ministry to His Ascension. In due course, immediately after the Crucifixion, the *Harrowing* is given in detail. Those rescued then are delivered over by Christ to the Archangel Michael to be conducted to the Earthly Paradise. Thus was the audience which witnessed the Passion-play already prepared when, in pantomime, Christ goes to Paradise, summons the patriarchs, and leads them to the place from which he is to ascend. The *Christ* lacks this feature and therefore requires that all explanations be made in the scene itself; and the persons to do this are naturally the angels who alone are cognizant of all the facts. As we compare the two texts it is to be noticed that the play directs that the redeemed must be *indutis vestibis albis*, while lines 447 and 454 of the *Christ* lay special stress on the *hwitum hræglum* of the attendant host.

The scene of the *Dirigierrolle* embraces the dialog-parts numbered 347-358 by Froning (pp. 371 f.).

ADELINE M. JENNEY.

*University of Wisconsin.*

<sup>1</sup> R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, Zweiter Teil, pp. 371-373.

## DOPPELDRUCKE VON GOETHES TASSO, 1816

Im Apparate der Weimarer Ausgabe, Bd. 10, S. 425, bemerkt Karl Weinhold, dass in einem Teil dieser mit E<sup>2</sup> bezeichneten Auflage das Personenverzeichniss mit kleineren und dünneren Lettern gedruckt sei: dass hier trotz des gleichlautenden Titels ein ganz anderer Druck vorliegen könne, scheint ihm nicht eingefallen zu sein. Friedrich Meyer weist dann unter No. 1110 f. seiner *Goethe-Bibliothek* auf zwei verschiedene Drucke dieses Jahres hin, ohne jedoch genaue Kennzeichen anzugeben. Tatsächlich existieren nun nicht weniger als vier Drucke (E<sup>2a</sup>, E<sup>2b</sup>, E<sup>2c</sup>, E<sup>2d</sup>) dieses Datums, die jedoch zweifellos nicht sämtlich im Jahre 1816 erschienen sind. Wozu sollte denn der Verleger den Text, den er seit 25 Jahren nicht neu aufgelegt hatte, jetzt plötzlich viermal hinter einander setzen lassen, wo einmaliger Satz genügt? Es liegt auf der Hand, dass mehrere dieser Drucke späteren Ursprungs sein müssen, obschon das Datum jedesmal 1816 ist. Der Verleger hatte augenscheinlich seine guten Gründe dafür, bei jedem Neudrucke das ursprüngliche Datum beizubehalten. Auch sonst stimmen die vier Drucke äusserlich überein, nur der jüngste Druck E<sup>2d</sup> hat auf dem Titelblatt acht (anstatt sieben) Zeilen, indem die Worte *Ein Schauspiel* je eine Zeile einnehmen. Dazu ist die für diesen Druck gebrauchte Textschrift grösser als bei den früheren Drucken. In den Drucken E<sup>2ab</sup> findet sich ferner die Bogenbezeichnung nur auf der Schöndruckseite, in E<sup>2cd</sup> dazu auf der Widerdruckseite.

Textkritischen Wert hat zwar keiner dieser Drucke, die sämtlich den alten Text des Jahres 1790 wiedergeben, mit dem sie sogar seitengleich (222 S.) übereinstimmen: da sie jedoch als rechtmässige Ausgaben einen Platz in der Goethe-Literatur beanspruchen, dürfte es zweckmässig sein, hier die Unterscheidungsmerkmale anzugeben, die eventuell zur Entdeckung von noch weiteren Drucken führen möchten:

S. 2, 3 Schwester des Herzogs E<sup>2a</sup>, des Herzogs Schwester E<sup>2bcd</sup>. 4, 1 *Leonore*] fehlt E<sup>2c</sup>. 4, 21 Ariostens E<sup>2a</sup>, Ariosts E<sup>2bcd</sup>. 13, 11 fern; E<sup>2a</sup>, fern: E<sup>2bcd</sup>. 14, 10 schleicht E<sup>2a</sup>, steigt E<sup>2bcd</sup>. 15, 17 Spähren E<sup>2a</sup>, Sphären E<sup>2bcd</sup>. 16, 13 Kind: E<sup>2ab</sup>, Kind; E<sup>2d</sup>, *Interpunktion* fehlt E<sup>2c</sup>. 19, 10 vor Schritt E<sup>2abc</sup>, für Schritt E<sup>2d</sup>.



23, 1 thue was ich kann  $E^{2ab}$ , thue was ich kann,  $E^{2c}$ , thue, was ich kann,  $E^{2d}$ . 25, 11 f. Prinzessin nach  $E^{2ab}$ , Prinzessin. nach  $E^{2c}$ , Prinzessin. Nach  $E^{2d}$ . 27, 21 innren  $E^{2a}$ , innern  $E^{2bcd}$ . 28, 9 Noth.  $E^{2ab}$ , Noth,  $E^{2cd}$ . 29, 10 Krieges— $E^{2ab}$ , Kriegs— $E^{2c}$ , Kriegs,— $E^{2d}$ . 30, 7 ich wenn  $E^{2ab}$ , ich, wenn  $E^{2cd}$ . 32, 16 theuren  $E^{2abc}$ , theuern  $E^{2d}$ . 107, 8 Möcht' ich  $E^{2abd}$ , Möcht ich  $E^{2c}$ . 109, 3 verlernen  $E^{2a}$ , verkennen  $E^{2bcd}$ . 110, 1 zum empfehlen  $E^{2ab}$  (*Druckfehler*), zu empfehlen  $E^{2cd}$ . 110, 18 nicht Einen  $E^{2ab}$ , nicht einen  $E^{2cd}$ . 206, 2 einem leichten Wedel  $E^{2abc}$ , einer leichten Wedel  $E^{2d}$ .

W. KURRELMEYER.

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## REVIEWS

*Las Paredes Oyen*, por JUAN RUIZ DE ALARCÓN, edited with introduction and notes by CAROLINE BOURLAND. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914. 12mo., xxx + 189 pp.

Thanks are due the courageous editor for making available another classic text for students who desire to pursue at first hand, studies in the Spanish drama of the seventeenth century. While the introduction is well done and comprehensive, the bibliography remarkably complete and the work very free from typographical imperfections, the edition still leaves much to be desired in the way of offering a text which is really intelligible from beginning to end, to either the beginner or the advanced student. In many cases the difficulties have not been pointed out; in still others the interpretations offered are open to objection. Withal, the text is useful, and the remarks that follow are offered as an addition to its usefulness.

The editor is to be congratulated on her courage in returning to the correct readings of the *princeps* in so many cases. In this, however, she should have gone still further; e. g., I, 327, *anhela* of the princeps is correct (see below); II, 474, *defensa un criado* should have been kept as it stood or as *defensa (a) un criado*, as the omission of the *a* was not an error but a fairly regular method of rendering actual pronunciation. The same phenomenon has been overlooked in I, 210, *importa una vida*, which means 'it



*concerns* a life,' not 'a life is at stake.' A similar principle is to be observed in III, 78, which has also escaped annotation or correction: ¿*Quién dirá señora, que es*, etc. is . . . *dirá(s)*, *señora* (Celia does not address her mistress in the third person); III, 354, *tampoco* was a regular and correct spelling even in the meaning of the passage and might well have been kept with its interpretation given in the notes; III, 310, *aborrecen* was regular and correct, and the *sic* of the note is unnecessary.

Of the introduction little need be said; if anything might well be added it would be the placing of Alarcón in his relation to his predecessors and contemporaries. Perhaps the justice of the statement on p. xvii, that the last syllable of the *verso agudo* has the same value in time as the two last syllables of the *verso llano* might be questioned. The ease, simplicity and directness of Alarcón's style (pp. iv and xvi) have probably been overestimated here as elsewhere, and the "few puzzling lines" and the "slight touches of gongorism" will multiply on close examination.

While typographical errors are practically absent, the errors and inconsistencies of punctuation and accentuation form one of the weakest points of the text. Some of the most serious are the following: *vidrieras*, I, 952; *confianza*, I, 612; *fel*, I, 842; *variar*, II, 142; all need the trema to provide the necessary number of syllables for the correct line, a principle recognized by the editor in *presuntuoso*, II, 32.

I, 71. ¿*Quanto mejor*, etc., is not a question and should stand:

¡Cuánto mejor era Febo!  
Y Dafne lo desdeñó:

I, 238. *Górgona* should be written with a capital as in Ochoa and Hartzenbusch. So also *Momo*, I, 885, as in Hartzenbusch and Ochoa—the failure to capitalize rests on a misinterpretation of the text.

I, 720-21. The comma after *previene* separates *mujer* from its verb; either remove it or place a corresponding one in v. 720, before *en*.

I, 773 ff. *tuviere* has for its conclusion *haga* of v. 775; to separate them by suspension and colon makes the passage unintelligible. The meaning is 'And let the niggard who objects to giving—women are always begging—make it his custom to refuse.'

I, 915. *Divierte* is the conclusion of *impide* (907) and *quieres* (910), and the sense of the passage is only obscured by the semicolon which closes v. 913.

I, 925-29. The question closes with *mi* of v. 927.

II, 161. *De la encontrada porfía* depends on *nació* of v. 166 and the semicolon of 164 renders the text unintelligible. The meaning is: 'from the argument, in which Mendo opposed a thousand defects to the graces of Doña Ana which I enumerated, there sprang up etc.'

II, 739-40. *de cera, de bronce* are both predicates of *ser* (737) and are hardly intelligible standing as they do in immediate juxtaposition to *acusación* and *descargo* respectively without separating commas. A comma after *ser* would also be of aid. The meaning is: 'Is it possible that the one who has shown me the greatest favors is so impressionable to the accusation against me, so obdurate to my defense!'

II, 782-83. *Que ha menester* depends on *informes*, and the passage is meaningless as it stands, with semicolon separating the two members mentioned.

III, 97-100 makes the duke say that he must be going in order that Ana may sleep, which spoils the compliment and is not the meaning of the speaker. The meaning is that the sun is now coming out to resume its functions in order that Ana, who has been the sun in the meantime, may go to rest. Ochoa has the correct punctuation.

III, 666. On the misunderstanding of the sentence occasioned by the semicolon see below on III, 667.

In the matter of accentuation it is difficult to see what system the editor has followed. *Ti*, generally without the accent, occurs with it at I, 569, *a tí te dan*. The pronoun *él*, capitalized, bears the accent at III, 161; III, 661; I, 1030; III, 74; III, 957; III, 176; but omits it at I, 676; II, 173. *Oir*, I, 571; III, 773; III, 661, should bear the accent.

The substantive demonstratives appear with accent at I, 768; III, 601; III, 305; but omit it at III, 451; I, 667; I, 744; I, 792, and elsewhere with initial capital, although as seen above capitalization has not always replaced written accent.

An equal inconsistency in the accentuation of verb forms is in evidence, e. g., *detente*, III, 326 and II, 804; but III, 108, *Detén*

and III, 112, *Entretén*. (It may not be urged in defense that in one case the verb-forms in question support enclitics—Ramsay, *Text Book of Modern Spanish*, 29—as shown by the edition under discussion at III, 335, *Véte en buen hora*, a principle overlooked; however, again at I, 516, *vete segura*). *Pára* verb, both indicative and imperative, stands with the diacritic accent to differentiate it from the preposition, while *prueba*, verb, is used without it although there would be the same need to separate it from the noun.

The *que* for *qué* in III, 284, gives a wrong interpretation of text. The introduction to the Hartzenbusch edition, p. xxxiii, shows the correct accentuation. The meaning is, 'For this may be practiced by one who has nothing to lose or has nothing that can be thrown back at him.' In other words, people who live in glass houses should not throw stones. On the syntactical impossibility of the rendering in the note see below, on I, 740-741, and III, 283-284.

*Sino*, I, 3, should be written as two words as in III, 142; it is not the *sino*, 'but, except.' *Quien*, I, 934 is incorrectly used without accent; so, also, *Sinon*, I, 843.

*Mas ; qué*, etc., I, 930, owes its accentuation and punctuation to erroneous interpretation of the text. It means 'More likely it would be that fate had ordered, etc.' or something similar. The phrase '*mas que*' is a stock introduction to an objection or contradiction and is correctly interpreted at II, 721 and 722. This phrase occurs too frequently in seventeenth-century drama dialogue to require documentation; I mention, in passing, another example which was misunderstood by its editor—*Moza de Cántaro* (ed. Stathers), v. 1086—"¿*Mas qué os ha de causar risa?*"—"But what are you going to laugh at?" instead of the correct 'I am sure you will laugh at me!'

The notes are very useful in spite of leaving so much to be desired. Their use would have been greatly facilitated had the edition numbered its verses consecutively from beginning to end, or else headed each page of the notes with the act to which they belong. Furthermore, the writer believes that notes covering material accessible in the commonest books of reference should be reduced to the smallest possible compass or omitted altogether. To such belong the annotations on Daphne, Acates, Sinon, Quinto Fabio, Marcial Vulcano, and others similar, which might almost be dismissed with the equivalent form of English usage. Of a



different kind and well deserving of annotation are the Hípia, Tetis, Faustina, Egira, Jupiter (I, 234) and others. With the failure to annotate the difficulties and allusions, which will be mentioned below, it is doubtful whether so much time and space should have been taken up with *Mendoza*, I, 37; *novena*, I, 157; *San Juan*, I, 159; *Toros*, II, 114-20, and others—all worthy, however, of annotation. It is not clear why *satisfacciones*, II, 579, should have been singled out for annotation when *definición*, II, 168; *lición*, II, 230; and *mesmas*, III, 500, are passed by.

Notwithstanding the value of the annotations on the text it is not unlikely that the following supplementary remarks will add to their usefulness:

I, 3-4. *partes* are not necessarily either 'talents' or 'natural gifts,' as will be seen from the following: "Dime las partes . . . desa casa," Alarcón, *Bib.*, vol. LII, 182a; "Solo valen . . . Proprias y adquiridas partes," *ibid.*, 470b; cf. *Prueba de las Promesas*, I, ii, . . . "partes de rico, noble y galán."

I, 23. *Faustina*. The note does not explain the allusion, which, by the way, is not correct. The author has mixed his references: Hippias is the one who loved the ugly swordsman; Faustina, the one who "cumplió Mil injustos deseos . . ." according to Capitolinus, ch. xix.

I, 27. *Hípia*. The note is true enough but not to the point. Juvenal does not charge Hippias with the iniquities brought against her by our author. The explanation is to be found in the note here above.

I, 51. *Egira*. The note is an excellent one but fails to call attention to a necessary interpretation, viz., the use of *un* (templo) which furnishes the whole point to the comparison—"in one and the same temple . . ." Cf. also I, 421—not 'Post-haste in a coach . . .' but by post 'in one and the same coach' instead of in two coaches which they used in making the pilgrimage to Alcalá (I, 553) and in returning (II, 101).

I, 77. *murmurar* is regularly used as in this play, and the note might well have been omitted.

I, 81. *Decir* . . . If this *decir* is a reiteration or resumption of v. 78, points of suspension should have been used to indicate the connection at the end of v. 78. As it stands—and quite properly—it marks the beginning of a new defense of Beltrán:



"Decir la verdad no es murmurar, no se debe culpar" or similar words.

I, 89-90. *Veste . . . voces* has nothing to do with *predicar en desierto* nor with the English 'talk to deaf ears' both of which mean to 'preach in vain;' 'none so deaf as those who won't hear;' its meaning can be exactly understood from the use of the same expression in *Don Quixote*, II, ch. LV (*Lectura* edition, vol. VIII, p. 11), viz., 'You see that your condition is hopeless and still you call for help;' not, 'you are trying to convince someone who will not listen.' The connotation is further given in vv. 91-92.

I, 102. *el mismo no esperar*. If the note be needed at all it should be differently stated. The use of the negative in no wise affects the use of an infinitive as a substantive.

I, 131. *arresgarme*: the note should have added that the undiphthongized *e* of the stem occurs only when not under the accent.

I, 157. *novena* (also *novenas*). Although Doña Ana was going to ask San Diego to prosper her intended marriage, the purpose of the *novena* was to fulfill a vow, as is plainly shown in I, 505, or at least the fulfillment of the *novena* was a thing apart from the prayers for the prosperity of her approaching marriage. It is more likely that the specific purpose of the *Novena* was the fulfillment of some vow made in sickness, as in Lope, *Al Pasar del Arroyo*, I, iv. Cf. also Tirso, *En Madrid y en una Casa*, III, iii; Alarcón, *Todo es ventura*, III, vi.

I, 175. The note, while entirely correct, does not give the reader the necessary connotation, viz., 'Well, what I see, (I can believe, can't I?)' or, 'You needn't tell me, I can see for myself.'

I, 181. *Agora*, although obsolescent, was not confined to verse in the seventeenth century.

I, 233. The passage is not corrupt, although the classical knowledge of the author is as we have found it before. The character referred to is Hippolytus of Vergil's *Aeneid*, VII, 761-782. It was Aesculapius, however, who had brought him to life—not Jupiter, who, on the contrary, struck him dead again with the thunderbolt.

I, 274. *a vos*. Not too much should be inferred from the Spanish drama as to the use of pronominal form of address. In fact *vos* continues in verse drama long after *usted* had become the only form of polite address in use. Much better evidence is furnished by the prose of *Lazarillo* and *Don Quixote*. The latter (II, ch. 32),

shows that in the third person was the courteous address and the former (Tratado III), very explicitly states that the *vos* was rather the minimum of courtesy among equals of rank than the regular *courteous* address: "a los mas altos como yo no les han de hablar menos de: beso las manos de vuestra merced, o, por lo menos, bésoos, señor, las manos, si el que me habla es caballero." (Alarcón's *Prueba de las Promesas*, Biblioteca, vol. 52, p. 438 b, shows that the third person was used in formal and ceremonious address—¿Ya me habláis de impersonal?) *Vos*, then, was still used in the seventeenth century, but it was a familiar form and not a courteous address—although not, of course, discourteous among equals of rank. Except as above stated, in fact, it carried a decided modicum of courtesy as may be seen below, II, 801, where Mendo addresses the supposed coachman, "Dios os guarde."

I, 324. *Vencedor . . . vencido*. Don Juan's idea is not that the exalted object of his love makes him a victor but that his only victory lies in being convinced that he has nothing to hope for—'Victorious only in being conquered.' *En lo que* here does not stand for *en lo en que* but for *en que*. This construction although not exceedingly common is well attested, and the examples below suffice to demonstrate its existence:

. . . estoy temiendo agora,  
 Por lo que te veo huyr,  
 Que te pesa de fingir.  
 (Lope, *Burlas Veras*, v. 1006 ff., Rosenberg ed.)

'I am beginning to fear, *since* [not for *por lo por que*] I see you retreating, that you are getting tired of pretending.'

. . . contra mí se irritan,  
 De lo que os quiero, envidiosos.  
 (Alarcón, *Crueldad por el Honor*, III, 1.)

'on account of my loving you, etc.'

The usage is more familiar to us in the French construction—*en ce que*, *à ce que*, *de ce que*, etc., of which, of course, the regular *parce que* is only the most familiar example.

I, 325-327. *Así . . . sigo*.—*su muerte sigo* cannot mean 'follow them in death,' nor is there any reason to consider the *anhela* of the *princeps* an error, its subject being *deseo*. The real meaning of the sonnet is that there is nothing to hope for and accordingly the nearest approach to felicity permitted to the lover would be to

free himself entirely of his desire. On account of the difficulty of the entire sonnet its full translation may not be out of place:

I flee the truth; of hope I demand illusion to nourish my affection; eternal obstacles I perceive against me; I am swimming in the depths with nothing to hold to.

With my boldest flight of love I cannot rise, and at last, in spite of all my efforts, I am overcome by what I needs must believe, becoming, thus, victorious only in being thus overcome (convinced).

So, victorious in my despair, I refuse to delude my love, and more living does it aspire to felicity if I strive for its annihilation.

Sad, indeed, where despair is inevitable; where the only victory is in ceasing to hope, where victory makes greater the power of the enemy.

The last tercet should have safeguarded the editor from the interpretations offered in the two notes in question.

Equally 'fine spun' is the discourse of Don Mendo in I, XII—which again the editor has not entirely understood.

I, 396. *coche de camino*, not as rendered but 'drive me toward the Alcalá gate.' Leonardo has just announced that the coach is ready and Don Mendo is giving orders for the drive, not ordering a 'traveling coach' to be held in readiness at the Alcalá gate. For examples of this predicate use of *de camino*, if indeed any are necessary, cf. I, 173, and Alarcón, *Favores del Mundo*, II, xv, ¿De camino venís?—not 'Are you just in from a trip?' but 'Do you come prepared for a trip?' The meaning of the text is still better seen from Alarcón, *Todo es Ventura*, I, xvi,

Pónganme el coche al momento  
De camino.

I, 398. *Parta . . . repostero*. Although the Spanish inn has been in discredit and rightly so since the days of Gaguin (Morel-Fatio, *Etudes sur l'Espagne*, 2nd edition, I, p. 19-20), to say that the traveler 'was obliged' to send out for his raw material is going altogether too far. The literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century fairly teems with evidence to the contrary: *Don Quixote*, I, ch. 2, informs us that *on account of its being Friday* there was nothing to eat at the inn but *abadejo*; *ibid.*, I, ch. 32, "Hizo el cura que les aderezaron de comer de lo que en la venta hubiese y el huésped . . . les aderezó una razonable comida"; *ibid.*, II, ch. 59 tells us that 'birds of the air, fowls of the earth, or fish of the



sea' were on hand. The fact that this claim of the inn-keeper was somewhat exaggerated does not change the principle. See further Lope, *Moza de Cántaro*, I, xiii; Luna, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, 2nd part, ch. 12; Alarcón, *Tejedor de Segovia*, III, i, and, lastly, though the Venta de Viveros was notoriously bad (Tirso, *Por el Sótano*, I, ii, "En Venta de Viveros ¿Piden camas o Pulgas"?), we learn from Quevedo, *Buscón*, ch. iv, that something to eat was obtainable,—*"deme lo que hubiere para mí y para dos criados."* A better class of inn is mentioned in Tirso, *Desde Madrid a Toledo*, II, i: . . . "Olias, Están sus ventas llenas De Parominos, vaca y berengenas."

I, 401. *venta de Vivero*. There is no doubt about the form—it should be *Viveros* except for the exigencies of the rhyme. This inn was a regular institution in the seventeenth century and is often mentioned. Some idea of its nature can be obtained from the passage of the *Buscón* mentioned above. According to Guzmán de Alfarache, II, 7, it was an afternoon's ride from Alcalá and was the regular stopping place on all trips between Alcalá and Madrid. See Lope, *Al Pasar del Arroyo*, I, v.

I, 421. *por la posta*, not 'post-haste' but 'by post [together] in one carriage'; for the use of *un coche* see above on I, 51.

I, 468. *Por quien . . . Henares*. *Manzanares* is not absolute but subject of *hace*; *España* is not subject of *hace* but its factitive object; *de sus glorias* is not partitive factitive object of *hace* but depends on *España*. The meaning is 'This bewheeled ship is making, as it were, a voyage from Manzanares to Alcalá just as a galleon would from the Indies to Spain.' More literally: 'through whom, the Manzanares, becoming the Indies (point of departure) makes out of the Henares the Spain of its desires (destination.)' In other words, the coach is making Alcalá the goal of its felicity just as Spain would be for the ship.

I, 470. *primero móvil*. The form here is used for exigencies of the rhyme although the seventeenth century occasionally used it in prose. The regular form, however, even in Alarcón is *primer móvil* or *móvil primero*, e. g. *Industria y la Suerte*, II, vii; *Prueba de las Promesas*, II, i.

I, 507. *opinión . . . opiniones*. The first interpretation is correct, not so the second. *En opiniones*, also occasionally *en opinión* (e. g., *Industria y la Suerte*, I, xiv) is a phrase of which Alarcón is very fond; it means 'in doubt,' 'debatable.'



I, 555. *Por puntos*. Although 'frequently' makes a good English rendering for the passage under treatment it is by no means the real meaning of the expression, which is 'continually,' 'all the time.' That is, 'I shall write you all the time I stay there.' If one or two examples may be permitted to show the real meaning:

. . . quien tiene en Argel el cuerpo preso  
Tendrá por puntos en su tierra el alma

(Lope, *Ausente en el Lugar*.)

*Por momentos* is used in the same sense, e. g., Lope, *Acero de Madrid*, II, VII.

[These notes will be continued.]

F. O. REED.

University of Wisconsin.

*Les Méditations poétiques*, par Alphonse de Lamartine. Nouvelle édition, publiée d'après les manuscrits et les éditions originales, par Gustave Lanson. Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1915. 2 vols. clxxx + 1-270 and 271-600 pp.

*Les Méditations Poétiques*, lorsqu'elles parurent en mars 1820, formaient un mince recueil de vingt-quatre pièces, que des apports successifs ont grossi. M. Lanson a pris pour base le texte de cette première édition; il a classé séparément, selon leur date de publication, les pièces nouvelles de 1820, 1823, et 1849, les préfaces et les commentaires de 1849. Les notes critiques contiennent, avec un certain nombre de variantes, les esquisses et premières rédactions fournies par la correspondance et les manuscrits du poète. La notice et les notes qui accompagnent chaque pièce forment un riche commentaire, à la fois psychologique, littéraire et historique. L'introduction n'est pas moins substantielle: on y trouvera des indications, précises et documentées, sur l'éducation et les lectures de Lamartine; une histoire de sa vie intérieure pendant les années où il composa les *Méditations*; enfin une étude sur la destinée et l'influence de son livre. M. Lanson a résumé les jugements de la critique depuis 1820 jusqu'à 1913; il relève, avec les impressions de quelques lecteurs notables, les imitations que l'œuvre nouvelle suscita, jusqu'en 1830, tant en province qu'à Paris. La bibliographie énumère, avec les éditions et manuscrits, les illustrations qui ont orné le texte de Lamartine, les compositions musicales

dont il a fourni le sujet, les traductions, enfin, qui répandirent bientôt à l'étranger la jeune gloire du poète.<sup>1</sup>

C'est, on le voit, un imposant ouvrage que M. Lanson donne au public. Le but qu'il s'est proposé n'est pas seulement d'éclaircir le sens littéral du texte. Grâce aux matériaux qu'il a réunis, M. Lanson reconstitue les conditions où l'œuvre de Lamartine s'est formée. Il la rétablit dans ses rapports avec la vie et l'éducation du poète, avec le goût littéraire et la sensibilité du temps. Rattacher les œuvres aux conditions extérieures dont elles dépendent, c'est ce que prétendait faire Taine. Mais Taine, concevant ce rapport d'une façon trop rigide, semblait ne pas tenir compte de ce qu'il y a de libre et d'individuel dans le génie. Du reste, tandis qu'il attribuait à certains facteurs,—race, milieu, moment,—le pouvoir de déterminer l'œuvre, il les caractérisait d'une façon trop générale, et ne faisait nullement saisir les circonstances et les modes de leur action. La méthode critique est à la fois moins absolue dans sa conception des dépendances et plus rigoureuse dans leur recherche. Elle ne pose point le problème en termes de mécanique, mais en termes d'histoire. Aux combinaisons de formules, plus ou moins arbitraires, elle substitue l'étude concrète et minutieuse des faits. En analysant sans parti pris le jeu des influences multiples et complexes, elle ne supprime ni n'oublie l'originalité de l'écrivain : bien au contraire, elle la précise et l'éclaire plus vivement. Si les œuvres, d'ailleurs, sont des “effets,” elles peuvent à leur tour devenir “causes.” M. Lanson, grâce à ses recherches, permet d'apprécier l'ébranlement communiqué par l'ouvrage de Lamartine au public contemporain et à la postérité. L'œuvre se trouve ainsi réellement, et en un double sens, remplacée dans son milieu.

On conçoit l'intérêt qu'offre un pareil travail, exécuté par M. Lanson. Son édition apporte beaucoup d'idées et suggestions neuves ; elle nuance ou fortifie des idées déjà émises ; elle crée la possibilité d'études nouvelles sur Lamartine. Nous nous contenterons d'indiquer ici quelques points, sur lesquels les recherches de M. Lanson font la lumière.

Grâce à son histoire si nuancée des idées et des sentiments de Lamartine, M. Lanson dégage, d'une façon saisissante, le rapport de l'œuvre à la personnalité de l'auteur. A travers les *Méditations*,

<sup>1</sup> De 1822 à 1832, Lamartine est traduit en allemand, anglais, polonais, portugais, et suédois. M. Lanson ne cite pas de traduction russe, mais les *Méditations*, que le public instruit pouvait lire dans le texte, eurent une grande vogue en Russie.

on entrevoit un poète idéaliste, tout absorbé dans sa rêverie, dans son amour, dans le souvenir de l'unique amante perdue. Le vrai Lamartine n'est point si uniforme: il avait d'autres préoccupations que l'amour, d'autres amours que celui de Mme Charles. Il pensait à la vie pratique, à s'établir, à se marier. Il ne dédaignait point d'être actif et avisé. Mais son œuvre n'est pas l'expression directe de tous ses états d'âme; il entend en exclure ceux qui ne lui semblent pas poétiques: la gaieté, la volonté, l'espoir robuste dans l'avenir. Il a d'ailleurs trop de goût pour confier à ses lecteurs les soucis de carrière et d'argent qui le tourmentent. Sa poésie n'est point le journal de ses affaires et de ses émotions; il n'y faut point chercher de biographie, ni même de roman, mais l'expression sincère et géniale de quelques sentiments, à la fois très modernes et profondément humains. De là vient l'intérêt éternel de cette poésie; par ce qu'elle exclut de réalité individuelle, l'œuvre gagne en vérité générale et humaine.

Si les *Méditations* restaient classiques par cette "généralisation" des sentiments, on peut dire qu'elles le restaient aussi par la forme. Des rapprochements que M. Lanson a multipliés au bas des pages il résulte que l'écrivain, chez Lamartine, se rattache à la tradition des siècles précédents. Sa langue poétique reste celle de Racine et de Voltaire, celle surtout des élégiaques du premier Empire. Il répète leurs comparaisons, leurs rapprochements, leurs épithètes, et, il faut le dire, leurs clichés. Un goût plus nouveau peut-être se marque dans les emprunts qu'il fait à Chateaubriand, à Mme de Staël et aux Ecritures-Saintes. Mais, habilement fondus dans l'ensemble, ces emprunts n'en altèrent point le caractère classique. Son vers, aussi, se soumet aux exigences traditionnelles. Quelle différence pourtant, de Lamartine à un Baour-Lourmian, à un Fontanes, à un Millevoye! Les expressions, chez eux banales, sont ici mises en valeur par un sentiment délicat du style; mais surtout, un souffle puissant ranime ces formes usées, et le vers rend un son nouveau. L'originalité de Lamartine ne se résout point en inventions précises, en tours, en procédés de style; elle est, dirions-nous, intérieure. Lamartine ne renouvelle point la langue, mais il ressuscite la poésie par l'émotion et la musique. Moins écrivain que tel autre romantique, il est plus essentiellement, plus purement poète.

Les *Méditations poétiques* ne posaient donc point leur auteur en révolutionnaire. Dans les débuts, d'ailleurs si timides et



indécis, du mouvement romantique, leur succès put n'être pas considéré comme une victoire de la nouveauté littéraire. En 1824 encore, Lamartine n'accepte pas sans restriction le titre de romantique. C'est souvent à travers bien des incertitudes que les écrivains prennent conscience de leurs affinités, tandis qu'après coup et à distance nous pouvons les percevoir nettement. Quoi qu'il en soit, le succès des *Méditations* fut extraordinaire, et le public, plus sûrement que les hommes de lettres, sentit qu'une poésie nouvelle était née. La fortune littéraire de Lamartine traversa des phases diverses; elle s'affermirait encore après 1830; mais, dans la seconde moitié du siècle, la domination de l'esthétique parnassienne devait lui être fatale. Par les fantaisistes indiscretions des *Commentaires* et des *Confidences*, qui prêtaient à sa poésie un sens biographique, Lamartine s'était offert lui-même aux sévérités des théoriciens de l'art objectif. Son discrédit, pendant une trentaine d'années, sembla profond; mais, vers 1890, la réaction symboliste lui ramena la faveur de la jeunesse littéraire. Le grand public ne paraît pas avoir suivi les fluctuations de la critique, et, quand de jeunes écrivains affirmaient qu'on ne lisait plus Lamartine, la librairie pouvait leur répondre qu'on l'achetait du moins toujours.

Mais c'est dans l'introduction et le commentaire de M. Lanson, dans ces pages si fortes et si lumineuses, qu'il faut chercher ces idées avec bien d'autres. M. Lanson nous a donné le pendant de son admirable édition des *Lettres philosophiques*. Sa nouvelle œuvre, modèle d'une critique pénétrante et d'une inflexible rigueur scientifique, apprend beaucoup et fait beaucoup penser. Elle est indispensable à qui veut connaître d'un peu près Lamartine. Et les lecteurs dilettanti, soucieux seulement de jouir des beaux vers, trouveront qu'à la consulter, la jouissance esthétique devient plus pleine et plus délicate.

E. CARCASSONNE.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

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*The Court and the London Theatres during the Reign of Elizabeth.*  
By THORNTON SHIRLEY GRAVES. Dissertation. University  
of Chicago, 1913.

Professor Graves enters a field where it is increasingly difficult to produce any original results. So many have gone through the extant records of the period with such minuteness that students are becoming skeptical of finding noteworthy contributions to the sum



of human knowledge concerning the Elizabethan theatre. This impression is deepened when an investigator announces a thesis at variance with the traditional view. Yet that is exactly what Professor Graves does. He finds evidence of court influence "in the general stage structure of the earlier theatres, in certain principles and practices of staging, in various theatrical devices employed for realistic and spectacular effects, and in the general nature of the properties and costumes employed in public performances during the reign of Elizabeth."

What impresses one is the wealth of evidence he has been able to summon. How any one not yet grey-headed should have investigated minutely not only the extant dramas, which indeed lure many a student, but also the contemporary records, such as *The Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, *The Progresses of Elizabeth* and of *James I*, *The Documents of the Revels*, *The Henslow Papers and Diary*, *The Calendar of State Papers*, not to mention the *Chronicles* and many more accessible modern books and articles,—how he has done all this fills one with surprise and confidence. The evidence thus assembled he scrutinizes to discover its true meaning and its validity for the issue in hand. The fulness of his knowledge of Elizabethan conditions enables him to determine the bearing of testimony that has heretofore in more than one case been too hastily interpreted.

Professor Graves is alert in challenging statements and exploring the grounds upon which they rest. The greater part of the volume is taken up with attacks on conceptions or conjectures commonly held. Of these refutations the ablest is in the first chapter. He there traverses the position maintained by Neuendorf in *Die englische Volksbühne im Zeitalter Shakespeares*. Neuendorf upholds the plausible theory that there was a development in stage-building during the period 1576-1642, and correspondingly a more or less regular development in the method of staging. He even feels able to describe the main types of stage. Now this theory, as Professor Graves points out, rests on the assumption that the *vorhanglose Bühne* was a common institution in sixteenth-century England. Professor Graves sifts the evidence. He shows that curtains were used in court and public performances as early as the reign of Henry VIII. He explains the stage directions in some plays cited by Neuendorf so as to throw grave doubt on their value

as evidence for a curtainless stage. He introduces various passages referring to curtains. He discusses with equal acumen the Swan sketch, maintaining incidentally the conjecture that the "heavens" extended all over the stage, and concluding that DeWitt's drawing cannot be used to prove the prevalence of the *vorhanglose Bühne* before 1603. It is a conclusion which his candid, thorough testing of the evidence brings the student to adopt.

The inn-yard theory of the origin of the Elizabethan stage he attacks with the same demand for proof on every point. He has collected an interesting group of passages recording performances in town halls and the great rooms of nobles. On the other hand, he examines with illuminating care the passages hitherto relied on to establish the time-honored theory. In another chapter he has some diverting remarks on the alternation theory, and in the end he assails the common notion that the chief characteristic of the Elizabethan theatre was its crudity.

From the nature of the case, Professor Graves has left his own contention concerning court influence in the field of conjecture. He clearly shows its possibility and likelihood. But the direct evidence is too scant to establish more than a presumption. Yet if the monograph does not establish a new theory, it should at least cause readjustment in some common conceptions and a reconsideration of current theories of Elizabethan stages and staging.

DUDLEY H. MILES.

New York City.

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*The German Lyric*, by Dr. JOHN LEES. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1914, 8vo., 266 pp.

This book gives in very convenient compass—which by no means reduces it to a mere catalog—a lucid, well-proportioned enumeration of the chief facts of German lyric poetry, dealing sanely with the obvious and the simple, and meeting well the real tho humble demands of those who are not severely exacting. In its diction the work can hardly claim distinction ("songs which caught on"). The author attempts first to clear up the whole field, giving also a faithful caution against British distaste for "sentimentality." The best feature of the book lies in its being based on the good

old method of straight-away intensive study of the subjects at first hand, which has led to honest personal opinions. It is less satisfactory on the side of genetic connections and comparative treatment.

In the main, the estimates show sound appreciation, clearly and simply expressed; to certain details one must take exception: the characterization of Neidhart von Reuenthal misses the essential feature; if *Ein' feste Burg* "follows" the forty-sixth Psalm, it follows, like Peter, afar off; *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* ought not to be taken as an original expression of Gerhard's; particularly unhappy is the statement that the unrimed stanzas of Klopstock "follow" the example of Pyra and Lange: Klopstock's treatment of classic rhythms has no relation whatever to the metrical barbarisms of the *Freundschaftliche Lieder*; Herder can hardly be said to have "inspired" *Lenore*.

The chronic British habit of taking German lyrics seriously, all-too-seriously, asserts itself in the declaration that the *Heidenröslein* is "full of the elements of tragedy," as also in the statement that Goethe's *Kopftisches Lied* is a "didactic poem." A serene gem of purest philistinism is displayed in the judgment which disposes of C. F. Meyer's *Lenzfahrt* as being "another interesting poem, for it tells us of the poet's constant regret for the wasted years of youth." There is no mention of the appearance of Heine's *Lyrisches Intermezzo* in 1823, and the *Neue Gedichte* are spoken of as his "second collection of songs." "The ballad *Azra*" has an unfamiliar ring, and Platen's individuality is insufficiently explained. Annette von Droste-Hülshoff receives somewhat more than her due appreciation, while Geibel's *Juniuslieder* are accounted "only poetical trifles."

This useful work closes with a decidedly optimistic outlook upon the future of German lyric poetry.

J. T. HATFIELD.

*Northwestern University.*

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### HERRICK AND *Naps upon Parnassus*

All students of Herrick are impressed by the fact that his *Hesperides*, 1648, did not obtain the success that met Waller's *Poems*, 1645, or Cowley's *Mistress*, 1647. Contrary to the usual custom, Herrick's volume appeared with no commendatory verses. The earliest allusion to the *Hesperides*, a Latin couplet prefixed to *Lucasta*, 1649, actually ranks Lovelace with the author of *Corinna Going A-Maying*. Three lines in the *Musarum Deliciæ*, 1656, speak of "young Herric" entertaining the Muses in a sprightly vein with old sack,—hardly an adequate appreciation. It is not until ten years after the *Hesperides* was published that we find as much as six lines devoted to him. To quote from the most recent study of the poet by Floris Delattre,<sup>1</sup> "Dans un simple pamphlet enfin paru en 1658, nous trouvons le plus bel éloge qui ait jamais été fait de Herrick, et qui dut le transporter de joie. On vient de parler des anciens, d'Ovide, de Martial, de Virgile 'qui a tout volé à Homère,' et l'on arrive à Horace:

And then *Flaccus Horace*  
 He was but a sowr ass,  
 And good for nothing but *Lyricks*:  
 There's but One to be found  
 In all English ground  
 Writes as well; who is hight *Robert Herrick*."

In considering this stanza a genuine compliment to the poet, I believe that Delattre and others who have cited it have quite misunderstood its meaning.

It appeared in 1658 in a slender volume printed "by express Order from the Wits, for N. Brook at the Angel in Cornhill," and entitled "*Naps upon Parnassus. A Sleepy Muse nipt and pincht, though not awakened. Such Voluntary and Jovial Copies of Verses, as were lately receiv'd from some of the Wits of the Universities, in a Frolick, dedicated to Gondibert's Mistress by Captain Jones and others. Whereunto is added for the Demonstration of the author's prosaic Excellencys, his Epistle to one of Universities, with the Answer; together with two Satyrical Characters of his Own, of*

<sup>1</sup> *Robert Herrick*, Paris, 1912, p. 110.



*a Temporizer and an Antiquary, with Marginal Notes by a Friend to the Reader."*

As this title sufficiently indicates, the book is pure burlesque. It was written by Thomas Flatman, the poet, Sprat (who became Bishop of Rochester), Woodford, Taylour, Castle, and "other Wits of the University of Oxford" to ridicule Samuel Austin, a Commoner of Wadham College, "vain, conceited, overvaluing his poetic fancy," so Wood informs us. Evidently the victim of this elaborate joke must have been, in the words of the latest historian of Wadham College, "an insufferable coxcomb, a kind of seventeenth century Robert Montgomery." At least it may be said in his favor that he came honestly by his bad verses, for in 1629 his father, Bishop Samuel Austin, published *Urania or the Heavenly Muse, Being a true story of man's fall and redemption, set forth in a poem containing two Bookes: whereof one resembles the Law, the other the Gospell*. This poem of one hundred and thirty-six tedious pages resembles Quarles's work at its lowest depth, the author's unaffected piety being its one saving grace. Plainly the Austin family were not destined for the laurel.

Wishing, then, to overwhelm a conceited poetaster, the Oxford wits obtained some of Austin's verses, added others equally bad, concocted satirical notes and comments and produced *Naps on Parnassus*. This is said to have driven Austin from Oxford to Cambridge. Unfortunately it did not quench his ambition to write, for in 1661 he published *A Panegyrick on his Sacred Majesties Royal Person, Charles the IIId.*—undoubtedly one of the worst compositions ever inflicted upon English readers:

Your souldiers ride before,  
Not stained with wounds or gore,  
They are arrai'd for sight, and not to fight,  
Their arms made for delight not to affright,  
Bloud displaies only in the paint,  
Great Mars this day looks thin and faint.

If Austin could perpetrate this when a man, what must his verses have been in his college days at Wadham. One is inclined to believe that *Naps on Parnassus* was justified.

This little book, then, was crushingly satirical in its commendatory letters, its comments, its poems. Whenever it praises, it does so in pure irony; for example, its opening verses announce that Austin's poems are far superior to Homer's:

Room, room now for a lusty Poet,  
 That writes as high as any I know yet,  
 What's *Homer* but a *spewing Dog*  
 Who writes a *fight* 'twixt *Mouse and Frog?*  
 Of stout *Achilles* and of *Hector*,  
 Which of them shall be the Victor?

Immediately following this occurs the reference to Herrick. It is always quoted without its context; here are the verses in full:

Then come along Boyes,  
 Valiant and strong Boyes,  
 For here's a *Poet* I tell ye  
 That *Naps on Parnassus*  
 And (O Heaven bless us)  
 Takes *Deep-sleeps* too out of *Heli-*

*Con.* Avaunt then poor *Virgil*,  
 Thou ne're dranks't a pure Gill  
 Of Sack, to refine thy sconce:  
 Thou stol'st all from *Homer*,  
 And rod'st on a low *mare*,  
 Instead of *Pegasus* for th'nonce.

Let *Martial* be hang'd,  
 For Ile swear I'le be bang'd,  
 If he makes me ought else but sleepy;  
 He's only at last  
 For a brideling cast,  
 And his *Wit* lies at th' end of his *Epi*

*grams.* Then for *Ovid*,  
 Why? was not his Love hid  
 In's *Book* of *Toyes*, call'd *Amorum*:  
 Indeed there he wrote *madly*,  
 But in's *Tristium* *sadly*;  
 Our *Poet's* th' *Apollo virorum.*

And then *Flaccus Horace*,  
 He was but a sowr-ass,  
 And good for nothing but *Lyricks*:  
 There's but One to be found  
 In all English ground  
 Writes as well; who is hight *Robert Herrick.*

Our *Author's* much better,  
 In every letter  
 Then *Robin*, and *Horace Flaccus*,  
 He is called *Samuel*,  
 Who ends well, and began well;  
 And if we'r not glad He can make us.

Plainly there was no disposition on the part of the author or authors of these lines to bestow "un bel éloge" on anyone. If they praise Austin—or Herrick—it is merely in sport. It is evident that the wits of Oxford knew the Cambridge poet of "brooks, of blossoms, birds and bowers"; it is not evident that they had a high regard for his verse.

EDWARD BLISS REED.

Yale University.

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### THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS

I wish to draw attention to the fact that some of the more or less responsible makers of Classical Dictionaries are evidently in error in their reports of the offer of Pallas to Paris in the famous judgment between the goddesses. Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* says, "The goddesses appeared before him (*i. e.* Paris), and each to influence his decision, made him an alluring offer of future advantage, Here by the promise of a Kingdom, Athene by the gift of intellectual superiority<sup>1</sup> and martial renown, and Aphrodite by offering him the fairest woman in the world for his wife." Now, as a matter of fact, reference to Classical literature shows that Athene nowhere makes an offer of wisdom or of intellectual renown. Roscher, in his *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, basing his statement upon a complete survey of Classical literature, says, "Die Geschichte vom Urtheil des Paris bleibt durch die ganze griechisch-römische Litterature in den wesentlichen Zügen gleich, and hat so jedenfalls schon in den 'Kyprien' gestanden." And the offer of Athena in the *Cypria* is "Victory in every battle."

While the statement of Roscher may be taken as conclusive so far as Greek and Roman literature is concerned, still it is interesting to note that in Middle English literature the prevailing offer of Athena is wisdom and intellectual superiority. In the *Destruction of Troy* (EETS. 39, 56, ed. Panton and Donaldson), *ca.* 1375, probably the first translation of the Troy story into English, Mercury delivers the promise of Pallas in the following words (ll. 2410 ff.):

<sup>1</sup> This statement is supported by Siefert, *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*; Ellis, *1000 Mythological Characters*; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, etc.

And if þou put it to Palades, for your prise lady,  
 Thou shalbe wisest of wit—this wete þou for sothe,  
 And know all the conyng, þat kyndly is for men.

In substantial agreement with this statement are no less than five other M. Eng. versions of about the same time. They may be found in the *Laud Troy Book*, ca. 1400 (ed. Wülfing, EETS. 121, 122), ll. 2469 ff.; Lydgate's *Troy Book*, 1412-20 (ed. Bergen, EETS., Ex. S. 97, 103, 106), Bk. II, l. 2721; Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte* (ed. E. Sieper, EETS., Ex. S. 84, 89), ll. 2004 ff.; Robt. of Brunne's *Chronicle of England*, ca. 1337 (ed. Furnivall, Rolls Series, No. 87), ll. 361 f.; Higden-Trevisa *Polychronicon* (ed. Babington, Rolls Series No. 41), Vol. II, p. 409. Later English accounts also generally present a similar version, as for instance Geo. Peele's *Arraignement of Paris*; Jas. Beattie's *Judgment of Paris*, and Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, Act III, Sc. ii, etc. An interesting M. Eng. variant is found in *The Siege of Troye* (ed. Zietsch, *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. 72), l. 435, where it is Juno who says:

That appul, Parys, gif þou me,  
 Thou shalt be wyse wilt þou ma lyve,

while Pallas makes no offer at all. Tennyson's *Oenone* furnishes the only parallel I have been able to find to the wisdom-offer of Juno. Undoubtedly, then, the offer of wisdom by Pallas (sometimes by Juno) is the prevailing offer in Middle English, as well as in later English literature.

For the immediate source of most of the M. Eng. versions (probably of all of them) we have not far to look. The first three versions mentioned above rest directly and the fourth indirectly upon the *Historia Destructionis Troiae* of Guido Delle Colonne (ca. 1287), where the promise of Pallas runs as follows: *Si vero palladem omnem ab ea humanam scientiam pro praemio consequeris*, Sig. d, verso 2 (Argentina edition). But as to the source of Guido's account, not much of a definite nature may be said. He is supposed, of course, to have translated Benoit de Sainte More's *Roman de Troie* (1160), but the latter author, following Dares Phrygius, gives only the offer of Venus (cf. l. 3894 f., ed. Joli, Paris, 1870). The *Roman d'Eneas* (early 12th cent.) gives the offer of Pallas as honor and prowess. There is but one other Old French version which appears before the time of Guido,



namely, in the *Floir et Blancefloir*, ca. 1160. Here we find that Pallas offers "proueece et savoir" (cf. l. 1465 f.), which, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is the first appearance in any literature of the wisdom-idea in direct connection with the offer of Pallas to Paris. I have not been able to find any source for the *Floir et Bl.* version, or to trace any connection between it and that of Guido.

However, Guido was acquainted with Fabius Planciades Fulgentius. In this early sixth century author's *Mitologiarum* (ed. Staveren, *Auctores Mythographi Latini*, 1742) Lib. II, i, there is an interesting passage under the title "de iudicio Paridis." Philosophers, he says, conceive of the life of humanity as being of three types,—the contemplative, the active, and the voluptuous. *Prima igitur contemplatiua est quae ad sapientiam et ad ueritatis inquisitionem pertinet.* The second is called active because it is devoted to the gaining of wealth and fame and honor; the third is called the voluptuous life because it is devoted to the gratification of all sensual desires. *Id itaque considerantes postae trium dearum ponunt certamina, id est Mineruam, Iunonem et Venerem de formae qualitate certantes.* It will be seen that in this homiletic treatment of the Paris-judgment, which is in a manner so characteristic of Medieval times, the author considers Minerva as corresponding to the life devoted to the search after wisdom and truth. Though the idea of Minerva being the goddess of wisdom is ancient enough, yet it seems to have remained for this author of the sixth century to associate that conception with the Paris-judgment. And it is probably from this suggestion that Guido got his idea of the wisdom-offer which he ascribes to Minerva in his *Historia*.

We have found, therefore that (1) the wisdom-offer of Pallas in the Paris-judgment is not of classical growth; but that its first literary expression is in the *Floir et Blancefloir*, an Old French poem of about 1160; that (2) in middle and late English literature the prevailing offer is wisdom and intellectual superiority, the source of which (in some cases certainly, in other cases probably) is Guido delle Colonne, 1287; and that (3) the ultimate source of the idea in literature may possibly be found in the *Mitologiarum* of Fulgentius.

WALTER CLYDE CURRY.

*Vanderbilt University.*

A NOTE ON *Hamlet*

In his *Two Notes on Hamlet*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX, 1-3, Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams, Jr., attempts to explain the passage:

*Hamlet*: For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a god<sup>1</sup> kissing carrion,—Have you a daughter?

*Polonius*: I have, my lord.

*Hamlet*: Let her not walk i' the sun: conception is a blessing, but not as your daughter may conceive. Friend, look to't.

*Hamlet*, II, ii, 181-185.

He suggests that Hamlet here refers to the king as the sun, giving as support for his conjecture the earlier line spoken by Hamlet, "I am too much i' the sun," which he takes to mean, "I am too much in royal favor, or in the royal presence." Hamlet, he believes, intends seriously to warn Polonius against the king, "that adulterate beast," thinking his uncle quite capable of seducing Ophelia.

This explanation is, I think, strengthened if we consider the early wide-spread belief in impregnation by the sun—a belief that has left a record in folk-tales and, to some extent, in other literature. Such stories must undoubtedly have been known to Shakespeare's contemporaries. The whole matter has been fully discussed from the point of view of primitive custom by Hartland<sup>2</sup> and by Frazer.<sup>3</sup> It is necessary here to cite only a few illustrations of the legend.

A story popular in Italy and Sicily narrates that a wizard foretold to a king that his queen would bear a daughter who would be impregnated by the sun in her fourteenth year. When the daughter was born, every precaution was taken to prevent her exposure to the sun. She was shut up in a tower into which the sun could not penetrate. One day, however, the girl scratched a hole in the wall with a bone obtained from her food, and the sun shone on her. A daughter was born to her as the result.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Adams reads *good*; in the light of the following note *god* is preferable.

<sup>2</sup> *The Legend of Perseus*, 1894; *Primitive Paternity*, F. L. S., 1909-10.

<sup>3</sup> *The Golden Bough*, II; *Balder the Beautiful*.

<sup>4</sup> *Perseus*, I, 99.

A similar legend is told of a Japanese maiden. While she lay sleeping by the shore of a lagoon, into her body "the rays of the sun drove like the shafts from a celestial bow," and in due time she became a mother.<sup>5</sup> The original form of the story of Danae it is supposed was due to this belief.<sup>6</sup> The incident appears in several European *märchen* which are variants of the Danae story. Somewhat similar is a Siberian story which tells of the daughter of a Khan who was secluded in a dark iron house, with only an old woman to attend her. One day the maiden asked the old woman where she went so often, and was told that there was a bright world outside in which her father and mother lived, and many other people. The girl then said, "'Good mother, I will tell nobody, but show me that bright world.' So the old woman took the girl out of the iron house. But when she saw the bright world, the girl tottered and fainted, and the eye of God fell upon her and she conceived."<sup>7</sup>

Such stories occur also in China, where they are especially connected with the mothers of distinguished emperors. They are found in Samoa, among the Admiralty Islanders, the North American Indians, and elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> The *Navaho Origin Legend* tells of the birth of a son to Etsánatlehi. She lay on a bare flat rock, with her feet toward the east and let the sun shine upon her. Later she said to her sister, "I feel . . . the motions of a child within me. It was for this that I let the sun shine upon me." After the child is born, he seeks for his father, the sun. After many difficult tests, the sun recognizes and arms his son, who returns to the earth and overcomes the enemies of his people.<sup>9</sup> "Among the Algonkin Indians there is a myth of the earth maiden who becomes a mother when looked upon by the sun. She gives birth to a daughter who is called Wakos ikwe, the fox woman. In time Wakos ikwe gives birth to a great hero, the benefactor of aboriginal man in America, the food-giver."<sup>10</sup>

This belief in the power of the sun is connected with the seclusion, in some countries, of girls at puberty. In New Guinea "daughters

<sup>5</sup> *Primitive Paternity*, I, 25.

<sup>6</sup> *The Golden Bough*, II, 37; *Primitive Paternity*, I, 25.

<sup>7</sup> *The Golden Bough*, II, 37.

<sup>8</sup> *Primitive Paternity*, I, 25.

<sup>9</sup> W. Matthews, *Navaho Legends*, 1897, p. 105.

<sup>10</sup> Jeremiah Curtin, *A Journey in Southern Siberia*, 1909, p. 305.



of chiefs, when they are about twelve years of age, are kept indoors for two or three years, never being allowed under any pretence, to descend from the house, and the house is so shaded that the sun cannot shine on them.”<sup>11</sup> This practice seems to be illustrated in the story of Déirdre. I quote from a literal translation, made by Douglas Hyde, of a version found in a Belfast MS.<sup>12</sup> “copied at the end of the last or the beginning of the present century . . . from a copy which must have been fairly old”:

“As for the girl, Conor took her under his own protection, and placed her in a moat apart, . . . Afterwards Déirdre was being generously nurtured by Lavourcam and (other) ladies, . . . until she grew up a blossom bearing sapling, and until her beauty was beyond every degree surpassing. Moreover, she was nurtured with excessive luxury of meat and drink that her stature and ripeness might be the greater for it, and that she might be the sooner marriageable. This is how Déirdre’s abode was (situated, namely) in a fortress of the Branch, according to the king’s command, every (aperture for) light closed in the front of the dun, and the windows of the back (ordered) to be open. A beautiful orchard full of fruit (lay) at the back of the fort in which Déirdre might be walking for a while under the eye of her tutor at the beginning and the end of the day.”<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps more interesting as giving firmer basis to the belief that this old superstition was common knowledge in Shakespeare’s day is the fact that Spenser made use of it in describing the birth of the twins Belphebe and Amoret to Chrysogonee:

But wondrously they were begot and bred,  
Through influence of th’ hevens fruitfull ray.  
As it in antique bookes is mentioned.

Upon the grassy ground her selfe she layd

The sunbeames bright upon her body playd,  
Being through former bathing mollified,  
And pierst into her wombe, where they embayd  
With so sweet sence and secret power unspide,  
That in her pregnant flesh they shortly fructifide.

<sup>11</sup> *Balder*, I, 35.

<sup>12</sup> The text is edited by Douglas Hyde in *Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.*, II, i, 142.

<sup>13</sup> *A Literary History of Ireland*, p. 306.



Miraculous may seeme to him that reades  
 So strange ensample of conception;  
 But reason teacheth that the fruitfull seades  
 Of all things living, through impression  
 Of the sunbeames in moyst complexion,  
 Doe life conceive and quickned are by kynd:

*The Faerie Queene*, Book III, Canto VI, VI-VIII.

Probably many other literary records could be found of so widespread a folk belief. Shakespeare must have been familiar with the superstition. Moreover, in folk custom and ritual the king, or ruler, was so often spoken of as the sun<sup>14</sup> that had Polonius been on the alert to receive practical advice from Hamlet, he must easily have seen the import of the warning.

ROSE JEFFRIES PEEBLES.

*Vassar College.*

#### MILTON'S USE OF THE FORMS OF EPIC ADDRESS

There is a curious fact concerning Milton's use of the forms of epic address that, so far as I know, has not previously been noticed. There is a temptation to regard salutations like "Daughter of God and man, accomplished Eve," "Offspring of Heav'n and all Earth's Lord" as poetic conventionalities. But Milton's use of them is more subtle. So long as Adam and Eve are sinless in the garden, they address one another with this heroic courtesy. But the minute they taste the apple, they become plain "Adam" and "Eve" to each other, and so remain to the end of the story. The unfallen Adam can address his guilty spouse as the

Fairest of creation, last and best  
 Of all God's works,

still recognizing her as a mirror of the divine idea—to speak in Platonic terms. But after the fatal deed he says more bluntly, "Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste." The poetic effectiveness of this change can be felt at once, though the philosophical explanation of it is more difficult. Perhaps there is some Platonism implicit in it. It certainly is of a piece with the irreverent familiarity that is the first result of the knowledge that has darkened their

<sup>14</sup> *Primitive Paternity*, I, 26.

vision of one another's souls and caused them to see the body instead. The fallen angels, however, still continue to address one another in these forms of epic politeness, as they were wont to do in Heav'n, "Where honour due and reverence none neglects."

MARJORIE BARSTOW.

Vassar College.

#### CHAUCER AND DANTE AND THEIR SCRIBES

In the fourth book and sixth chapter of Dante's *Convivio* occurs the brief parenthetical remark, after an allusion to *Voluptade*,—"non dico *Voluntade*, ma scrivola per *p*." It is not far to suggest, as indeed has been suggested, that Dante was guarding against a scribal error he had too much reason to expect, and it is noteworthy that precisely this scribal error misled a later poet into inaccuracy. Chaucer, in lines 211 ff. of the *Parlement of Foules*, wrote:

Under a tre beside a welle I say  
 Cupide our lord his arwes forge and file  
 And at his fet his bowe al redy lay,  
 And Wille his doghter tempred al this while  
 The hedes in the welle: " . . .

The daughter of Cupid was not *Voluntade*, 'Wille,' but *Voluptade*, 'Pleasure.' Chaucer must have followed a text (of Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum*?) in which the word *Volutade* was misread, by him or another, so as to receive the nasal mark over the *u*, hence he translated it *Wille*. Professor Skeat, adopting the isolated reading of the arbitrary Cambridge MS., prints

And wel his doghter tempred al the whyle,

but the Globe Chaucer has the text as first printed above, which is the reading of the majority of the codices. The actual occurrence, in the English poet's work, of the error warned against by Dante, is an interesting coincidence, at least.

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND.

Chicago.

## TWO SPANISH IMITATIONS OF AN ITALIAN SONNET

The rather absurd comparison of Nero's joy at the burning of Rome with the indifference of a lady to her lover's suffering is the theme of the two following sonnets by Spanish poets of the sixteenth century, Gutierre de Cetina and Hernando de Acuña.

*Gutierre de Cetina*

Mientras con gran temor por cada parte  
De Roma ardian las moradas bellas,  
Mientras que con el humo a las estrellas  
Subia el clamor del gran pueblo de Marte,  
Alegre esta Neron, subido en parte  
Do viendo el fuego oia las querellas,  
Mirando entre las llamas, cuales dellas  
Eran mayores, do su furia harte.  
Asi del alma mia la que gobierna  
Mi vida, mira el fuego, escucha el llanto,  
Y tiene el mayor mal por mayor juego;  
Y, a guisa de Neron, se alegra tanto  
Cuanto mas viendo en mi durar el fuego  
Piensa hacer su crueldad eterna.<sup>1</sup>

*Hernando de Acuña*

Mientras de parte en parte se abrasaba,  
Y en vivas llamas la gran Roma ardia,  
Al alto cielo el gran clamor subia  
Del pueblo todo, que su mal lloraba:  
Solo en parte Neron cantando estaba,  
Do el clamor miserable escarnecía,  
Y el incendio mayor mas alegria,  
Y el mayor llanto mas placer le daba:  
Asi de en medio el alma donde estais,  
Veis, Señora, mi fuego, y toda en llanto  
La turba de mis tristes pensamientos;  
Y tanto mas de verlo os alegrais,  
Cuanto mas ardo, y por vos lloro, y quanto  
Me llegan mas al cabo mis tormentos.<sup>2</sup>

Inasmuch as both Cetina and Acuña are known to have translated frequently from Italian poets, we might be justified in ex-

<sup>1</sup> *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, ed. by D. Joaquín Hazañas y la Rua, Vol. I, Sevilla, 1895, Sonnet cxxxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Varias Poesías*, compuestas por Don Hernando de Acuña, Madrid, 1804, p. 171.

plaining the similarity between these two sonnets by assuming the existence of a common Italian original. The Italian sonnet translated by the two Spanish poets was written by Giovanni Mozzarello and was included by Lodovico Domenichi in his famous anthology entitled *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss. àuttori nuovamente raccolte. Libro primo*, which appeared at Venice in 1545.<sup>3</sup> The text here given will show the fidelity of the Spanish translations to the original.

Mentre i superbi tetti a parte a parte  
 Ardean di Roma, et l'altre cose belle  
 Mandaua il pianto infin soura le stelle  
 Il popol tutto del figliuol di Marte:  
 Sol cantaua Neron' asceso in parte,  
 Onde schernia le genti meschinelle  
 Fra se lodando hor queste fiamme, hor quelle;  
 Per far scriuendo uergognar le carte.  
 Così di mezzo il cor, ch'ella gouerna  
 Mira lieta il mio incendio, et tutta in pianti  
 De miei tristi pensier la turba afflitta  
 Donna; che sol di cio par che si uanti?  
 Essendo in mille essempli gia descritta  
 Su crueltade, et la mia fiamma interna.<sup>4</sup>

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD.

University of Pennsylvania.

#### A NOTE ON *Love's Labour's Lost*

Following Sidney Lee's "New Study of *Love's Labour's Lost*" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Oct. 1880) the Furness Variorum Edition of that play, (pp. 1, 2) states that the historical original of Biron is Marshal Biron, Henry of Navarre's chief ally in his struggle for the

<sup>3</sup> The text is taken from the second edition, p. 70, of Domenichi's collection which appeared at Venice in 1546. I have also found this sonnet in Lodovico Dolce's collection entitled *Rime di diversi, et eccellenti autori. Raccolte da i libri da noi altre volte impressi tra le quali se leggono molte non più vedute*. In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, et Fratelli, MDLVI, p. 265 and also in Ruscelli's *Fiori delle rime de' poeti illustri*, In Venetia, per Giovanbattista et Melchior Sessa Fratelli, 1558, p. 357.

<sup>4</sup> This sonnet was imitated in French by Philippe Desportes, *Hippolyte*, xxxvii. See Joseph Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Montpellier, 1909, p. 235.



French throne. It is further asserted that the Marshall became the hero of George Chapman's *The Conspiracy of Duke Biron*, and *The Tragedy of Biron*, both produced in 1605. In *The French Renaissance in England* (1910), Mr. Lee, altering his earlier opinion, states without proof that the Biron of Chapman was the son of the Biron who suggested Shakespeare's character.

My purpose is to distinguish the two Birones and to indicate the validity of Mr. Lee's later statement. The Marshall Armand Biron and his son, Charles, both went over to the side of Henry IV in 1589. In 1592 the elder was killed in battle. During these three years, the period in which *Love's Labour's Lost* was almost certainly written,<sup>1</sup> the Marshal played a somewhat more important rôle in French affairs than did Charles.<sup>2</sup>

But more potent in bringing the elder Biron to the mind of the English public was the intimate association of the English troops with the Marshal, whom they frequently mentioned in their journals and correspondence. A good medium for comparing the father and the son is the *Journal of the Siege of Rouen*, written in 1591 by an English volunteer, Sir Thomas Coningsby.<sup>3</sup> Charles is incidentally referred to perhaps eight times. The Marshal is constantly mentioned as an adviser and friend of the English. One English leader wrote: "In this army we have not one friend but only Marshal Biron, whom we find very respectful to Her Majesty and loving to her people."<sup>4</sup> That he was also highly regarded by Elizabeth and Essex is attested by their letters.<sup>5</sup>

Aside from the *Journal of the Siege of Rouen* I find no English notice of Charles until 1593. It seems evident therefore that Shakespeare must have had the popular Marshal Biron in mind when he wrote *Love's Labour's Lost*, rather than the son, Charles, who later became Chapman's hero.

ORAL S. COAD.

Columbia University.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Knight and F. G. Fleay conjecture 1589; W. A. B. Hertzberg, A. W. Ward, and H. P. Stokes about 1590; Nathan Drake, J. F. Royster, Neilson and Thorndike 1591; George Chalmers 1592.

<sup>2</sup> *Biographie Universelle*, Vol. iv, for comparison.

<sup>3</sup> *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. i.

<sup>4</sup> Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. II, p. 323.

<sup>5</sup> *Calender of the Mss. of the Marquis of Salisbury*, 1583-94.

## BRIEF MENTION

Ever since the interest in the subject was revived by Mr. Bédier's study published a dozen years ago, Chateaubriand's account of our country and his journey thru it has been the center of a steadily augmenting literature. The most recent contributions are by Mr. Gilbert Chinard ("Notes sur le prologue d'*Atala*," *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 29-40; "Notes sur le voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique," *Univ. of Cal. Publications in Mod. Phil.*, IV, 269-349), who in the first place adds links to the chain of evidence that, however much we must curtail Chateaubriand's claims of a Cape-to-Cairo itinerary in the flesh, his *voyage autour de ses livres* was thoroging and substantially precise. As for the actual extent of Chateaubriand's wanderings, Mr. Chinard reviews the whole subject, and, while he only confirms the impracticability of the Mississippi journey, irrevocably condemned to the domain of the fantastic from the moment Bédier's analysis appeared, he makes a good showing for the claim that the trip as far as Niagara offers no serious internal evidence of insubstantiality. It is encouraging, moreover, that little by little a few fixed points in that section of the itinerary are being located: Baltimore is of course in the list; Philadelphia and New York have been rendered almost equally definite; and now Mr. Chinard ("Notes sur le voyage," p. 287) has identified a detail in the account which furnishes strong objective confirmation of Chateaubriand's presence at Niagara Falls. What still faces us is that, while the traveler remained too short a time in America to have made his Mississippi excursion, he was here more than long enough to travel in comfortable fashion as far as Niagara. Further probing of the archives may yet enable Mr. Chinard or some other fortunate worker to fix for us the distribution of this leisure time.

E. C. A.

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*The Letters of Edward Dowden and his Correspondents* (London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1914) reveal a man of exquisite taste, broad culture, serene accomplishment. A life so quiet that the chief events therein were the discoveries of rare editions was passed in a provincial society against the limitations of which he occasionally rebelled. He was a citizen of the world of letters. His work brought him into contact with many men; thru his *Southey* he became intimate with Sir Henry Taylor and Aubrey de Vere; thru his *Shelley* with the Rossettis; thru his *Shakespeare* with Furnivall and many more. Perhaps the most interesting of the letters are those which give Mr. Gosse's appeal to Dowden to interfere in the Swinburne-Furnivall controversy and Dowden's admirably judicious reply. A scholar who spared reluctantly to examination-papers the time more profitably spent upon research, he was yet

most conscientious in his teaching. Very notable is a letter of modest self-appraisal (p. 303), in which he weighs for a prospective student the advantages and disadvantages of work under his guidance. The greatest value of the letters, however, lies in the scattered comments, noted down fresh from the teeming brain, upon various poets, especially Wordsworth and Shelley. No letter is without some point of interest; each is a memorial of one who followed the pleasant paths of wisdom.

S. C. C.

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*Jacke Jugeler.* Edited with introduction and notes by H. H. Williams, Cambridge: at the University Press, 1914. This reproduction of "the unique original in the collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K. G.," which contains also, as an Appendix, the first printing of two leaves of a presumably earlier edition (these fragments are also in the Devonshire collection), is an important contribution to the study of this "polytypic" play. In his notes Professor Williams has put the textual criticism and elucidation of the piece on a trustworthy basis. His excellent observations, supported by carefully collected evidence, are in striking contrast with the chance (and frequently erroneous) foot-notes of the Hazlitt edition. Two simple illustrations may be cited: *stoding* (310) is 'studying,' not 'stewing'; this is supported, as the editor might have observed, by the stage direction *Hic cogitabundo similis sedeat*; the *NED.* (tho not cited in this connection) comes to the rescue in such a strange tradition of misinterpretations as pertains to *Kyrie* (653). To touch the matter of emendations, even Professor Williams has overlooked the obvious requirement of *maisters* (985; cf. 949); and as to references to special studies, note 61 should refer the student to J. Heine's articles in *Anglia* xv, 41 f., 391 f., and to F. H. Sykes, *French Elements in Middle-English*, Oxford, 1899. The larger problems of the play, its date, authorship, and purpose, are called up by this publication. In Professor Gayley's judgment (*Representative English Comedies*, 1903, pp. lxxviii f.) it is a burlesque attack upon transubstantiation; Professor Williams, in *Modern Language Review* vii (1912), 289 f. and now in his Introduction, holds that the 'farce' is by the author of *Roister Doister*, and that it is an allegorical repudiation of his "fictitious confession" of personal charges that had been brought against him; and, finally, the suggestions of Williams have led Dr. G. Dudok to attempt an answer to the question "Has *Jack Juggler* been written by the same author as *Ralph Roister Doister*?" (*Neophilologus*, I, 50-62; Groningen, 1915.) This last study of the problem results in a conviction that Udall wrote the piece during the reign of Queen Mary, "and very probably in the year 1554"; and that the autobiographic purpose (advocated by Williams) is



to be rejected in favor of the view (held by Gayley) that the serious, hidden purpose of the piece is "a subtle attack upon the Roman Catholic Church in general and upon the doctrine of transubstantiation in particular." Surely the author fixed an enduring enticement in his cryptogramic lines (998-999):

As this trifling enterlud yt before you hath bine rehersed  
May signifie sum further meaning if it be well serched.

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A belated booklet is *The Parlément of the Three Ages: an Alliterative Poem on the Nine Worthies and the Heroes of Romance*, edited by I. Gollancz (Select Early English Poems, II; Oxford University Press, 1915). The exclusiveness of the *editio princeps* (prepared by the same editor for the Roxburghe Club; 1897) has been a regrettable barrier to the wider study and investigation of this poem, which is involved in a highly important problem in the literary history of the fourteenth century. In March, 1898, Kölbinger (*Engl. Stud.* xxv, 273) asked for an accessible edition of *Parlement* and *Winner and Waster*, to which a reply was made two years ago in a promise that the instalments of the series of texts begun by *Patience* (1913) would be issued quarterly; the first promised 'quarter' has been prolonged into a period of two years. This second edition of *Parlement* differs from the first in the representation of the text of the second MS. by a selected list of the more important variant readings; the notes have been revised; and the former Index Verborum has been converted into a good glossary. There is also some change in the illustrative texts of the Appendix. But these differences between the two editions do not mark at many points a present gain. Professor Gollancz cannot expect the serious student to accept the selected variants as an adequate substitute for the former parallel text, nor can he fail to suspect that it will be regretted that the plan of the series requires the reservation of *Winner and Waster* for a separate volume. It can only be hoped that amends will be made by a prompt publication of this companion piece, and that with it there will be given not only a view of the relation of these two poems to each other but also a view, in the light of special investigations, of the comprehensive question of the authorship of the group of poems with which these have become associated. Professor Gollancz has cancelled his former attribution of *Morte Arthur* to Huchown (Introduction, 1897, p. xix), and passed Dr. George Neilson by with a foot-note, and set the poet of *Sir Gawayne* beyond the reach of the author of *Parlement*. His admiring followers would be gratified to have from him something in the way of a coherent discussion of this vexed problem. Unfortunately there has not yet appeared an edition of Longuyon's *Vœux du Paon*; but Albert Herrmann has followed his *Untersuchungen über das Alexanderbuch* (Berlin, C.



Vogt, 1893), which is cited by Professor Gollancz, by two studies, which should also have been cited: *The Taymouth Castle Manuscript of Sir Gilbert Hay's Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* (Progr., Berlin, R. Gaertner, 1898), and *The Forraye of Gadderis. The Vowis. Extracts from Sir Gilbert Hay's Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* (*ibid.*, 1900). These last two studies, being in continuation and extension of the first, pertain to the distinction between the Arbuthnot *Buik* and that of Sir Gilbert Hay; and Herrmann's analysis of Sir Gilbert's version and the long passages he has abstracted from it serve to mitigate to a considerable extent the disadvantage implied in Professor Gollancz's words, "Still unprinted."

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One must regret the duplication of effort that has resulted in the appearance within two years of two carefully annotated editions of that very mediocre performance Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*. The two editions—that by Scherer in Bang's *Materialien* (1913) and now the instalment by F. M. Snell of the series of Jonson's plays that has come from the English Seminary at Yale—in a way supplement each other. On the whole Miss Snell's treatment of the chief problem involved, that of the date of the play, is the more convincing. Scherer, like Small, Manly, Thorndike, and others, accepts the evidence for an early date of one stratum of the play and considers that upon a quantity of juvenile crudities Jonson later imposed some work of his dotage. Miss Snell, on the contrary, sides with Courthope, Gayley, and Nicholson in regarding the play as a whole as late work. She applies the various metrical tests with the result (a) that no appreciable difference is found between the parts usually thought early and those usually thought late; (b) that the play as a whole stands metrically with *The New Inn* and *The Magnetic Lady* as indubitably late work. The problem of the references to "the Queen" is acceptably explained by pointing to such parallels as "King Edward, our late liege" (I, v, 33) and "old John Heywood" (v, iii, 74). Jonson is deliberately giving his play an archaic setting. Miss Snell might have called attention to the same interest in an earlier less sophisticated era in England evinced by *The Devil is an Ass*. Scherer's study of sources is fuller and more compact than Miss Snell's, and he gives a paragraph to the dialect employed in the piece for which the only equivalent in Snell is a series of scattered explanations in the notes. On the other hand she offers a shrewd and sufficient discussion of the value of the play for which Scherer affords no substitute. On other points they are in substantial accord. Miss Snell's notes are fuller, at times needlessly full, a mass of easily accessible information being reprinted. Despite a few slips (*e. g.*, her references to Gayley's *Rep. Eng. Com.*), one has confidence in her general accuracy.

S. C. C.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## RECURRENT *PRÉCIOSITÉ*.

In tracing the history of *préciosité* in France, three facts become clear: (1) that *préciosité* was not restricted to the age of Louis XIV, but existed plainly both before and after that period; (2) that it is a social phenomenon as well as a curious literary manifestation; (3) that it has made its appearance whenever a socially or artistically exclusive group of persons has been characterized by strong feminine influence or by an excessive artistic desire to mitigate the commonplaces of daily life by recourse to an idealistic or metaphysical conception of human affairs.

To observe and rightly to understand the entire course of *préciosité* we must start almost at the moment when French became a definite language and glance through the centuries down to the very threshold of the period in which we are living. We find it at every turn. It appears in a rudimentary form in the pretty dialogs and gentle punning of Chrestien de Troyes' romances,<sup>1</sup> in the subtle disquisitions of the Courts of Love, and in the tender passages of the *Roman de la Rose*. The *préciosité* is here chiefly sentimental. The great epoch of grammatical and linguistic discussion had not yet set in. The reigning mode of literary distinction consisted in the fashioning of delicate sentiments in a charmingly naïve style. Often, these compositions became extremely mystical and almost unintelligible, especially when the Laws of Love were the subject of controversy. Writers of romance turned metaphysicians. Ideas of love were rendered as nicely as, on the part of the scholastic debaters, ideas of religion, or, to express it more

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Yvain*, ed. Foerster, 1891, l. 2013 ff. Also, the pun on *Soredamor* and *l'amer*, *Oligès*, l. 543-552.

accurately, points of theology. Stereotyped devices, dainty but affected, became part of the *précieux* rhetoric; animated little tricks of speech, like the intimate parlor *conversazione* of Chrestien and the playing on the name "Énéas" in the anonymous romance,<sup>2</sup> indicated the court-atmosphere, the aristocratic tone, and the feminine dominance in the circles for which these stories were written. They tell us much about the customs obtaining in the courts of Marie de Champagne, Aliénor d'Aquitaine, Alix de Blois,—the protectors *par excellence* of the romancers,—where the indoor social life of Provence prevailed, where hothouse gallantry flourished, where distinction was won by sentimental sublimation. There, the bluff language of the *chansons de geste* or the marketplace phraseology of the *fabliaux* had little following, particularly among the ladies. It is altogether probable that the romancers, with their *précieux* love and their *précieux* rhetoric, were encouraged by the high-born ladies as a revolt against the rather crude epics destined principally for the ears of fighting males. Social exclusiveness and feminine preponderance determined the quality of early *préciosité*.

Until the sixteenth century, these affectations, restricted to a small group of persons and not too much overdone as yet, scarcely attracted public attention. The feeling that French was a fixed language with strong national characteristics could have appealed to few. But when, as the result of overwhelming imitation of the Italians, the Greeks, and the Romans, some ardent patriots feared the ruin of much of the national structure, voices of protest began to be heard against the strange current into which the good, old, sane, plain French speech of their forefathers was being drawn. In one of Jacques Grevin's comedies, "il y a . . . quelque chose aussi des railleries qu'un siècle plus tard Molière adressera aux *Précieuses*,"<sup>3</sup> and there were not wanting those who, toward 1550, complained that the poets 'hyperbolized' too much, and were damaging polite conversation.

To the poets in general, to the *Pléiade* in particular, and to literary and society women as an additional cause, may be attributed the strides which the *précieux* movement made in the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Énéas*, ed. Salverda de Grave, 1891, l. 8550 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Bourciez, *Les Mœurs polies et la Litt. de Cour sous Henri II*, 1886, p. 297.



sixteenth century. To all of them, the French language seemed inadequate for esthetic purposes. Sometimes, the question was one of style; sometimes, of vocabulary; sometimes, of connotation. The latter difficulty appears to have been especially potent in the creation of metaphors and periphrases, and not without reason. It is quite well-understood that the French language throughout most of its career has been preëminently denotative. For scientific uses, this quality has been admirable, since it has made the word and the object coincide as nearly as possible by the removal of extraneous suggestion. But it has not been an unmixed good when taken in conjunction with subject-matter of esthetic import. For it is the special privilege, if not the strict duty, of all esthetic writing, not merely to describe or to define, but to suggest, to connote, to evoke. The outcome of the matter-of-fact French habit in language has been to clip the wings of fancy, to inhibit revery, to limit the possibilities of collaboration between the author and the reader; and this *bourgeois* tendency, so inimical to art, the poets and the society women tried to overcome by innovations which, though hardly startling to us Anglo-Saxons, have always seemed objectionable and even ludicrous to Frenchmen fond of the 'good, old' French tongue, fearful of anything that may injure the three sacred principles of lucidity, and scornful of all that savors of insincerity. To call the ear the "gates to the understanding" strikes the average Frenchman as pompous, wordy, and unproductive. Fortunately, the real poets have paid no attention to their countrymen's asceticism in language. They have, at first, as in the case of the *Pléiade*, the Romanticists, and the Symbolists, had to suffer the stigma of *préciosité*, but they have finally been called poets.

The intentions of the poets and of the women in employing *précieux* language were probably not identical. That they had, however, one definite aim in common, cannot be doubted. They wished to react against the habitual dryness and prosiness of French style; and to realize how prosy and dry the older literature must have seemed to them, we have only to recollect the swift oblivion into which it fell at the beginning of the Renaissance. The women writers, of whom there was a multitude,<sup>4</sup> might normally have

<sup>4</sup> Among them may be named: Louise Labé, Pernette du Guillet, Gabrielle de Bourbon, Gabrielle de Coignard, Madeleine Neveu, Diane de Poitiers,



been expected to carry to extremes the innovations in round-about, pretty, unusual expressions. The repugnance of women to the short, sharp, direct word was likely to endear to them all kinds of circumlocution; and there is, perhaps, some justice in the remark of M. Bertaut: "Pensez à Mérimée, et songez qu'aucune femme, jusqu'ici, n'a écrit un chef-d'œuvre qui tienne en quelques pages."<sup>5</sup> In the sixteenth century, women who wrote had influence in the various strata of society, and their contact with the poets was especially close.<sup>6</sup> When, therefore, the *Pléiade* stood sponsor for new manners of saying old things, the women, many of whom were acknowledged disciples of Ronsard and zealous propagandists of his teachings, felt justified in the procedure which, partly as the result of their natural inclinations and partly as the result of the exigencies of court and drawing-room conversation, they had adopted with such noteworthy enthusiasm.

The poets of the *Pléiade*, nevertheless, by setting their official seal on those novelties in language which have usually been associated with the *précieuses* of the seventeenth century, did more for giving *préciosité* an honorable standing than all the other agencies together. In no indeterminate fashion, they encouraged the feminine ambition to invent singular expressions. Mlle de Gournay, Montaigne's spiritual daughter, who was extremely partial to Ronsard and his brigade, took a distaste to Malherbe's writings, "à cause qu'il retranchoit plusieurs mots de la langue, & qu'il ne se servoit point de Metaphores & d'autres Figures qu'elle aymoît. . . ."<sup>7</sup> At Baïf's *Académie*, which met twice a week for literary and musical purposes, the linguistic reforms of Ronsard were put into practice; and women who had some literary or scholarly repute took an active part in these reunions.<sup>8</sup> Associa-

Catherine de Médicis, la Duchesse de Retz, Mme de Villeroy, Henriette de Clèves, Suzanne Habert, Marguerite de Navarre, Elisenne de Crenne, Anne Bins, Marguerite de Valois, Mlle Le Jars de Gournay.

<sup>5</sup> Bertaut, *La litt. féminine d'aujourd'hui*, 1909, p. 271.

<sup>6</sup> Vallet de Viriville, *Hist. de l'instr. pub.*, 1849, pp. 259-260; the women in Baïf's *Académie*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Charles Sorel, *Bibliothèque fr., par la Compagnie des libraires du Palais*. MDCLXIV, pp. 234-235. This statement, true enough on the whole, is not exactly correct, since Malherbe never entirely lost the taste for *pointes* or far-fetched metaphor, as M. Lintilhac has shown: *Litt. fr.*, I, 1894, pp. 304-305.

<sup>8</sup> Vallet de Viriville, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-260.

tions of this sort undoubtedly stimulated some of the bizarre social customs of the times, later regarded as original among the *précieuses* of the seventeenth century. In fact, almost all the conceits considered peculiar to Molière's day had already been developed by the poets, the women, and the romancers before Henri IV came to the throne, and even the *Carte de Tendre* of the ingenious Sapho had a prototype in François de Billon's *Le Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe* (1555).<sup>9</sup>

It needs but a cursory examination of the manifestos of Ronsard and Du Bellay to convince oneself of the complete program for *préciosité* marked out by them. That their motives were laudable may be accepted without argument. The pernicious effect of their precepts can scarcely be said to have been visible in their poetry: for in our minds, at least, metaphor, periphrasis, and other uncommon locutions are perfectly permissible in verse and allowed as a constituent element of poetic diction. In prose, on the contrary,—and especially in conversation,—the free use of them is quite another matter and cannot stand the test of ordinary parlance, even in such works as Shakespeare's. Out of their native environment, these forms of speech readily become *précieux*. As has happened so frequently in history, misguided persons took a sound doctrine, applied it to something with which it was incompatible, and made it an instrument of harm.

Ronsard's proud boast,

“Ie vy que des François le langage trop bas  
A terre se trainoit sans ordre ny compas:  
Adonques pour hausser ma langue maternelle,  
Indonté du labeur, ie trauaillay pour elle.  
Ie fis des mots nouveaux, ie r'appelay les vieux,  
Si bien que son renom ie poussay iusqu'aux cieux.  
Ie fys d'autre façon que n'auoyent les antiques  
Vocables composez et phrases poétiques,  
Et mis la Poësie en tel ordre qu'apres  
Le François fut egal aux Romains et aux Grecs,”

could not help inspiring the poets to go and do likewise.<sup>10</sup> The manufacture of neologisms became a thriving industry. On the

<sup>9</sup> Bourciez, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Brunot, in Petit de J., *Litt. fr.*, III, pp. 782-783: “L'effet de paroles tombées de si haut fut immense. Il n'y eut poète en sa province—et tout

direct advice of Ronsard, adjectives were turned into substantives, as in the *précieux* phrase of the seventeenth century, *renchérir sur le ridicule*; adverbs and verbs were made at will from existing substantives, as *verner*, *vernement*, from *verne*, *essoiner*, *essoînement*, from *essoine*; strange adjectives were coined; adjectives were, after the Latin, given the rôle of adverbs;<sup>11</sup> contrary compounds, like *doux amer*, *fière douce*,—favorites among Molière's contemporaries,—were formed; emphatic adverbs were abused, as in the anecdote: “ . . . j'ouï un jour un sot, passant bien plus outre, en disant à une damoiselle: vous me plaisez infiniment en toute sorte d'infinité. Mais elle incontinent lui rendit bien son change, le payant de la même monnaie, vous me déplaîsez extrêmement en toute sorte d'extrémité,”<sup>12</sup>—forerunners of the *terriblement* and *furieusement* of the *précieuses ridicules*; diminutives like *faultettes* *mignardelettes* offered a particular attraction; unusual metaphors of the quality of *sourcil stoïque* and periphrastic epithets abounded; the employment of technical or trade terms was seized upon;<sup>13</sup> complicated inversions in the order of words were not looked at with disfavor; clever and futile phrase-making had its fervent partisans.<sup>14</sup> Even scholars like Henri Estienne, though ridiculing Italianized French, approved many practices which easily degenerated into *préciosité* and became *précieux* routine fifty or sixty years afterwards.

As has been indicated, scarcely a procedure scourged by Molière can be pointed out, which had not been given a fair trial in the

le monde alors était poète—qui n'apportât ‘sa gentille invention.’” Not only that, but these words were well-remembered in the following century when, for instance, Mlle de Scudéry approved them in her *De la Poésie Française*. See the edition by Sansot, Paris, M. CM. VII, with notice by G. Michaut: p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Brunot, *ibid.*, p. 843.

<sup>12</sup> *Héros de roman*, ed. Crane, pp. 204-205.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Roy, *Charles Sorel*, pp. 277-286, for examples among 17th century *précieux*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Olivier de Magny's *Les Soupîrs: Sonet claiiii*.

“Tant de divers pensers naissent de mon penser,  
Que pour penser si fort je ne sçay que je pense,  
Et en tant de façons mes pensers je dispense,  
Qu'en pensant je ne sçay comment les dispenser.”

Cited by Bourciez, *op. cit.*, p. 406.



preceding century. Whatever may be true as to the general use of the term *précieux*, it can be proved beyond question that the *thing* was flourishing in all its ramifications long before 1650, long before d'Aubigné, in 1615, made sport of it,<sup>15</sup> long before Charles Sorel observed its growth or the so-called Somaize chronicled its history, long before the Italian *prezioso* or the Spanish *precioso* became fashionable. Nor did it disappear after the first performance of the *Précieuses ridicules*, November 18, 1659, when Ménage, not a little addicted to *préciosité* himself, said, as he took Chapelain by the hand: "Monsieur—nous approuvions vous & moi toutes les sottises qui viennent d'être critiquées si finement, & avec tant de bon sens, mais croyez-moi, pour me servir de ce que S. Remi dit à Clovis; il nous faudra brûler ce que nous avons adoré, & adorer ce que nous avons brûlé."<sup>16</sup> His prediction that the "galimatias" and the "style forcé" had come to an end had as much validity as all predictions which forecast a radical change in conditions based on perennially recurring circumstances.

No succeeding period in French literary or social history has been exempt from the evil. Each recrudescence has constituted a reaction against the homely speech of France. When this has not been done for reasons of invidious distinction, it has been done for motives of true poetic significance.

J. WARSHAW.

*University of Missouri.*

## HENRY VIII IN HALL'S *CHRONICLE*

Hall's authorship of the history of Henry VIII, in the *Chronicle* that passes under his name, seems never to have been called in question, though the doubt that he could have written it lies on the surface. Mr. Whibley remarks that up to the death of Henry VII, "Hall is a chronicler after the fashion of Holinshed and Stow,"—who of course had not yet written their chronicles when Hall's was published. "He accepted the common authorities," continues Mr. Whibley, "and translated them into his own ornate

<sup>15</sup> D'Aubigné, *Foeneeste* (Flammarion, 1896), pp. 239-240.

<sup>16</sup> *Ménagiana*, II, pp. 65-66.



English, or embellished them with new words and strange images. With the accession of Henry VIII he began a fresh and original work. Henceforth, he wrote only of what he saw and thought from day to day. And, in thus writing, he revealed most clearly what manner of man he was" (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 359. See also Mr. Whibley's separate edition of Henry VIII, London, 1904).

It seems highly improbable that any such sudden conversion as Mr. Whibley supposes could have taken place. If anything, the importance of his subject might be supposed to have incited Hall, if he had written the history of Henry VIII, to more ambitious efforts in the way of what Ascham calls his "indenture English." But the probabilities are that Hall was not responsible for the literary form of the history of Henry VIII. The evidence for this statement is partly bibliographical, partly internal, and partly external. The first edition of Hall's *Chronicle* was apparently published in 1542, though no copy of this edition is now extant. Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, in his account of Hall, gives 1542 as the date of publication of the first edition, and Berthelet as the publisher. In his description of this book, Tanner states that it extended "a tempore sc. Henrici IV. ad unionem per connubium Henrici VII cum Elizabetha filia Edwardi IV." He then adds that it was continued by Richard Grafton in a second edition to the death of Henry VIII, his words being: "Continuavit etiam ad mortem Henrici VIII Ric. Graftonus typographus ex mss. Halli. Lond. MDXLVIII. fol. edit. per Grafton." And finally he calls attention to a third edition, edited by Grafton and published in 1550. This was the fullest version of Hall's *Chronicle* to appear. Tanner provides another piece of information which helps to explain the complete disappearance of the first edition of the *Chronicle*. He records the fact that the *Chronicle* was suppressed by royal authority in 1555 (citing Fox, p. 1547), the reason for this, not stated by Tanner, being that the strong Reformation tone of the *Chronicle* was offensive to the Catholic party of Mary.

A possible fragmentary survival from this first edition is contained in the Grenville collection in the British Museum. In the catalog of this collection (*Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, I, 297) a copy is described as giving the date 1548 at the Colophon, p. 264 (i. e. after Henry VIII), yet "the variations from the press of the

other copies with that date, and the earlier and older character of the decorations of the Capital letters seem to prove that the main body of this copy makes part of an edition which Tanner ascribes to Berthelet in 1542." This seems therefore to be a copy of the 1542 edition filled out by the addition of the life of Henry VIII from the 1548 edition.

Hall died in 1547. The following year Grafton issued his edition of the *Chronicle*, to be followed two years later by a second edition. In his preface Grafton remarks that Hall in his later years was not so "painful and studious" as he had been. He then adds that Hall finished his *Chronicle* to the year 1532 (which would of course cover the early years of Henry VIII, where the style seems least like Hall's), and that he left a number of notes, which Grafton says he put together without any additions of his own. Now this latter statement is demonstrably not true, since there are statements in the history of Henry VIII that must have been written after Hall's death (see Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, II, 201-202). Just what Grafton meant by putting together the story of the reign of Henry VIII can best be seen by comparing this part of the *Chronicle* with the earlier parts. Evidently he composed it entirely in his own manner. When he says that Hall had finished the reign of Henry VIII to 1532, he probably means that Hall had collected materials to that date, but that in his less "painful and studious" years, he had remitted his diligence for the later years of Henry's reign.

This explanation of the origin of the two parts of Hall's *Chronicle* seems to meet all requirements. It accounts for the very different styles of the two parts. Comparison of the history of Henry VIII in Hall's *Chronicle* with Grafton's style in his own *Chronicle at Large* shows that they are not dissimilar. The man who wrote the *Chronicle at Large* might very well have written the history of Henry VIII; but it seems impossible to believe that the author of the earlier parts of Hall's *Chronicle* could have written the Henry VIII. The two parts differ not only in style, but in the fundamentals of their two points of view with respect to government and politics. Hall's attitude towards affairs was always legal, and he showed little interest in the popular side of events. Grafton's narrative, on the other hand, is about four times as long as the average for the reigns of earlier kings, is full of picturesque detail,

shows much more interest in popular activities, and on the whole is more human and less professional. Moreover, if Hall's purpose was to write the history of the union of the two noble and illustrious families of York and Lancaster, as his title declares, he did not need to write about Henry VIII. If his purpose was to tell "the actes done" in the struggle for supremacy, there would be no point in telling of the reign of Henry VIII. The *finis* at the end of the reign of Henry VII,—the ends of the reigns of preceding kings are not so marked,—indicates the real conclusion of Hall's work. What comes after is continuation by Grafton, based perhaps in part on Hall's materials, but not composed and put in form by Hall.

It follows, then, that the credit for the best writing in Hall's *Chronicle* is to be assigned not to Hall but to Grafton. The share of the latter in the 1548 edition of Hall was probably known to John Bale, who might have settled the whole question by being a little more specific. In his edition of Leland's *Laboryouse Journey*, made in 1549, he writes of Hall's *Chronicle* as follows, his point being that some one should complete Leland's work, left unfinished at his death: "Many noble workes we reade of, that were left unperfygth, as their fyrst authors were prevented of deathe, yet for theyr utilite they have bene fynished by other good men. As now in oure tyme, the Epitome of Chronicles begunne by Thomas Lanquet, was laboriously folowed and profytably ended by Thomas Cooper, a man worthy of continual prayse for so studious labours. The lyke also may be sayd of hym that brought to lyghte the great worke of Edwarde Halle. The Lord dayly prosper so profytable affayres." The person who "brought to lyghte the great worke of Edwarde Halle," could scarcely have been any other than Grafton, whose edition had appeared the preceding year.

GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP.

*Columbia University.*

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## BRETHERHED IN CHAUCER'S PROLOG

It is of more interest to know what Chaucer's Parson did than what he didn't do, but what he didn't do throws as much light on him and his fellow-priests. He attended to his cure and did not run

to London, un-to seynte<sup>1</sup> Poules,  
To seken him a chaunterie for soules,  
Or with a bretherhed to ben withholde;  
But dwelte at hoom, and kepte wel his folde (*Prol.* 509-12).

Most of this has been sufficiently explained by the commentators, but *bretherhed* only inaccurately or vaguely,—either as a religious

<sup>1</sup> I reject Skeat's impossible *seynt*, justified by neither historical grammar nor analogy; although among the published mss. only Cp. and Hl. 7334 have the -e, and we find *seint Poul(es)* in B 3970 and 4631. Two things are clear. The word *seynt(e)* in Chaucer in the large majority of cases is monosyllabic. Before the names of female saints it is usually or always dissyllabic, as in French. Cf. the following:

'No,' quod he, 'by Seynte Clare'

(*H. F.* 1066; the mss. do not favor the -e, but the rithm ensures it);

'I hadde the prente of seynte Venus seel'

(*W. B. P.* 604; the Wife of Bath shall have her way as to the sanctity of her patroness);

And seyde, 'help us, seinte Frideswyde' (*Mill. T.* 3449).

With *seynte Marie* the word seems always dissyllabic, though in one or two cases we might possibly have a 9-syllable line; cf. *H. F.* 573, *Sir Th.* 1974, *Phys.-Pard. Link* 308, *Pard. T.* 685, *Fri. T.* 1604, *Merch. T.* 1337, 1899, 2418. The word *charitee* is treated like the name of a female saint; e. g. *Sumn. T.* 2119 (also in *Kn. T.* 1721, *N. P. T.* 4510),

Now, Thomas, help for seinte charitee.

As to male saints, the matter is sometimes doubtful. The following may be 9-syllable lines, but the verse is better with a dissyllabic *seynte*: *Prol.* 697 (Peter), *Mill. T.* 3771 (note); in the old carpenter's charm the verse is so rough that we cannot with certainty read "seynte Benedight," but we probably should (*Mill. T.* 3483). The strongest cases for a pronounced -e are that under discussion and the following (*Prol.* 120 and *Fri. T.* 1564, though in the last the mss. vary in wording):

Hir gretteste ooth was but by seynt(e) Loy;

I pray god save thee and seynt(e) Loy.

Between an unspeakable 9-syllable line, the unheard-of dieresis expedient, and the pronounced -e, it is not hard to choose the last. With a language



community,<sup>2</sup> or merely as a brotherhood (of one kind or another).<sup>3</sup> This latter gloss leaves the question just where it was before; as to the other, it is hard to imagine why a fourteenth century convent should undertake to maintain a penniless but able-bodied secular priest.

*Bretherhed* simply means *gild*, of one kind or another, being merely a translation of *fraternitas*; *fraternitee* is used in the same sense in l. 364. In gild-records, along with other words,—craft, occupation, mystery, gild, fraternity (the two commonest), brotherhood sometimes appears; as for example in a document of the gild of the bakers (1483) and that of the tailors (1503) in Exeter,<sup>4</sup> and in that of St. John Baptist, Oxeburgh, Norfolk (founded 1307-8).<sup>5</sup> It is especially to the point that the word was far more used in London gilds than elsewhere, as in those of Garlekhith (1375), of St. Katherine (1388-9), of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian (1379-80),<sup>6</sup> of our Lady of Abchurch (1387).<sup>7</sup> Priests and chaplains<sup>8</sup> are repeatedly mentioned in gild-records. The gild of the Blessed Mary in Chesterfield (founded in 1218) had a chaplain, and so had that of the tailors in Lincoln (founded in 1328); that of Stratford-on-Avon

which has lost the feeling for gender, where the phrase-rhythm favors it there is nothing remarkable in the originally ungrammatical form appearing now and then in speech and in Chaucer's colloquial verse. The *-e* of *seynte* is better explained as the French feminine ending, sometimes extended to the masculine, than as a vocative *-e* (as by ten Brink, *Chaucers Sprache u. Verskunst*, 2nd ed., p. 130). Skeat's *seynte* for the feminine, and sometimes *seynt* and sometimes *sejnt* for the masculine, form an impossibility.

<sup>2</sup> By Morris, Skeat, and Liddell.

<sup>3</sup> By von Düring, Hertzberg, de Chatelain, Cazamian, Corson, Pollard, Mather, Bentinck Smith, Greenlaw, and MacCrackeh.

<sup>4</sup> Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds* (E. E. T. S., 1870), 327, 335 (here more in the abstract sense of brotherhood).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-11. These are the only London gilds whose records are printed by Toulmin Smith.

<sup>7</sup> *English Wills* (ed. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 1882), p. 1. For many other cases of the word in London, cf. Rock, *Church of Our Fathers* (2nd edition), II, 324 ff.; cf. also pp. 335, 354.

<sup>8</sup> Originally meaning the priest of a chapel, the word usually meant a chantry-priest, whose main duty was to say private masses. In one or two of the cases cited the chaplain may not have been a permanent official of the gild.

had four in 1547, the Gild Merchant of Coventry in 1340 was to have as many as it could afford, the gild of Corpus Christi in Coventry was to have one (1381), that of the Holy Trinity in Coventry was to have two (1364), that of the Holy Cross in Birmingham was to have two (1392), that of the Holy Trinity in Cambridge was to have one if possible (1384), likewise that of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cambridge (1385); the gild of tailors in Exeter had a priest (1479-80).<sup>9</sup>

Skeat did "not see how *with-holde* can mean 'maintained,' as it is usually explained"; he accordingly defines it as "be kept (*i. e.* remain) in retirement."<sup>10</sup> But it means neither. In the other passages in Chaucer where the word occurs there is no notion of retirement, or of being passively supported either. It generally means 'keep, hold, retain,'<sup>11</sup> occasionally 'restrain,'<sup>12</sup> or 'attach (to a certain party).'<sup>13</sup> In *Melibeus*, 2202, it means 'engage for a certain service,'<sup>14</sup> precisely the meaning here. We are to understand, then, that the Parson would have been retained or engaged to give all or most of his time to the good of the gild members. His labors would have been light, doubtless to say masses and other services for the living and the dead at the quarterly gild-meetings, but chiefly to say diriges, placebos and masses for members on their decease; and since a private mass can be said in some twenty min-

<sup>9</sup> *English Gilds*, pp. 168, 183, 223, 228 ff., 232, 234, 240 ff., 263, 271, 319, 324, 327; cf. pp. 146, 165. Chaplains are often mentioned in the records even of the rather secular gilds-merchant; cf. Gross, *The Gild Merchant*, I, 28, 34; II, 159, 163, 169, 174. There were six chaplains in a gild at Nantwich, and thirteen at Lynn in the time of Richard II. See also Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, II, 276, 320 ff., 327, 329; Lujo Brentano, *Hist. and Devel. of Gilds*, pp. cxxxiii f. (in Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds*; separately printed also, London, n. d., pp. 69 ff.), and *Die Arbeitergilden der Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 55; George Unwin, *Gilds of London* (London, 1908), pp. 117, 203, 208, etc.; and Gross, *Bibliography of Municipal History* (N. Y., 1897), p. 442, for references on gilds in general.

<sup>10</sup> Agreeably to his idea of *bretherhed* as a religious community; *Oxford Chaucer*, v, 46.

<sup>11</sup> *Sec. N. T.* 345, *Pars. T.* 1041; *Boethius* II, pr. i. 87-9 (*Student's Chaucer*), iv, 135-7, iv, ii. 217, iii. 136, vi. 270, 397, 399, v, m. iii. 50-1. In the *Boethius* passages the original always has the verb *retinere* (or *detinere* or *retentare*).

<sup>12</sup> *Boethius* II, m. ii, 19.

<sup>13</sup> *L. G. W.*, Prol. F. 192.

<sup>14</sup> To us surgens . . . wher-as we been with-holde.

utes, even the total of twenty-four, thirty or so bestowed on each soul would have left abundant leisure for other occupations, remunerative or of other character, such as the shady speculations of the annualler-priest in the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, or for the study which would have appealed more to the Parson. In spite of the low pay,<sup>15</sup> the office would have had its attraction for one who rebelled against the hardships of pastoral life in a wide and scattered parish; and Chaucer's line shows that it sometimes did secure such men.<sup>16</sup>

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK.

Stanford University.

### "SEITH TROPHEE."

Professor Tupper's article on Chaucer's *Trophee* in the January number of the current volume of this journal has forestalled me in publishing a paper on the same subject, already in final form and submitted to two or three friends within the last two months. To Professor Tupper's article, with its new support of Mr. G. L. Hamilton's suggestion, may I add one or two notes?

Although Chaucer speaks of "Guido eek de Columpnis" in the *House of Fame*, 1469, he probably also knew that manuscripts of the *Historia Trojana* often gave the name with the singular cognomen. This may be seen, to go no further, from Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*. Of the two earliest there described, both written about 1350, the second gives the singular of the name—"de Colūmpna"—in the Prologue, altho the plural "de Columpnis" occurs in the Epilogue. With this

<sup>15</sup> £5, 6s. 8d. a year in the gild of Stratford-on-Avon in 1547 (*English Gilds*, p. 223); £6 at Ipswich in the reign of Henry VII (Gross, *Gild Merchant*, II, 127). The London goldsmiths in 1354 paid a chaplain £4, but they may not have had all his services (Unwin's *Gilds of London*, p. 203). Sometimes the chaplain served also as clerk (Gross, II, 239). At Coventry a chaplain had to visit sick members and say a daily mass before sunrise (*Eng. Gilds*, p. 234).

<sup>16</sup> On absenteeism among the secular clergy cf. *Engl. Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted* (ed. Matthew, E. E. T. S.), p. 156; Gower, *Mirour de l'Omme*, 20221, and *Vox Clamantis*, III, cap. xvii.; and of course *Piers Plowman*, A-text, Prol. 80-3.



the third, fourth and ninth manuscripts also agree, while the seventh has the singular form of the name in the Epilogue. The thirteenth, a French translation of 1380, has “Guy de la coulompne” in the rubric. Other manuscripts are imperfect, or Ward does not describe them as to the name, but enough has been given to show that in English manuscripts the singular of the cognomen is about as common as the plural.

In French the name has remained as “de Colonna” or “Columna,” indicating a long established French usage. In English, Lydgate’s use of the singular form is well known (*Troy Book*, 360) :

And of Columpne Guido was his name.

Printed editions of the *Historia* in the fifteenth century, so far as the British Museum catalogue shows, use the singular. For Italian, Tiraboschi seems to have known only the singular form of name, as in his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, iv, 326.

That Guido himself used the “de columnis,” as has been made probable, is not here in question. We are interested in what was known and thought to be true in the time of Chaucer. Altho Chaucer wrote “de Columpnis” in the *House of Fame*, therefore, there was no reason why he should not have used the singular descriptive title in another place when needing another kind of rime. While, too, as Mr. Hamilton suggested, *Trophee* may be a translation of the plural *columnis*, it more naturally translates the singular which could scarcely have been unknown to Chaucer.

Now it is easy to miss, owing to its considerable change of meaning, that *trophee* in Chaucer’s time meant primarily “a column.” The classical word, Greek *τροπαῖον*, Latin *tropaeum*, signifying at first the turning point of the battle leading to defeat of the enemy, had been transferred to denote the sign of victory,—not yet captured armor as today, but the trunk of a tree. The tree-trunk then gave way to a stone pillar, as the former decayed perhaps, or was carried away by relic hunters. The natural descendant of medieval Latin *trophaea* (*trophea*), Old French *trophee*, is of infrequent occurrence. Considerable search reveals only the single example in Godefroy, and that later than one would wish, but clearly implying the parallelism *trophee*—*column*. It is from Le Maire’s *Illustrations des Gaules et Singularitez de Troye* (1510-12) : “les colonnes qui illec estoient plantees pour trophees et enseignes de victoire,”



English works later than Chaucer and than Lydgate's *Trophe* show the word in this early sense. That Chaucer's use of the word as a proper name did not establish the common noun in the language is not strange. If reintroduced in the sixteenth century, the parallelism of meaning still holds. Thus the *NED.* quotes, as of 1550, T. Nicoll's *Thucydides* 1, 36: "The Athenians did make and set up their *trophe* or signe of victorye, pretending to have had the better." Here the word translates Greek τροπαῖον, altho the reference is apparently to *Thucydides* 1, 63, not 36. Spenser uses the word at least seven times, six times in the exact form of Chaucer, once as *trophe*.<sup>1</sup> Five times also he has the classical idiom of rearing a *trophee*, that is erecting a pillar or monument, and a sixth time implies it in the "immortal moniment" of his verse. A still better example is in Ben Jonson's *Prince Henry's Barriers* (61-62):

And trophies, reared of spoiled enemies,  
Whose tops pierced through the clouds and hit the skies.

Examples from Shakespeare might also be cited in which the word means column or monument of similar sort, rather than that which is placed upon the column, the trophy of today. Compare the "trophies, statues, tombs," of *Venus and Adonis* 1013, and

That these great towers, trophies, and schools should fall

of *Timon* v, iv, 25.

To return to Chaucer, why did he not use *column* rather than *trophee* for Guido's title? The question seems reasonable today, but so far as records show *column* was not a part of the English language in Chaucer's time, and was not to be for fifty years. The first example is from the *Promptorium Parvulorum* of 1440, and then only for the column of a book. To Chaucer, therefore, the introduction of the new word *column* was no more natural than the use of *trophee* for the first time. Besides, in his Hercules story Chaucer was completing an eight-line stanza, and wished a fourth rime with long close *e*. *Guido, column, pillar* were equally impossible, even if he had not the latter (*piler*) already in mind for his

<sup>1</sup> *Visions of Bellay*, Van der Noodt's *Theatre*, sonet v, and Revised form; *Virgil's Gnat* 126-7; *Faerie Queene* vii, vii, 56; *Colin Clout*, 951; *Amoretti*, lxi. In his translation of Du Bellay, Spenser merely took over the French word from the *Songe ou Vision sur Rome* (1558).

next line. Rather than recast his stanza, or perhaps by a happy thought rendered unhappy only by our obtuseness, he hit upon *Trophee* for Guido and his stanza was complete.<sup>2</sup>

In answer to Professor Kittredge's difficulty regarding the eastern pillars,<sup>3</sup> Professor Tupper has sufficiently emphasized the minor character of this inaccuracy. It may be noted, however, that Chaucer, when writing what we know as the *Monk's Tale*, also knew the Alexander story and his journey to "the worldes ende," as shown by lines 641 to 648.<sup>4</sup> If this did not include a knowledge of the eastern pillars, Gower's double reference to them would indicate that they were not unknown to reading men. Compare also the allusion in the *Parliament of the Three Ages* 334, to take only one other example. Perhaps Chaucer's association of Alexander and Hercules in a single line of the *House of Fame* (1413) may indicate some special relation of the two in his mind. At any rate he needed no corrupt text for knowledge of the eastern pillars of Hercules.

Regarding Chaucer's "at bothe the worldes endes" it matters little whether we accept the idea of mere inaccuracy of memory, or the explanation of the phrase by Professor Skeat (*Chaucer's Works* II, liv). One might even venture a combination of the two. Perhaps Chaucer intended at first only a mention, based on Guido, of the western pillars. The expression in the last line of the stanza, "he a piler sette" looks as if he had only the one story in mind. Then, remembering the eastern pillars and changing a word and an ending, he left "at bothe the worldes endes" as we know it. Yet he did not think best to alter the apt rime word *Trophee*, or the last line in which "a piler" still stands, at variance with all statements, tho not seriously affecting the brief narrative. Besides, the association of the eastern and western

<sup>2</sup> The quality of the vowel is right, since Greek *ai*, Latin *ae*, in an open syllable appears as close *ē* in Chaucer. Compare *Machabee* riming with *magestee*, *he*, *prosperitee* in this same *Monk's Tale* (589), and with *contree* in 665. So also *Ptholomee* (*Ptholome*) riming with *be* in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* 182, 324, and with *subtiltee* in the *Summoner's Tale* 581-2. The "selten" of Ten Brink's *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst* § 67 applies to the number of examples.

<sup>3</sup> "The Pillars of Hercules and Chaucer's 'Trophee'" in the Putnam Anniversary Volume, 545 f.

<sup>4</sup> The last two lines look very much like part of the Alexander passage in Guido's *Historia*.

pillars in Chaucer's mind, as Mr. Hamilton pointed out, may have been due to Guido's mention of Alexander's visit and naturally suggestive of Alexander's eastern journey.

Finally I would add to Professor Tupper's contention, that Chaucer's *Trophee*, especially as it is in rime, must have been deliberate and must be associated with the pillars of Hercules story. The only known author, giving any account of any pillars, that can be associated with the name *Trophee* is the Guido usually known as "delle Colonne," but long known equally well as "de Colonna" or "Columna." Nor is it sufficiently inconsistent that Chaucer used "de Columpnis" in rime in one place and a translation of "de Columna" in another requiring a different rime-word. Moreover, of the two difficulties in the passage of the *Monk's Tale*, the explanation of the name is more vital than the explanation of one detail in the story of the pillars.

On the other hand, Professor Kittredge's conjecture implies too many steps not yet taken by any one, too many corrupt texts of which we have not a single example. It also requires us to assume, not only that Chaucer put into rime the name of an author of whom he knew nothing,<sup>5</sup> but also that he could not recognize in the word *trophea* the Old French *trophee*, Latin *tropea* "pillar," and so naturally connected with the Hercules story. Lastly it suggests, if not assumes, that Chaucer, not knowing the eulogist of Hercules, offered a gloss upon his own ignorance by jotting down on the manuscript for the mystification of posterity, "Ille vates Chaldecorum Tropheus."<sup>6</sup>

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

Western Reserve University.

<sup>5</sup> The case of "Lollius" is not quite in point it seems to me, since the relations of that name may not yet have been made out.

<sup>6</sup> Thanks to Professor Tupper that mystification seems now a thing of the past. It is not necessary to dwell on the use by Chaucer, as by others of course, of either part of a name for the person or author intended. Examples in Chaucer's works are *Ovid* or *Naso*, *Judas* or *Scariot*, *Scipoun* (*Scipio*) or *African*, *Julius* or *Caesar*, *Achilles* or *Eacides*, *Tytus* or *Tytus Livius*. Nor is it of much importance, perhaps, that he uses in other places expressions analogous to what we are discussing. Thus *seith Machabee* occurs in rime in this *Monk's Tale* (l. 665), and *seith Dante* similarly in the *Legend of Good Women* (l. 336), while *seith Ovyde* is also found in the latter at line 1683. Yet both these facts show Chaucer would have been following no uncommon practice if he used *seith Trophee* for the Guido "of the column."



## A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF AN IMPORTANT GERMAN GRAMMAR

Within the past decade a new type of German grammar has established itself in the favor of schools and colleges. The voluminous and discursive treatise has been largely superseded by the "Outlines," "Foundations," "Essentials," "Elements,"—or by whatever other names the summary and selective presentations of the most needful facts about accidence and syntax happen to be variously designated. I am a confirmed believer in these little books, especially when they are equipped with a good apparatus for practice. Not that I regard homoeopathic dosing as a particularly commendable feature of collegiate education. But I perceive in many of these minor sized grammars a lucidity and correctness of statement and altogether a pedagogical skill considerably superior to what may be commonly detected in the older and more ponderous repositories of grammatical lore. Apparently, the output of books of this kind is still on the increase, and each year brings forth additional varieties all patterned more or less after the same model. A multitude of ambitious reformers are keeping the academic world in a state of expectancy by quietly hinting that the ideal grammar must linger in abeyance till other work now on their hands shall have been disposed of. Meanwhile, the merry competition is visibly producing a salutary effect on the evolution of grammatical literature in general.

But it goes without saying that even the most masterly epitome cannot permanently supplant a comprehensive treatise in any fit subject of instruction. Since, for better or worse, high school and college cumber their curriculum with the elementary study of foreign languages, instead of relegating that branch of study to where it belongs,—namely, to the grade schools,—a short-cut to the practical goals of such work is rendered almost imperative. Also on general educational principles, a preliminary, fairly rapid orientation may be safely recommended for the earlier stage of a language course. But after this introductory sweep of the field the learner should be induced to cover the ground more carefully step by step; and to overcome by special exertions certain rather trying places in this uphill travel. In my firm opinion, none of the handy



breviaries now in vogue suffice for much longer than the first year's study. For the continuation of the course I would suggest, instead of the "more advanced" school grammars,—which as a rule are not sufficiently distinct from the grammatical primer to obviate the tedium of repetition—a work of reference so complete in contents and thorough in execution that it may be employed as a constant guide in all subsequent work and can throw light on the all too numerous and at times very perplexing questions which in a prolonged and progressive study are bound to trouble the mind not of the pupil alone but of the teacher as well.

By happy coincidence at least one work of this grander stamp made its appearance almost simultaneously with the ascendancy of the sketchy grammatical guide book. George O. Curme's "*A Grammar of the German Language*" has been much discussed and often reviewed, and is fairly and fully entitled to the great measure of praise that it has called forth. So unanimous has been the critical—and uncritical—eulogy, that the author must more than once have protested with Lessing: "Wir wollen weniger erhoben Und häufiger gelesen sein."

Nevertheless, it is impossible to enter upon any comment whatsoever of this monument of scholarly labor without paying passing tribute to the broad and profound learning, the penetrating practical insight, and the spirit of professional self-sacrifice by which it was brought into being. This grammar, to put it plainly, constitutes one of the clearest titles of modern philology in the United States to international recognition. This fact makes it clear that mere blind fealty, superstitious acceptance and slavish affirmation of its every utterance cannot be the most welcome reward for a gift whose lasting worth must of necessity be coterminous with its perfectibility. "Wenn die Könige bau'n, haben die Kärner zu tun"; the desire to co-operate with Professor Curme, be it never so modestly, imposes the duty of some form or other of frank and helpful criticism. Of all the users of his book the author himself—quo quisque est doctior, eo est modestior,—was the first to voice the Faustian plaint: "Ach, dass dem Menschen nichts Vollkomm'nes wird, empfind' ich nun." His untiring sense of obligation toward his *magnum opus*,—the embodiment of half a lifetime of unremitting care and toil—prompted Curme, even before the book was fairly off the press, to make extensive preparations for a revised edi-

tion, and to these he still devotes his time and strength. It is in this phase that every serious student and teacher of German may in slight measure assist. My own suggestions are offered in this spirit.<sup>1</sup>

Any criticism that would be just must reckon fully with two factors: the prime purpose of the product under consideration, and its utility and worth from its own point of view. Curme's grammar aims to be nothing short of a thesaurus of usage, and it must accordingly be judged by the author's explicit profession<sup>2</sup> that it is based not upon some ideal conception of how the language should be spoken, but upon the actual and varying usage of the intelligent classes. The test of the practical usefulness of such great liberality of procedure can only lie in the trustworthiness of its discriminations. Curme fetches his material much more resolutely than any of his American predecessors from the living idiom, without abating, however, the philologist's privilege of focusing upon the living phenomenon the light of its past evolution. To be sure this recessive process of explanation is not carried down to the origins. For inasmuch as it is after all the New-High-German *Schriftsprache* that is to be historically elucidated, the author has refrained in general from going back beyond Luther for his illustrations; though casual evidence is adduced from earlier periods, no connected outline of their linguistic history is attempted.

Now the basic difficulty in constructing a grammar of German on the principle adopted by Curme is that the German *Schriftsprache*,—fundamentally a Middle-German, more precisely Upper-Saxon dialect,—has by the workings of its multiple development been rendered constitutionally refractory to any simple system of codification. Although the term *Schriftsprache* is commonly used to cover both the written and the spoken idiom, they are in fact widely at variance. Worse still, there is no actual uniformity governing even the *Schreibstil* alone throughout the German territory. For, to mention only one important counter-action, the tendency towards the standardization of literary expression, so well grounded in the eighteenth century, has in our own time been neutralized to no slight degree by the vigorous emphasis placed upon the "regional" or "natal" element in style and diction. And it requires no elabor-

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere I propose to publish a complete list of my emendations.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction, p. vii.

ate argument to prove that perpetual uniformity would have been psychologically impossible even in the absence of specific counter-agents. The relation between ideas and their articulation,—in other words, grammar,—cannot be rigidly immutable. Inasmuch as the conceptual content of human thinking is variable both as to quantity and quality, there results a corresponding liability to change in the forms of expression. And since this variability is peculiarly great in modern German, owing, among other patent reasons, to temperamentally differing response of the component elements of the nation to its very rapid transformation, the problem of capturing the protean forms of the living speech without trapping them in more or less artificial rules and formulas is rendered complex and difficult in the extreme. At every step the analyst is baffled by discrepancies and fluctuations which have their source and being in the “separatistic” tendencies that inhere in German character. Consequently, a critique of collateral forms and constructions is subject to grave errors which even the most scrupulous ἀκριβεια cannot obviate. Especially does it require a linguistic tact of the nicest balance to discriminate with surety between the dialectal, archaic, archaistic, facetious, slangy, colloquial, bookish, and other possible values and bearings of many vocables and locutions. Here we find Curme like most grammarians,—not excepting those to the manner born—not infrequently erring in the direction of undue generalization. For instance, he unqualifiedly declares that “colloquial language often preserves earlier forms that have elsewhere passed away.” Of course the statement is not without a large measure of truth; but thus baldly put it invites the false inference that colloquial speech is *eo ipso* more conservative than formal speech. The assertion *per contra* that fickleness, too, is a characteristic of colloquial language,—think of the prodigious fertility of German in respect of slang,—would be less open to challenge.

Now it is certainly within the limits of the scientifically conceivable and desirable that a grammar might be wholly sub-based by spoken language, as an offset to the opposite extreme, namely the record and systemization of approved literary usage, which has until lately almost monopolized the earnest attention of grammarians. But Professor Curme’s ambitious endeavor was to register the facts and phenomena of the German “*Gegenwartssprache*” both as it is



written and as it is spoken, and thereby build up a corpus of N. H. G. usage in its fullest extent. The scope of his work is broadly indicated as follows: <sup>3</sup> "Although this book is designed as a study of the German of today, it was found necessary, in order to give a faithful picture of *the living language in all its varied styles*, to include to a certain extent a study of the earlier forms of the language" . . . . But "although attention has thus been *carefully directed to early N. H. G. and also to the language of the classical period* and the conspicuous authors of the first half of the nineteenth century, the main stress lies in the direction of present usage." For this principal purpose the author scanned or scrutinized no less than seven hundred works of varied styles published since 1850 and, in addition to them, many representative newspapers from different parts of the German Empire, Austria, and Switzerland.

It was undoubtedly wise to turn to as large an areopagus as feasible in order to ascertain the main drift of opinion and practice on nearly every grammatical question that is still in any way open to dispute. But it is not made clear by what criterion this formidable bulk of raw material was sifted. If it is true on the one hand that even the enormous range of the work must fail to bring all existing phenomena under observation, it is equally clear on the other hand that from the mixed and confused current of opinion among such a multitude of judges the student would want to appeal to a smaller court of higher resort. Yet the all-important question concerning the true source of linguistic authority is hardly broached. We are told, to be sure, that "the usage of *the best authors of our time* was accepted in all cases as the highest authority." But that comes near begging the essential question. Are all those seven hundred to be ranked as "best writers"? If so, how came they to be selected, and by whom? And if not so, then who are the "best writers" among the number? Presumably those who use the best German. And what is the best modern German? Curme expressly tells us: that used by the best authors of our time. <sup>4</sup> So there we are in the full swing of the logical merry-go-

<sup>3</sup> Introduction, p. viii.

<sup>4</sup> But is it known to Professor Curme that some of our foremost writers submit their manuscript to professional germanists for final revision—and correction? In such cases, in whom is he vesting the *supremum arbitrium*?

round. If the point were really to be decided, by plebiscite or any other method, it is extremely improbable that unanimity could be reached as to who are the very best German authors; and even if it were possible, the objection would still hold good that superior writers, owing to their more pronouncedly individual, often markedly heterodox style, may not always be the safest guides to the lessons of "actual usage." So, for instance, it would be the height of pedantry not to reckon Gottfried Keller among the best German writers of his century. Yet to recommend as *mustergültig* for general emulation his diction, teeming with Helvetianisms and reprints and, if the truth may be told, irritating personal oddities, would be to encourage affectation and eccentricity in the great mass of us who need constantly to be reminded that "quod licet Jovi," etc. . . .

Undeniably, the German idiom of today differs in many respects from the idiom of fifty, sixty years ago. If, therefore, a grammar of up-to-date German turns to well-known writers for its standards and authority, the selection would better be made solely on linguistic and not on any other literary grounds. In such case a writer like Wilhelm Raabe, notwithstanding his artistic eminence, would hardly figure as an exponent of crisp, breezy, normal twentieth-century German. The very tempo of our style has passed through a change and Raabe's leisurely *andante* rather drags in our ears, accustomed by this time to a brisk and flexible *allegro*. Yet in Curme's grammar examples from Raabe are adduced with greater frequency than from any other writer.

Somehow it seems as though Professor Curme had been restrained by the philologist's deep-seated and ineradicable sense of piety towards the inherited past from really striking out into un-beaten paths as boldly as he meant to do. At all events, he is in his attitude towards many problems a conservative by instinct and training, and on that score he might be expected to show greater leniency to other workers in the field. But it is human nature to forget that even those of us who do not live in glass houses, inhabit houses that are not without windows. And apart from the consideration of tolerance, the wholesale berating of German grammarians as a class is not fully warranted by the facts. Is not Curme taking fright at a bugaboo when he warns against the "native grammarian in his quite uniform recommendation of the older more

dignified inflection," as though this man of straw were the arch-betrayer of our guileless young students? If I may judge by my own experience, much more mischief is wrought by grammarians and teachers of other than German nationality, so apt to err,—and then usually on the side of ultra-conservatism,—from the lack of a finely discriminating *Sprachgefühl* or through an intransigent partiality for the classics. The actual status of historical and descriptive grammar in modern Germany makes it almost preposterous for a foreign scholar to sound an alarm against "the few narrow-minded theorists who would degrade a rich and plastic language, capable of great and varied development, to their own petty, paltry organ." In direct refutation of this plain charge of dogmatism, the openmindedness of German grammarians is imperishably recorded in the roll of honor, reaching across the stretch of a century from Jacob Grimm to our own contemporaries and coevals,—men like Paul, Wilmanns, Behaghel, etc., to whom Professor Curme makes candid acknowledgment of his indebtedness.<sup>5</sup> To these men, and to scores of others similarly eminent,—Heyne, Sanders, Andresen, Wunderlich, Sütterlin, Engeli, Blatz, Weisse, *e tutti quanti*, the problems of German grammar present themselves in a light not essentially different from that in which they are viewed by our distinguished American colleague. For my part I could not name one German grammarian of standing and repute who might be justly denounced as an intransigent upholder of worn-out conventions. In his own advanced position and attitude what could be more heartening to our author than Behaghel's resolute promulgation of the *usus quem penes arbitrium est* and such ringing manifestos of sound radicalism as Schroeder's *Vom papiernen Stil* or Matthias' *Sprachleben und Sprachschäden*? Not a few of the Germans have gone considerably farther than has Curme in their opposition to the canonical conception of grammar, from John Ries's temperate protest up to Max Kleinschmidt's vehement onslaught.<sup>6</sup> Indeed it is questionable whether any other inexact science has been treated at the hands of German scholars more resolutely as a "*voraussetzungslose Wissenschaft*" than has the theory of modern grammar.

<sup>5</sup> Introduction, p. xii.

<sup>6</sup> *Grammatik und Wissenschaft*. Hannover, Jänecke, 1908.



Who would not gladly endorse the pious wish that "in its present interesting period of growth may the German language remain unchecked and free." But let no sensible person give comfort and countenance to the eccentric genius of Wilhelm Ostwald in its propaganda for the banishment of grammar. Admitting that the services of the grammarian were overrated of yore, what lover of the humanities would be willing to discard his influence? Our faith in the inherent possibilities of the language is as deep and strong as Curme's. The *fable convenue* about the awkwardness and obscurity of German diction is losing its credence abroad, and no longer may the Philistine join with impunity in the lamentations of Goethe, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche about the ineptitude of their mother tongue,—subjective complaints which for the most part were indicative of the eternal discrepancy between the highest intentions of genius and the limitations set for actual performance, and yet are to this day invoked by half-informed scoffers in support of the foolish contention that stiffness is a marked and insuperable drawback of German and disqualifies the language for a vehicle of subtlest thought and mood.

For all that, we cannot adjust the plain lesson of experience to Professor Curme's cheery faith in a sort of linguistic teleology. "In the nation," says he, "lie ever concealed countless hidden forces that are unceasingly at work on the strengthening, upbuilding, and beautifying of the language." This, again, is but half the truth. Without going to opposite extremes and setting up in the place of Curme's optimistic speech-philosophy the pessimistic doctrine of Kleinpaul which seeks to explain all structural changes in language as an incessant decline along the lines of least resistance, do not let us be beguiled into linguistic fatalism by Curme's untenable postulate of a *spontaneous* growth, refinement, and enrichment of the vernacular. For must we not point with mortified conscience to the dire results of our American policy of *laissez faire* in the great cultural question of our speech? If the systematic study of grammar can do something to check the prevailing maltreatment of English in this country,—its slovenly articulation and the ruthless abuse of its forms and syntax even by the more "lettered" classes, to say nothing of the increasing growth and spread of the most abject species of slang,—then surely we cannot spare such wholesome remedy for the quite perceptible general defection

from the higher amenities and standards of culture. Being firmly of the belief that methodical teaching can do a great deal to control any down-grade tendency, I would unabashedly plead for the retention of the grammarian in his ancient office, not of dictator by any means, but of faithful custodian and director.

And here I would in all discretion offer a word of caution. The reform grammarian, in bracing himself against the powerful tide of classical traditions, sometimes leans over too far. Such is the case when authority stands up for solecisms and slipslops; for instance, when Professor Curme turns advance agent for a popular mispronunciation, in the following passage of his grammar: "*pf* represents a compound of the simple sounds *p* and *f*, the *p* passing over into *f* before the closure is completed. *The phonetists and grammarians still hold to this compound*, but the people in a large part of the North and Midland pronounce only *f*, especially in the initial position."<sup>7</sup> (Pferd-Fehrt.) This truly astonishing defense of what outside its dialectal province is simply a slothful and offensive mispronunciation gives sanction to *Affel* (for *Apfel*) and *Naff* (for *Napf*).<sup>8</sup> This example, along with other instances of acoustic deception, e. g. wrong accentuations, shows that even a well-balanced judgment is liable to default when our more or less erratic senses are individually put on the witness stand.

It is not within the scope and purpose of these remarks to make up a budget of Professor Curme's *errata*. But I may at least venture to give my view as to his principal sources of error.

I refer, in the first place, to a certain arbitrariness in appraising the weight of competing or contributory reasons in rendering account for a phenomenon. Thus, we read: "As it is sometimes difficult to accent a long and heavy compound upon the first syllable as required so often by the logical force of that syllable, the principal accent is sometimes placed upon the first syllable of the second component element: *Hofmund'schenk*, *Pfingstsonn'tag*."<sup>9</sup> It will be noted that no other possible reasons for the shift of accent are mentioned, although some of them might seem more plausible than

<sup>7</sup> P. 53. The italics are mine. O. H.

<sup>8</sup> In a subsequent article in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* Curme reiterates the same statement on the evidence of further observations made by him in Germany.

<sup>9</sup> P. 43.

the one given. In the second place, the statement inclines to discursiveness, not infrequently to diffuseness, and the exemplification is not always relevant or apposite. The following passage will illustrate my meaning: "The indefinite article is often placed directly before a noun indicating a food or drink, where in English such nouns are commonly preceded by some other noun or an indefinite pronominal adjective indicating the usual amount of the substance served at one time to one person, or the usual amount prepared at one time in one mass: *eine Suppe*, a dish of soup, *ein Butterbrot*, a piece of bread and butter, *eine Kartoffel* (?), some potatoes, a dish of potatoes, *ein Bier*, a glass of beer, *ein Bitterer*, a glass of bitters (?), *ein Brot*, a loaf of bread (?). *Meine Frau bringt mir einen Kaffee mit einem* (?) *Rum*, my wife is bringing me a cup (?) of coffee with rum.<sup>10</sup> *Mylord bereitete sich einen Tee*, my lord made some tea for himself," etc.<sup>11</sup> Would it not have sufficed to make his lordship or some plainer person order once for all *a beer*, or *one beer*, or in case of necessity several beers, for that matter?

In parting from the subject, for the present, I desire to draw attention on my own account to a few major characteristics of our *Gegenwartsdeutsch*. Its gratifying aversion to the stereotyped phrase is the natural concomitant of a growing taste for *persönlicher Stil*. That, unfortunately, eccentricity and affectation find a fruitful soil in the widened field of self-expression, as well as do sincerity and simplicity, is perhaps only a transitory drawback. The narrower convergence of *Sprechstil* and *Schreibstil*, which throughout our best literary periods were farther apart than was the case in most other languages, is a fact of supreme significance. Since the tendency towards grammatical normalization, a natural result of fastidious schooling, has been happily accompanied by an increased wealth, flexibility, and vividness of expression, literature in its unremitting search for a more abundant and pliable organ has been getting into an ever closer touch with the actual speech. Already this gradual movement has had a marked effect on the syntax. The spell of the notorious *Bücherdeutsch* is broken. The erudite phraseology, the interminable period, the interlocked construction are dying hard, but they are dying. Our language beats with the

<sup>10</sup> De gustibus vere non est disputandum!

<sup>11</sup> P. 61.



quicken rhythm of modern life. It is modern life that pulses in the pungent vocable and pregnant phrase, in the nervous, trenchant clause, in the terse, laconic sentence. A complete appreciation of the *rapprochement* between the conversational and the literary styles is needed to bound and define more accurately than as yet any foreign grammarian has succeeded in doing the material that should form the substratum of an ideal grammar of the German language for reference in our higher schools,—and this material in its entirety may be designated as the *Gebildetensprache der Gegenwart in Wort und Schrift*.

OTTO HELLER.

Washington University.

## REVIEWS

*The Attitude of Gustav Freytag and Julian Schmidt toward English Literature* (1848-1862). By LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE, PH. D. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. VIII + 119 pp. [Hesperia: Schriften zur germanischen Philologie, 7].

In the cultural relationship of the European nations, strange as the fact may seem today, England was Germany's last love;<sup>1</sup> the first was France, but after the great Revolution of 1789, the awakening among the German people began. While the July revolution of 1830 and the mad year 1848 brought the Germans again under French influence, about 1850 all eyes turned toward England. Thither the persecuted democrats had fled and from there the new gospel of democracy was preached. English institutions appealed to educated Germans as political and social ideals. Goodwill toward England passed as the mark of a higher degree of civilization and culture. In choosing, therefore, the relation of Julian Schmidt and Gustav Freytag to English literature for the subject of his well written and interesting monograph, Dr. Price has selected two of the ablest representatives of this liberal, democratic movement in

<sup>1</sup>In this connection see the recent article by Friedrich Schönmann, *Theodor Fontane und England*. Publications of the Modern Language Association, September, 1915.

Germany who never tired of dwelling on the advantages of England's social and political system, of which the works of Scott and of Dickens were, in their minds, the outgrowth and who sought to strengthen the literature of their own country by a liberal infusion of English blood. For them, in a word, English literature signified health and strength while the various phases through which German literature had passed since the time of Goethe meant sickness or, at best, only partial convalescence.

When Julian Schmidt—for it is chiefly with Schmidt's work as the literary editor and critic of the *Grenzboten* that this investigation has to do—began his activity there was a wide gap in German intellectual life between theory and practice. German idealism—subjective idealism, as Schmidt called it—was in a state of unhealthy fermentation. In literature it manifested itself chiefly in an effort to escape from realities. The simplest matter could not be judged according to its nature and obvious connections but according to some transcendental system or sequence of ideas. Common reality was rejected, confused and abused by the priests of culture, but never reformed nor ennobled. To find a way out of this formless metaphysics and unbridled imagination into an intellectual world of law and order Schmidt regarded as his chief mission. As the critic himself remarks in regard to Bulwer Lytton's subjective idealism: "Since Goethe and Schiller we have not gone forward because we always begin with the highest problems and keep these as indefinite as possible. We have gone about lugging the problems of Faust and Wilhelm Meister with us and have been for that reason, not in a position to reproduce the smallest and most modest dwelling-house. The highest has not sufficed us and we have not attained the least." And apropos of Spielhagen's *Problematic Natures* he exclaims, "Are we then for all eternity to be condemned to hear of nothing but problematic natures, *i. e.*, natures which never feel, think or will anything in its entirety? Alas! there are enough such problematic natures in real life but why should art serve up the same misery a second time?"

As the most potent antidote for this pathological state of overstrained idealism Schmidt advocated "common sense," by which he meant the average opinion of that industrious middle class which in the recent past had been disparaged in German public life and letters. This practical, common-sense view of life, which never lost its touch with realities, Schmidt found best exemplified in

English literature, and the wholesome features of this literature, its ethical soundness, its genuine humor, its joy in life and its healthy idealization of the real and concrete, the German critic attributes to the advantages of English social life: the freedom and sincerity of English religion, the advantages of English citizenship and the concrete nature of English education whose chief agencies were family life, sport, politics, trade and industry. Thus under the guise of a series of reviews on English literature Schmidt aims to make his generation in Germany conscious of what he regards as the chief defects of their own.

With clear and thorough analysis, illuminating comparisons and discriminating condensations, Dr. Price has presented to us in three chapters the gist of what Schmidt, with this very definite and finite end in view, had to say about such poets as Byron, Shelley, Philip Bailey, Robert Browning, Elisabeth Barret Browning, Tennyson, Longfellow and Poe; and such writers as Bulwer Lytton, Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë, Carlyle, Kingsley, George Eliot, Emerson, Margaret Fuller and Nathaniel Hawthorne. To Scott, Dickens, and Freytag respectively, an entire chapter is devoted and in his monograph Dr. Price has not only succeeded in bringing together in clear and fluent English a body of highly suggestive criticism, worthy, for its own sake, of the attention of the scholar and critic, but he has at the same time, in his able exposition of Schmidt's historical position, made a valuable contribution to the history of German thought in the XIXth century as well as to the study of comparative literature.

To trace Dr. Price's analysis through all its details would go far beyond the limits of a review. Only the barest outline can be attempted here. In treating of the development of Romanticism in Germany and in England, Schmidt pointed out that this movement had expressed itself in two chief forms which he characterized as Medieval Romanticism and Subjective Idealism. Medieval Romanticism Schmidt found best represented by Walter Scott for whom both he and Freytag cherished a well-nigh unqualified admiration. In this essay on Scott, which is one of his best, Schmidt dwells on the different characters which this movement assumed in England and Germany. He much prefers the Medieval Romanticism of Scott to that of the older German Romanticists because of the former's objective attitude toward the romantic world. With all his enthusiasm for his subject the Scotch novelist never abandons



for a moment the point of view of his own age; the earlier German Romanticists with few exceptions, by a process of forced reflection which excluded the point of view of their own time, tried to live themselves back into the thought-world of an unenlightened age and thus allowed their own personalities to evaporate completely in the process. This fundamental difference, Schmidt traces in every branch of Scott's work and emphatically calls the attention of the German Romanticists to the Scotchman's procedure.

The term 'Subjective Idealism' was applied by Schmidt to that later phase of Romanticism which expressed itself in the form of a violent assertion of the right of personality against society. In the case of the older Romanticists the opposition to the spirit of the age had followed in general one channel: the worship of medievalism. The tendencies of the second are, for the most part, subject to all the whims of personal idiosyncrasy. In Germany it was the group of writers who leaned on Goethe, Schiller, Fichte and Schelling, in France those that followed Rousseau and de Stael. But most typical of all was Byron, whom Schmidt defines as the "personification of all the strength, all the weakness and all the delusions of his age." Faust and Don Juan he regards as the typical representatives of this over-stimulated age. As the German philosophers were seeking the solution of man's destiny not in his capacity but in his longings, so the literary heroes of the age were marveled at, not because of what they accomplished but because of the superhuman magnitude of their passion and ambition. "So long as one believes that there is an endless chasm between the possible and the real and sets his ideal in the possible, art is sick," exclaims Schmidt and to this forced idealism he attributes the scepticism and blasé character of the later Romanticism, the introduction of superhuman themes where the finite alone should be the proper subject of art, the disintegration of form and the partial introduction of allegorical interpretation, the natural accompaniment of these superhuman themes.

In the advance of Subjective Idealism in English literature the author shows that Schmidt distinguished five distinct steps: Wordsworth accustomed poetry to philosophic contemplation; Byron gave bold poetic expression to individual instinct in opposition to rules and law; Shelley provided admission to a dreamy play with metaphysical abstractions and formless imagery; then Carlyle natural-

ized German poetry in England not only through his translations but especially through his own style, modelled on that of Jean Paul, and rounded out the cult of genius into a doctrine; finally, from Germany, Hoffmann and Heine, from France particularly Balzac are introduced, and there takes possession of English thought and feeling that poetry of contrast which so interweaves faith and doubt, enthusiasm and irony, arrogance and the blasé spirit that the one abrogates the other. Bulwer Lytton's *Pelham* was the embodiment of this last phase. "He furnishes us the picture of a skeptical period which the English, French, and German peoples have passed through simultaneously, a period which we soon shall have overcome but which, however, cannot be erased from our course of development and which, therefore, deserves a representation in our literature."

While Schmidt on the whole condemns Subjective Idealism as it manifested itself in both English and German literature, in Dickens he found a writer after his own heart. The personal and individual as well as the national characteristics represented by Dickens appealed strongly to the German critic. In Schmidt's view Dickens was not a subjective but an artistic idealist who had faith in a definite moral code and an optimistic view of life and who shows tangibly before our eyes how much joy, beauty and idealism is to be found in very ordinary walks of life. He hails the English novelist, furthermore, as a democratic writer, of the people and for the people, such as Germany had not had for over a century. While Scott's works had appealed to the people they were nevertheless written from the view-point of the landed aristocracy. Such authors as Macaulay and Dickens, however, reassure Schmidt "that the English have not fallen into the error which has become so fatal for the Germans: of creating an art for artists." Dickens was then, in Schmidt's opinion, the first great English novelist who was truly democratic in style as well as in content.

The last chapter of his monograph Dr. Price devotes to an investigation of the part Gustav Freytag played in the tendencies which may be designated as the *Grenzboten* movement. Without implying extensive influence, the author finds that three characteristics which Schmidt regarded as positive features of the English novel are reproduced in Freytag's *Soll und Haben*: the structure of the novel,

the types of character depicted and the social basis of the novel. As a student of dramatic technique Freytag could hardly help being interested in questions of structure. The influence which Scott exerted upon him in this respect may be inferred from his remark in his *Erinnerungen*: "It is the great service of Walter Scott that he has taught with the certainty of a genius to link together the action in a climax and in great final effects."

Furthermore in the manner of his character drawing Freytag frequently reminds one of Scott and Dickens. The characters of the German novelist are either essentially good or bad; problematic natures play no part in his works and, as was usual in the early period, the good receive their reward in good time and in due time the bad their punishment. It was the principle of the *Grenzboten* that the German novel should seek the people at their labor. Since the time of *Wilhelm Meister* the typical hero of the novel had been a dilettant, willing to instruct the people but not to learn from them. In the English novel, on the other hand, the hero and the minor characters as well, had almost invariably been assigned a definite place in the economic world. Freytag made the novel correspond to the conditions of the time by letting characters from productive classes play a chief rôle. Schmidt's critical and Freytag's productive significance lie chiefly in their recognition of the fact that a social revolution had taken place in Germany, no longer the nobleman and the artist over against the citizen class but to the latter the broadest opportunities now lay open. This is what Schmidt taught and Freytag embodied.

Investigators and scholars of the present generation are inclined to attribute to Julian Schmidt a far greater influence on the intellectual life of his day than has been generally recognized in the past. On his critical work as a whole we may pass the same judgment that applies to almost all European literature since Goethe: interesting and instructive but in no sense monumental. The difficulties that lie in the way of an accurate estimate of his literary significance are many. He has left no monumental work, all his criticisms being scattered through the pages of his periodicals. Only after all phases of his work have been brought together in some such fashion as Dr. Price has here achieved for a definite period of his literary activity, can we hope for a complete view.

Again, all his essays are by no means of equal value. As a matter



of fact, Schmidt made a thorough study of only such writers as Scott, Shelley, Byron, Bulwer Lytton, Carlyle, Thackeray and Dickens, and his essays on these authors are worthy of particular attention. Much that he wrote about the others was from a very partial knowledge, conditioned largely by the current necessities of his\* magazine. But in them all, however superficial some may be, there is the same point of view, the same polemic purpose and the same rigid search for the qualities which Schmidt considered as the *conditiones sine quibus non* of a healthy and beneficent literature.

Constantine Rössler has described Julian Schmidt as a Protestant, a Prussian, a partisan and a polemic. Ethically, Schmidt was a Protestant who believed in a definite moral code and in personal moral responsibility. Politically, combined with his liberal and democratic sympathies, he was an uncompromising Prussian, who believed that the political salvation of the German people resided in the hegemony of the Hohenzollerns. Literarily, he was an enthusiastic advocate of English life and literature and the purposeful utilization of it in a constructive way to combat the tendencies of the German literature of his time. A man with such a definite and decided ethical, political and æsthetic creed is bound to meet with opposition. Critical opinion in regard to him still varies largely in accordance with the extent of the critic's agreement with his moral, political and æsthetic opinions. But this much at least is clear, he has been made to appear too much in the light of a merely negative and destructive critic who opposed Romanticism, the Young German movement, Hebbel and even much of the realism of his day. With all his limitations, Julian Schmidt was a master in the art of literary analysis who has hardly ever been excelled; no modern critic has been endowed with a keener instinct for tracing back national literary characteristics to the social conditions out of which they originated, and combined with these two qualities he possessed that gift which is indispensable to every successful creator of public opinion, the power of epigrammatic condensation.

In his concluding pages Dr. Price is very conservative, in our opinion too conservative, in his estimate of Schmidt's influence on the thought of his day. He finds no great value in Schmidt's attitude toward English literature in and for itself. The German

critic's significance lies rather in the fact that Schmidt was the spokesman of a popular movement of wide political, social and literary bearing. Schmidt formulated most clearly the average opinion of that industrious middle class which in the recent past, disparaged in public life and letters, was now with the rise of the liberal party, to become dominant in German life. Price finds his chief importance, therefore, in his representativeness and in his personal influence which was exerted in a friendly way upon a small circle of literary associates. This may be correct enough if we confine ourselves to a consideration of Schmidt's literary activity. But beyond this influence upon literature which can only express itself through individual writers in the form of literary production, Schmidt's influence on the public at large in the creation of public opinion, must be reckoned with. These influences do not express themselves in æsthetic form but they are none the less potent in shaping the social and political destinies of a whole people. However great exception we may take to his classification of writers and however many tenets in his political and literary creed the present generation may discard, Julian Schmidt, as the spokesman of the progressive movement of his age was, if not a great critic, at least a master-builder in the creation of that public sentiment upon whose foundation Bismarck, a few years later, was to weld together the disunited German states into a compact nation, intellectually, industrially and politically the most efficient and powerful on the continent of Europe.

We congratulate Dr. Price on the excellence of his work. His scholarly thoroughness, clear analysis of content—a content which is made readily accessible by a good table of contents and an excellent index—and the fluent clarity of his English have brought this monograph nearer to the ideal of what such investigations should be than any work of a similar kind with which we have had the fortune to become acquainted within recent years.

JOHN PRESTON HOSKINS.

*Princeton University.*

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*The Salon and English Letters.* By CHAUNCEY BREWSTER TINKER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915. 290 pp.

Professor Tinker's book marks a distinct achievement in an important direction,—the illumination, by means of scholarly and appreciative research, of what might be called the periphery of English literature in the eighteenth century. The treatment of this literature proper has hitherto been scholarly enough, although there are great masses of material as yet practically untouched. But the borderlands of this literature, in which it meets with society, with political or philosophical speculation, or with related art forms, have usually been disposed of in vague generalization or presented in chatty and unreliable volumes of the "Life and Times" variety. This study of the salon puts at our disposal the fruits of extended investigation into the relations of letters and mixed society. The entirely masculine setting of clubs and coffee-houses remains to be studied with the same thoroughness; while Professor Tinker's list of literary types developed under these social influences may be extended considerably to include satire and mock-heroic, the memoirs, and the pseudo-fiction of current scandal. Then in due time may follow the adequate treatment of various hybrid forms of expression with no immediate social connections: the theories of gardening as a fine art, that anticipated the Romantic Revival; the art of social and political caricature; the cultivation of a taste for the "picturesque"; and the new literature for and about children.

Professor Tinker's sub-title, "Chapters on the inter-relations of literature and society in the Age of Johnson," modestly disclaims any attempt at logical finality in the organization of his material. The subject still tempts, as it always has, to a popular and informal treatment. As the reader pursues a somewhat futile search for some unifying principle in the book, whether it be merely chronological or a contention for French influence or a testing of the English product by the standards of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, he is even inclined to question the one concise statement of purpose, that appears in the introductory chapter:—"I shall trace as well as I can the attempt made in England between 1760 and 1790 to emulate the literary world of Paris . . ."

This tracing of a distinct movement, indeed, is exactly what we



miss in Professor Tinker's treatment. There is a long and interesting chapter on "English Authors in Parisian Salons" that makes it clear enough that wellnigh every literary Englishman who visited France after 1750 found his way frequently to these assemblies. Succeeding chapters make it equally clear that the salon of the seventeenth century in England was never really naturalized and produced no offspring; that the "levee" was a rather intimate *morning* function practised for a century in England as in France, and that among literary people this often took a literary tone; and that the popular evening assemblies of the time were given over to dancing and cards, often to the exclusion of all profitable conversation, literary or what not. But there is no particular evidence that the salons of the Bluestockings originated under French influence or were developed in close imitation of French practises, except as they were colored somewhat by the intercourse of distinguished visitors between the two countries. The data regarding such visits, indeed, give little indication that English society leaders were attracted to contemporary French salons as real models; they seem much more concerned about their approximation of the Hôtel de Rambouillet and even the circle of Mlle. de Scudéry, though they protest all the while that they have substituted plain common sense for

point and turn and equivoue.

The fact appears to be that when English salons lost their literary character after the Restoration,—largely because social conditions were ill-adapted and no capable salon-leaders were at hand,—there lingered little scattered groups of women who affected serious literary and critical conversation, but the mass of society sought its amusement in the direction Mme. Mazarin's salon had indicated,—the delights of the gaming table. The critical circles of *femmes savantes* are portrayed clearly enough in one of the experiences of Sarah Fielding's *David Simple*,<sup>1</sup> written as late as 1744. The extravagant love of cards stares at us from every satire of the time, particularly those of the periodical essays. For example, a writer in the *Connoisseur*, No. 110 (1756), estimates "upon an exact calculation" that the fashionable assemblies in London and the suburbs amount annually to eight thousand three hundred and

<sup>1</sup> Not "*Peter Simple*" (p. 257).

upwards, and "gaming is an essential diversion at all these meetings." Is it far wrong to regard the efforts of Mrs. Montagu and her friends as primarily a reaction against the domination of all social gatherings by this one amusement?

From the evidence supplied by the periodical essays two documents in particular bear upon the history of English salons,—one the ironical note of invitation quoted and discussed in Johnson's *Rambler*, No. 10 (1750), the work of Hester Mulso, who later became the salon favorite Mrs. Chapone; the other a proposal, in the *Connoisseur*, No. 49 (1755), to establish an English Parliament of Ladies somewhat after the model of the Covent Garden Society, a card-playing organization of fashionable women. This was written by John Duncombe, who had just published his rather famous feminist poem *The Femininead*, and who was later to become the husband of the talented Susanna Highmore. Certainly it is not without significance that all three of these people, together with the learned Elizabeth Carter, were members of the circle that for years gathered about the person of Samuel Richardson in North-End, and there cultivated essentially the pleasures of the literary salon and deplored the idle pursuits of fashionable assemblies. The prominence and influence of this coterie of Richardson, particularly in its insistence on profitable amusement and its encouragement of literary effort, cannot easily be disregarded in tracing the rise of salons in the eighteenth century. The presiding genius was a man, but the man was Richardson.

Indeed there appears to be another possible interpretation of the salon and its function. According to this the ideal salon is a perfect balance of interests: aristocratic and *bourgeois*; pleasant and profitable; social as against critical, philosophical, or in general intellectual. Only in rare instances has this perfect balance been found,—in the palace of Urbino, perhaps, or in the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Imitations of these ideal creations have invariably tipped the balance in one direction or another, and have become self-conscious and artificial. This was particularly true of early English experiments, whether they leaned toward literature and kept up a pretense at match-making, like that of the "Matchless" Orinda, or made most of the gaming table, like the French and English guests of Mme. Mazarin. A little later, when literature and aristocracy in England had practically parted company, and women of fashion had lost interest in literary pursuits, it was left for the disciples

of the new *bourgeois* school of letters to build up their own coteries in their own way, taking suggestions where they pleased. The result was something like the Hôtel de Rambouillet and something like the French salons of the eighteenth century, but was essentially representative of sentimental middle-class England, leaning heavily toward serious but orthodox thought.

In his concluding chapter, on "The Social Spirit in English Letters," Professor Tinker has particular difficulty with his historical perspective. Fluent and clever conversation, the cultivation of familiar correspondence both for its own sake and as an adjunct to fiction, diary-keeping, and the art of intimate biography had all been in process of development in England for generations. The first two had flourished in the mid-seventeenth century about the court of Henrietta Maria, and had never been lost sight of afterward, although Swift was bewailing English conversation as a lost art in 1738, and Mme. de Sévigné's correspondence, published in 1726, no doubt gave a fresh impetus to English letter-writing. To say, however, that "the golden age of English letter-writing arrived without a period of long and painful preparation" is as open to question as the grouping of Lady Mary with Cowper, Johnson, and Horace Walpole as writers "at the end of the century" (p. 252).

As for the composition of intimate biography and its employment of realistic detail, one need only refer to the host of memoirs and secret histories published at the opening of the century. Many of them shamelessly mingled fact and fiction, it is true. Most of them were little more than translations from the French, localized so far as possible on English soil. But it is scarcely adequate to compare Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* and his *Life of Johnson* with such formal posthumous biographies as had preceded these in England, with the conclusion that here was essentially a new thing, dependent upon the recent union of social and literary interests. If comparison be made with such documents as the *Memoirs of the Count de Gramont* or some of the intimate if unidentified detail of Mrs. Manley or Eliza Haywood or the various periodical essayists, the novelty of Boswell's work is of a different sort. It consists chiefly in doing for a great literary figure after his death what had been done for numerous prominent social figures in their lifetime. Doubtless Boswell was working according to theory and not consciously following a tradition. In any case



it does not follow that he chose to apply this treatment to Johnson because the latter was prominent in the life of the salons.

All this is by way of criticism of the development of Professor Tinker's thesis, or of the slight interest he seems to have had in presenting a thesis at all. It is not intended to reflect upon the thoroughness with which he has collected and digested the details of the varied correspondence with which he has made himself so familiar. The book illuminates certain sides of eighteenth century life and letters as no previous work has done, and the presentation is vivid and in the main convincing. It would be more valuable for the student if accompanied by a bibliography of the many sources drawn upon by the author. As it is, one is left to infer that these are limited to the references in the foot-notes, thus leaving some rather serious gaps in his data. For instance, there is no mention whatever of the rather well-known account in the *Observer*, No. 17, of an evening spent with certain easily recognized celebrities at one of the Feasts of Reason conducted by Mrs. Montagu ("Vanessa").

A. H. UPHAM.

*Miami University.*

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*Las Paredes Oyen*, por JUAN RUIZ DE ALARCÓN, edited with introduction and notes by CAROLINE BOURLAND, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914. 12mo., xxx + 189 pp.

[Continued from p. 104.]

I, 647. *Darme yo por entendido*. 'Act on his suggestion' is nearer the meaning than the interpretation of the note. The speaker's statement means that he is under no obligation to obey a suggestion when it will be to his own undoing; not that he will pretend that he did not understand what Don Mendo meant, for he acknowledges (vv. 644-645) that he does. The same connotation of this participle is to be found in the French *c'est entendu*.

I, 739. This passage does not recall the classification of women in *Verdad Sospechosa*, I, iii, nearly as much as the tirade below, vv. 742-770, recalls Lope's *Noche Tolendana*, I, vi.

I, 740-741. *Quien . . . azar*. The expression here is not one of warning but of ill-wishing and would be more nearly rendered by something like the following: 'Bad luck to him who leads

others into uncertain places.' Spanish has no independent potential subjunctive to warrant the 'may get into trouble' of the note. *encuentro* and *azar* are not limited to plays with dice. When applied to dice *encuentro* referred not to doublets in general but to the high ones whose opposites formed the *azar* as may be seen from Lope, *Noche Toledana*, III, vii:

En el reves del azar  
Está el encuentro pintado.

I, 744. *en tu vida*: the *no*, now regularly omitted with this expression, was occasionally used by Alarcón, cf. *Bib.*, vol. 52, p. 143 b.

I, 803. *Extraña la cortesía*. Although *extrañar* means 'to find strange,' 'be surprised at,' sometimes even 'to surprise' (not generally given in the dictionaries), until elsewhere attested, the interpretation of the note 'to make to seem strange' should not be accepted. The meaning of the passage is not that their friendship 'makes courtesy seem strange' but 'makes it unnecessary,' 'dispenses with it.' The interpretation rests on the other meaning of the verb, 'to put away,' to 'put aside.'

I, 838. *Argeles*. Although the editor has correctly interpreted the passage, the translation by 'prisons or chains' will not fit into the rest of the text. More and necessary help would have been given by 'easily captivate the good-will of all' as equivalent to somewhat more of the passage.

I, 858. *momo*. Not as rendered, but 'a regular Momus,' *i. e.* a person who ridicules, not one who is ridiculous. The meaning of the word as given in the note is to be found, however, in Alarcón. *Prueba de las promesas*, III. The ordinary meaning of the word is 'grimace,' and the two meanings mentioned above are not dictionary acceptations. Momus, as god of excessive talkers, is referred to by Calderón, *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, II.

I, 912. *Que los altares visite* does not mean necessarily 'to go the rounds,' but simply 'to go to church,' a thing forbidden to young ladies by night. Even by day they were allowed to go only when accompanied.

I, 990. *ya escampa*. This expression occurs too often both in Alarcón and elsewhere to be an abbreviation of anything. The ordinary meaning of the verb is, as the note says, 'to cease raining,' but it occurs occasionally with a subject where the meaning must

be something else. I have at hand only one, Alarcón, *Empeños de un engaño*, II, vi:

*Campana.* (Aparte) Vertió el poleo.

*Inés.* (Aparte) Ya escampa la tempestad.

Where the meaning seems to be:

*Campana:* (aside) The storm has burst!

*Inés:* (aside) The tempest is upon us!

I, 998. *Jordán.* The 'cosmetics' of the note are to be found in the *botes*, i. e., *botes de unto* as in Quevedo, *Zahurdas de Plutón* (*Biblioteca*, vol. XXIII, 315 b), not in the *Jordán*, the interpretation being 'The Jordan in which she bathes and renews her youth is her cosmetics.'

I, 1046-1047. *Así . . . estés: abonar* is poorly rendered by "give credit to." It means 'justify,' 'defend,' as may be seen by countless instances of the author—several in the play before us. Beltran being only a servant there is no need that he be forewarned. It simply means 'That's the way he defends his best friend, if you did not happen to know it.'

I, 1049. *La que a nadie no perdona.* The note does not give the literal rendering; note the feminine of the pronoun. Even in the original of the *romance* it means *she who*. Here the connection with the original phrase is much closer than the note indicates and 'Don Mendo's tongue is worse than death itself,' although not a close translation, is nearer the meaning. The use of *no* needs explanation; of course it would not be permitted today.

II, 6. . . . *de picado.* 'They got the better of me by taking advantage of my reckless playing,' or something similar, would have better annotated the passage than the note given. The use of *picarse* as mentioned in the note was exceedingly common in the seventeenth century. Harder for the beginner to seize is the use of *de* here, also the meaning of *cogieron*.

II, 63. *tijera* is a regular singular for 'scissors,' e. g., Alarcón, *Biblioteca*, xx, p. 94; Lope, *Premio del Buen Hablar*, III, iii; Quevedo, *La Hora de todos*, *Biblioteca*, XXIII, p. 400a.

II, 63-64. *La*, is not the indefinite feminine, but refers to *tijera*, the literal meaning of which it assumes. 'I was once with a certain blade who jabbed it (sc. the blade, etc.)' The pronominal pun hardly exists in English, although one might be made for the



occasion, *e. g.*, The boy sitting on the bough, made one (*sc. bow*).  
etc. In Spanish it is common, *e. g.*, Alarcón, *Desdichado en el Fin-  
gir*, I, vi:

¿Dió la vuelta?  
Ya la dió  
Y las diera mejor yo  
En la cama;

Alarcón, *Ganar Amigos*, I, vi:

Dadme esa capa por ésta,  
Cuyo color es el blanco  
Que siguen mis enemigos,

where *que* refers to *blanco* but as 'goal.'

*Pegar*, as mentioned by the editor, is transitive with object of the person affected; when used with the indefinite feminine *pegarla* or *pegarsela* it means 'to deceive.'

II, 114-120. The note treats of bull-fights in Madrid. Much more to the point would be a study of the bull-fights at Alcalá, cf. Alarcón, *Todo es Ventura*, III, iv and xiii. In passing, since the *Paredes oyen* was played in 1617 it is difficult to see what connection there is between bull-fights in Madrid in 1623 and bull-fights at Alcalá mentioned some six years before.

II, 127. *Tetis*. The editor has been no more fortunate than Hartzenbusch. Thetis as a personification of the sea is a commonplace from Silver Latinity down. Cf. *Lusiadas*, III, 115:

Já se hía o sol ardente recolhendo  
Para a casa de *Thetis*. . .

Rojas, *Viaje entretenido, Exposición de los nombres*, ("Tetis, hija de Celo y Besta, mujer de Peleo, madre de Aquiles y mujer de Neptuno") shows that the difference was both known and important unless we presuppose that Rojas thought that the same *Tetis* who was the mother of *Aquiles* was also the wife of Oceanus. *Manganilla de Melilla*, I, ii, v. 18-19, agrees perfectly with the *Lusiadas* and determines the person of the *Tetis* of our text, viz., *Thetis*. The mantle of Thetis, then, is the sea with which the sun is to be enveloped, thus aiding the conspirators.

II, 305-308. *Mas no fácil . . . favor*. Much more to the point would have been the explanation of *fácil*; not an adjective modifying Lucrecia, as the note might lead one to suppose, but an adverb.

II, 403. *Mudar . . . sabios*. The Latin is not as given but "Prudentis est mutare consilium." It is, moreover, a commonplace as in its other Spanish form "El sabio muda consejo, el necio no," or in the variant of Alarcón, *Mudarse por Mejorar*, I, i:

El mudar los pareceres  
Con causa, de sabios es.

II, 687-691. *O piensa . . . castigo*. "Para no darle el castigo" cannot mean 'because he believes that I cannot punish him'; *al necio* is not the subject of *piensa*; *nada* is not negative, but used on account of the interrogation. This use of a negative either in a question or in a clause depending on a negative is regular enough both in Spanish and French. ". . . et me voit-on mêler de rien dont je ne vienne à bout?, *L'Avare*, II, v, 'undertake anything'; ". . . nunca había leído en las historias . . . que ninguno los hubiese traído," 'that any of them.' Construction and meaning are perfectly clear,—'Does he think that he is in his own village, so that his rank and power will avail the stupid youngster a whit in his relations with me, and that I won't punish him?'

II, 796. *Preguntádselo*. The *princeps* was right but the editor is not fortunate in her interpretation. It simply means 'go ask,' 'just ask,' and is addressed by the Duke to Don Juan. The change of the *vos* form here to the *tu* form of v. 839 need cause no concern—they are back again at *vos* in III, 618 as they were in II, 641.

III, 54. *os valed*. The note does not give the usage even of Alarcón's time. The rule was that the pronoun object might precede the imperative provided there were an accented word preceding and no modifiers following. Of this usage the cases cited are examples; cf. however, Alarcón, *Examen de Maridos*, I, v:

Y así, Marqués, resolvéos  
A olvidalla o a olvidarme.

The rule is not without exceptions.

III, 55. *yo no paso por eso* does not mean "I do not admit that," but 'I do not accept your offer,' or something similar. *Pasar por* in the sense of 'admit' I am not familiar with. As 'submit to,' 'undergo,' (French *passer par*), it is still used; cf. Johnson, *Cuentos Modernos* (American Book Co.), p. 27—*pasó por todo*, 'accepted, put up with, everything,' not 'assented to.'

III, 207-208. *Diérasle . . . intento*. Inversion has nothing to do with this construction—here there is not even a subject to

invert. The example from *La Pródiga* is not to the point as it is a case of concession—‘even if,’—not of condition. What we have here is a fairly well distributed usage of parataxis, the co-ordinating of members of a sentence instead of the subordination of one to the other. An English case may be seen in sentences like ‘You scratch my back and I’ll scratch yours’ (proviso, condition), or ‘You may talk your fill, I’ll not go’ (concession). In Spanish the conditional parataxis regularly uses *que* with the second member as here, *que yo le diera*; so also Lope, *Quien ama no haga fieros*. I, i:

Estuviera [yo] en gran lugar,  
Que me saliera parientes

‘if I were only in a lofty position, *then (que)* I would have plenty of relatives.’ The concessive tends to use *y* as in the case cited in the note; so also Lope, *Acero de Madrid*, I, iv,

Dijeras mulo, y yo ffo  
Que lo hubieras acertado

‘You might have called me a mule and *even then [y]* I think you’d have hit it.’

III, 283-284. *Quien no tiene . . . tiene*. Not as rendered; Spanish has no potential subjunctive; *Que* should bear accent. Render: ‘One who has nothing to lose’ or ‘who has nothing that may be said to him.’

III, 469. *viene rodado*,—not ‘*the case*’ that happens by chance in support of his theory but the *apothegm* in vv. 467-468 that occurs to his mind by chance.

III, 524. *el Marqués de Villena*. The information in the note is true but entirely extraneous to the difficulty; neither does *quiso* mean ‘would have delighted.’ The reference is to the legend that Villena had himself cut to pieces and put in a jar, where he intended to remain until things on earth should go to his liking. The last speech of the author’s *Cueva de Salamanca* speaks of the jar but fails to mention the conditions of his leaving it. References to the legend are common (*cado año* according to v. 524); and Quevedo *Visita de los Chistes* (*Biblioteca*, XXIII, pp. 339, ff.), gives the clearest account of the Marqués and what finally induced him to leave his retreat. Some of the things which the Marqués was waiting for may be found in Rojas, *Lo que Quería Ver el Marqués de Villena*. The meaning then is ‘This is the time that the Mar-



qués de Villena was waiting for. I must confess that I have heard that all my life but this time it is so pat . . .' Cf. also Quevedo (*Biblioteca*, XXIII, p. 330): *El Mundo por de dentro*, "... Querer como el . . . nigromántico, salir de nuevo de una redoma. . ."

III, 667. *Que si culpado*. The note is incorrect in implying that his punishment will be all the severer in case she does not object to learn of his innocence, which is manifestly just the opposite of what the author is trying to say. The difficulty lies in the punctuation which Ochoa had already corrected. The construction would have been still clearer had the clause *que . . . ser* been enclosed in parentheses,—'Listen to me a moment—unless you object to learning of my innocence—for if I am guilty my punishment will be the more severe.'

III, 925. *Buena pascua*,—not as rendered, nor equivalent to *Santas pascuas*, but a felicitation, 'Congratulations,' 'good luck to you.' Its opposite is *mala pascua*, *mala pascua tengas*, or similar, 'Bad 'cess to you.' *Santas pascuas* is merely an expression of resigned assent, 'Very well, if you will have it so.'

If the purpose of the editor is, as suggested (Introduction, p. iv), to bring the text in question within the grasp of students in the fourth or fifth semester of their Spanish studies, there remain certain passages which need explanation, *e. g.*,

I, 177. *¿Cuánto va . . .* 'How much will you bet on your seeing her?' The same construction is found in II, 663 ff.: 'What do you bet that he hasn't said?' . . . etc. In either case the point of view in the dependent clause is that of the speaker,—note the negative in the first case, its absence in the second.

I, 204-205. *impedida . . . merced*, 'too busy to receive, etc.' There are two difficulties here: of *impedida*, adjective, meaning 'busy,' as in Molière, *Avare*, III, viii, "Dis-lui que je suis empêché"; and the more or less regular Spanish equivalent of 'too . . . (adjective) to' in the use of *para* alone without adverbial modifier, as in III, 223.

I, 210. *Leed*, . . . 'Read, for it concerns a life, etc.'

I, 322. *aunque más . . .* here, as often, for *por más que*; not 'although more' but 'no matter how much I strive.'

I, 336. *Cosa cruel*,—simply 'an awful bore,' 'a terrible nuisance.' The following example of the corresponding substantive will illustrate its value,

## Crueldad

Es tener obligaciones,

Que han de interrumpir los gustos.

Alarcón, *Mudarse por Mejorarse*, I, xiv.

‘It is a nuisance,’ etc. not ‘It is cruelty.’

I, 370. *Quería*, etc. ‘She wanted me for a husband about as much as if my grandfather were a ‘Turk,’ i. e., ‘not at all.’I, 374-377. *Sin ser . . . deseo*,—a passage of some difficulty. ‘How about Theodora?—She didn’t want me for a husband.—Naturally enough: unless she lacks sense I don’t think any woman wants to accept the servitude of matrimony for a whole life when the love is on only one side’; *un* means ‘merely one’ as Alarcón, *Desdichado en Fingir*, I, iv,

No es una mujer liviana

Por un amor.

‘not wanton merely for one love affair.’

I, 451. *esperanza*. To those unacquainted with the figurative use of colors and the ideas they represent in the seventeenth century explanation is necessary. ‘There is no need for summer to clothe the fields with green now that they hope to see you,’ hope being typified by green, as in *Desdén con el Desden*, II, iii. Jealousy, for example, was typified by blue, Lope, *Noche Toledana*, II, vi. That the figurative signification of colors was distasteful to some is evinced by Quevedo’s *Premáticas . . . Generales*, (*Biblioteca*, vol. XXIII, p. 430a) “Quítanse las significaciones de las colores, que son muy enfadosas. . . .” A still clearer use is that of v. 476 below, “Los campos de esperanza matizados,” or of Lope, *Hermosura Aborrecida*, II, vii. “Cómprame un poco de paño.—¿Qué color?—Satisfacción.—No sé qué color es.—Naranjada.”I, 455. *en cristales*,—i. e., ‘the rivulets will be so glad to have Ana look into them that they will solidify themselves that she may pass over them dry shod.’ The idea is taken up below, v. 478, *cristales cuajados*. The ‘silver bridge’ of v. 457 was not coined for the occasion but existed already in the proverb, “Al enemigo que huye hazle puente de plata.”I, 539-542. *Del vestido . . . lugar*, although not difficult in general significance, is by no means easy of analysis. The difficulty lies in determining antecedent and value of *lo*, v. 542; exact interpretation lies in the comprehension of a construction treated above (on II, 63-64)—that of a pronoun taking up its antecedent

in a different meaning. *Lo* in this case refers to *color* of v. 539, but takes it up in the sense of 'appearance,' 'likelihood': 'I am asking him the reason of his gala attire. Since the time and place show likelihood (*lo*, sc. *color*) of his accompanying you.'

I, 613. *asegurar* has the rare meaning, 'to be assured against.' *Seguro*, 'safe [against]' is not uncommon, e. g., II, 537; *Don Quijote*, I, 27, "segura . . . de la traición."

II, 454. *Adan*,—not 'the last man in the world,' but 'the man of the highest rank.' 'Servant as I am, I would not marry him though he were of the highest rank in the world.' Adam as the source of the world's nobility is the subject of a pun in Alarcón's *Desdichado en el Fingir*, I, xiii,

Y el que a todos honra dió,  
Que fué Adán, ¿no fué criado?

'Wasn't Adam, who brought honor to all, created ['a servant']?'

II, 820. ¿*Cosa que algún hecho intente* . . . 'Do you mean for me to undertake something likely to cost us dear?' *Cosa que* as introducing an incredulous question would seem to need attention. One example will suffice;

*Rey.* ¿A que vienes . . . . . A casarte?

*Dorotea.* Sí.

*Rey.* ¿Cosa que fuese con él?

(Lope, *Niña de Plata*, III, xiii).

'Do you mean with *him*?'

II, 847. *Como eso puede el dinero*.—*Como* limits *eso*, does not govern *puede*, 'Yes, money accomplishes things like that.' The whole expression of the text is a stock phrase as in Lope, *Flores de D. Juan*, I, viii; Lope, *Bobo del Colegio*, I, iii, and elsewhere. *Como eso* is the unit and is found with any verb desired. "Como esas cosas andan impresas," "Cómo eso dirá Plinio," Lope, *Dorotea*; here too belongs "Como eso no habrá llegado," *Don Quijote*, I, xviii, so variously interpreted.

III, 878. *No te me puedes quejar*,—a regular pronoun order, as in Lope, *Moza de Cantaro*, II, xvi; "¿Quién te me enojó?" See Weigert, *Untersuchungen zur spanischen Syntax*, Berlin, 1907, p. 59. ". . . no te me equivoques en el peso." Galdos, *Electra*, III, 1.

III, 552. *va de tristeza*. This common expression needs explanation. Its meaning is 'Very well then, *be* sad,' or the like. *Va* is probably a disguised subjunctive corresponding to *vaya*, as the *vamos* of the imperative and the *vais* of II, 830 correspond to



*vayamos* and *vayáis*. In fact *vaya* occasionally occurs in this stock phrase, e. g., Tirso, *Por el Sótano y el Torno*, II, xv;

*Jusepa.* De soneto portugués *vaya*.

*Polonia.* Va de Portugal.

Calderón, *Casa Holgona*, "Pues *vaya* de letra y baile"—'On with your song and dance.' One example will suffice of the ordinary *va de*: Alarcón, *Prueba de las Promesas*, III:

Haréle si supiere;

Va de encanto.

'I'll see if I can do it; here goes for the charm.' Of a more rare use is the "*va la consulta*" of Alarcón, *Examen de Maridos*, II. To close with another stray form of the verb under discussion—the imperative second person *vá* for *vé* as in *Don Quijote*, II, xlvii, and in Torres Naharro's *Comedia Himenea*, I, "*Va de mi*," "*Vame por mi vihuela*," may be mentioned.

Naturally no two editors would agree as to exactly what points in a text needed annotation or were worthy of attention, but there would seem to be no doubt that, considering the time and space given to various notes in this book on matter which is available elsewhere, there should have been space for some of the points to which attention has been called. It is to be hoped that still more work will be done in editing texts of the seventeenth century, a period which offers so much that it is worthy of study but which offers such difficulties to the newcomer in the field.

F. O. REED.

*University of Wisconsin.*

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### SPENSER'S BIRTH-DATE

Spenser himself speaks of "mery London, my most kyndly Nurse, that to me gaue this Lifes first natie sourse" (*Prothalamion*, 128-9). Since many of the parish registers of London perished in the great fire and the date on his tombstone in the Abbey is a conjectural emendation of an obvious error, direct testimony as to his birth-date is lacking. Hypotheses usually begin with Spenser's statement in *Amoretti*, that the year he has been in love seems

longer "then al those fourty which my life outwent." Counting back from his dating of this sonnet brings Grosart to 1552. But for some years now it has been held without challenge (see *Mod. Lang. Review*, April, 1908) that this sonnet was written at the close of 1591, during Spenser's stay in London, and by inference that his birth-date was 1550. Certain other considerations bear out this earlier date.

In the first place it will make Spenser, as seems likely, a little backward in his schooling. He matriculated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1569. For the average boy this would indicate an age of sixteen, the usual age for graduation from the Merchant Taylors School. There are, however, exceptional cases, as that of Spenser's friend Harvey, who matriculated when already over twenty years of age. Spenser, as is well known, underwent whatever handicap came with poverty. A "poore scholler" in London and a sizar at Pembroke, he was also frail in health. Portraits uniformly represent him as slender and delicate, so that it is not surprising to find him recorded at Pembroke in the Treasurer's Account Book (which Grosart quotes very imperfectly and inaccurately) as receiving sick-pay no less than five times, with illnesses of eleven weeks in 1570-1, and thirteen weeks in 1571-2. Similar illness may well have delayed his earlier work. This circumstance, to be sure, as well as his probable writing of the sonnets Van der Noodt published, offers no basis for conclusions: it has corroborative value.

The point I wish here to make is that the original dating of Spenser's monument bears out the earlier birth-date, 1550. The present monument is of course a restoration of 1778 having no evidential value. But the original dates from 1620, when Anne Countess of Dorset and her dependents were within a living tradition of Spenser, then dead but twenty-one years. The original, which may still be seen as a frontispiece of the 1679 folio, bore the date 1510. We may be doubly sure of this because of a manuscript note by the engraver George Vertue (B. M. Harley 23089, fol. 140 [new 134]), which reads: "From my own Observation of Spensers Monument the date is thus 15 10. observe . . 5. 1. the distance between." A confusion between 5 and 1 is so common in manuscripts of that date that the emendation 1550 presents no difficulty. On the other hand, 2 or 3 is not easily confused with 0. Nor is it

valid to assume that because Nicholas Stone, the master mason to King Charles I confused one number where confusion was easy, that therefore he confused another where confusion was difficult. Moreover, "observe . . 5. 1. the distance between." Such a distance points to some hesitation concerning the second 5.

At the close of 1590 (*Amoretti* LXII deals with New years) Spenser with some fondness for round numbers speaks of cycles: the "three score yeares" cycle of Mars, and his year of love which seems longer to him than the forty years his life has now exceeded. The data bear each other out, and make it, if not certain, at least probable that Spenser's birth-date was 1550.

PERCY W. LONG.

*Harvard University.*

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#### ARGOT OF THE FRENCH ARMY

In the past year there seem to have appeared many new words in the language of the French soldier. In this, as in all former campaigns, the men in the ranks have come to use many words and phrases to be found neither in the dictionaries nor in the current slang of any one district in France; terms are taken from the current argot of the Parisian Apaches, from the argot of southern cities in France, from the army argot of former campaigns, and, sometimes from the British and African troops.

For example, the word *piou-piou* meaning *soldat de la ligne*, was resuscitated from the argot of former campaigns. The term *galette*, was taken from Parisian argot, where it replaces the word *argent*. *La bidoche*, is a word of provençal argot meaning *la viande*. The phrase *kif-kif*, meaning *égal* or *pareil*, was taken from the African troops. The English "yes, yes," and "all right" were also somewhat used.

Aside from such words, there are a number of terms that seem to have been coined—in meaning if not always in form—by the soldiers of this war.

In the list which follows, there are no words, so far as I have been able to determine, that existed in the language before the war, in a meaning at all similar to that in which the soldiers now employ them. It is not at all probable that these words are uniformly



common along the whole front; but it is certain that they are used by a considerable proportion of the French Army.

The sources, as in all cases where slang is investigated, are largely oral. A few words of the list are to be found in the poems printed in *La Guerre Sociale* during the first week of October, and in the serial story, *Le Roi des Cuistots*, which appeared in *Le Matin*, beginning about the first of August, 1915. In almost every case, however, I have heard the living word spoken by a wounded soldier or by a *permissionnaire*.

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|--|--|
| Amoché,— <i>blessé</i> .   | Fortif,— <i>fortification</i> .                          |
| As de carreau,— <i>havresac</i> .  | Fromgi,— <i>fromage</i> .                                |
| Azor,— <i>fusil</i> .  | Gamelle,— <i>obus allemand de 77</i> .                   |
| Babillarde,— <i>lettre</i> .   | Gnole,— <i>rhum</i> .                                    |
| Bacchante,— <i>moustache</i> .   | Godasse,— <i>soulier</i> .                               |
| Balancer,— <i>vaincre</i> .  | Jouer un air,— <i>se battre</i> .                        |
| se Barber,— <i>s'ennuyer</i> .   | Là (être),— <i>être vaillant</i> .                       |
| Basflanc,— <i>lit</i> .  | Marmite,— <i>obus de gros calibre</i> .                  |
| Blot (avoir son),— <i>être bien nourri</i> .                             | Moche,— <i>médiocre, qui laisse à désirer</i> .          |
| Bochie,— <i>Allemagne</i> .  | Moulin à café,— <i>mitrailleuse</i> .                    |
| se Bomber de,— <i>être privé de</i> .                                    | Pèse,— <i>chaise</i> .                                   |
| Bonhomme,— <i>soldat (pl. les bonhommes)</i> .                           | Plume (le),— <i>lit</i> .                                |
| Bosser,— <i>grandir, s'enfler</i> .                                      | Pinard,— <i>vin</i> .                                    |
| Botter,— <i>donner up coup de pied</i> .                                 | Rentrer dans les choux,— <i>tomber dessus, tuer</i> .    |
| Cabèche,— <i>tête</i> .  | Riflard,— <i>fusil</i> .                                 |
| Cafard (avoir le),— <i>ressentir de la mélancolie</i> .                  | Ripaton,— <i>jambe</i> .                                 |
| Canard,— <i>soldat</i> .   | Rosalie,— <i>baionnette</i> .                            |
| Caillasse,— <i>argent</i> .  | Rouspeter,— <i>grommeler</i> .                           |
| Carré,— <i>chambre</i> .   | Salaud,— <i>ami (employé comme mot de camaraderie)</i> . |
| Chien du quartier,— <i>adjudant</i> .                                    | Saucisson,— <i>doigt</i> .                               |
| Claboter,— <i>crier (de clabauder)</i> .                                 | Sèche,— <i>cigarette</i> .                               |
| Couane,— <i>cheveux. (Racler la couane—couper les cheveux)</i> .         | Simple,— <i>soldat</i> .                                 |
| Cran,— <i>jour de salle de police</i> .                                  | Singe,— <i>viande conservée en fer blanc</i> .           |
| Crapouillot,— <i>lance-bombe</i> .                                       | Tampon,— <i>ordonnance</i> .                             |
| Cuistot,— <i>cuisinier</i> .   | se Tirebouchonner,— <i>rire aux éclats</i> .             |
| Embocher,— <i>rendre "boche"</i> .                                       | Zigouiller,— <i>tuer</i> .                               |
| s'en Faire,— <i>se tourmenter. (T'en fais pas—Ne te tourmente pas)</i> . |  |
| Fausse-calle,— <i>homme non mobilisable</i> .                            |  |

GEOFFROY ATKINSON.

Union College.

NOTES ON HOLBROOK'S REVIEW OF OLMSTED'S *Elementary French Grammar*<sup>1</sup>

One rarely finds a more painstaking review of a book than the one devoted to Olmsted's *Elementary French Grammar* by Mr. Richard T. Holbrook in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxx, 223 f. The review is characterized by a wealth of detail and a tone of finality that ought to carry conviction to any but a prejudiced reader.

However, even at the risk of being termed a prejudiced reader, I must point out some of the errors of judgment and of statement that appear in Mr. Holbrook's review.

When Mr. Holbrook takes a chance phrase such as appears on page 137 of the grammar: "*Dites-moi de deux façons différentes* 'French is an easy subject,'" and then proceeds in pedagogical style to devote half a column to a refutation of this statement, recurring to the same *bête noire* in another half-column of his article, he seems to some to show a certain lack of judgment as to what is pertinent to a review. Apparently it does not occur to him that the presentation to a class of a subject as easy and attainable is of itself a psychological principle not to be ignored.

Mr. Holbrook objects with great seriousness to the emphasis laid upon the gaiety of the French temperament by certain passages having to do with French life (not "culture," for there is a distinction in meaning between the two words). He labels "this hackneyed misobservation" as "never true and so conspicuously untrue at the present time." Mr. Holbrook cannot know the French people as some know them, and he cannot have read of the jests and boyish pranks that at the present moment are rendering trench-life endurable to the brave French soldiers.

However, errors of statement are still more vexatious to the prejudiced reader than are errors of judgment, especially when they are made as by "one having authority," as so many of them are.

Take, for example, the expression: "*Etes-vous heureuse?—Je le suis.*" Mr. Holbrook informs us that "such examples of 'pleonastic' *le* occur only in grammars." If this were only true, which alas, it is not, then French grammar would be in danger of appearing to us even *easier* than it does.

To Mr. Holbrook the term *chaise à bascule* "is even rarer than the thing, usually called *un rocking*." I have submitted *un rocking* to several well educated Frenchmen of my acquaintance, who are familiar both with the term *chaise à bascule* and with the "thing," but who deny any acquaintance with *un rocking*.

Mr. Holbrook considers the pronunciation of *vingt deux* [*vêl dφ*] as "incorrect." He not only disagrees with Messrs. Passy and Hempl in this instance, but with the best French usage.

<sup>1</sup> Received for publication in December, 1915.

To Mr. Holbrook's query: "When do *après* . . . *par*, etc. govern an infinitive?" one has only to reply by citing his own illustration *après boire*, and by reminding him that *on commence par se corriger* is perfectly correct French usage.

To state that *quelque scientifique que soit* is a purely "literary" usage is as much of an error as Mr. Holbrook's statement regarding the "pleonastic" *le*.

Mr. Holbrook calls attention to the observation in the grammar that "a collective noun regularly takes a singular verb," and follows up his citation by the query: "How about *la foule*, *le nombre*, etc.?" Mr. Holbrook is surely not ignorant of the fact that *La foule était immense* and *Le nombre était grand* represent perfectly correct and normal French usage. Exceptions to this general rule are treated in § 367.

These are a few of the errors that a prejudiced reader of this review might cite.

Regarding the much discussed matter of grammatical nomenclature, I must say that of course I am familiar with the report of the Committee on Nomenclature, but, in as much as one of the aims of this grammar was to present grammatical terms as largely as possible in French, in order to facilitate the use of that language in the class-room, it seemed wise to employ in English the conventional terms for tenses, etc., that correspond most closely with the French names—Past Indefinite for *Passé Indéfini*, Imperfect for *Imparfait*, etc.

As to the date assigned in the brief résumé of French literature to the "Roman de Renart" (or *du Renard*—see Voretzsch, p. 399), the 13th century seems to be sufficiently exact, for, although the general theme of the "Romance of the Fox" appeared in a Latin form as early as the 10th century, it was not translated into French by the *trouvères* of the North until considerably later, "*pour aboutir, au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, à la compilation que nous possédons*" (see Petit de Julleville, II, 17).

The 15th century, likewise, seems to be sufficiently exact as a general date for the *mystères*, *moralités*, *farces*, and *soties* (see Petit de Julleville, II, 405, 424, 425, and 427).

Mr. Holbrook's review contains, of course, many excellent suggestions, which will surely be incorporated in a later edition of the grammar. I agree with Mr. Holbrook in his belief "that this edition can be greatly improved when numerous teachers, including its author, have had a chance to see how it works." Mr. Holbrook's somewhat guarded statement: "I think the verdict of many examiners of Mr. Olmsted's book may be that it is the best book of its scope available, well proportioned, orderly, simple, and interesting" is generous enough to make even the prejudiced reader of his review overlook its trenchant style and enjoy its grim humor.

EVERETT WARD OLMSTED.

University of Minnesota.



The only statement in my review that I desire to correct is one not mentioned by Mr. O. In § 352, note 1, Mr. O. says: 'A noun object follows an infinitive after *faire*, . . .' My "Add 'when there is no adverbial complement and when the infinitive is not stressed'" is an error due to a distraught substitution of *laisser* for Mr. O.'s *faire*.

RICHARD T. HOLBROOK.

*Bryn Mawr College.*

#### A CLASSICAL ALLUSION IN POE

The Rev. E. Cobham Brewer, LL. D., in his *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, under the caption "Nicean Barks or Nycean Barks," makes the following profoundly ætiological statement:

"Edgar Poe, in his lyric *To Helen* says,

Helen thy beauty is to me  
Like those Nicean barks of yore,  
That gently, o'er a perfumed sea,  
The weary, way-worn wanderer bore  
To his own native shore.

The way-worn wanderer was Dionysius or Bacchus, after his renowned conquests. His native shore was the Western Horn, called the Amalthean Horn. And the Nicean barks were vessels sent from the island Nysa, to which in infancy Dionysus was conveyed to screen him from Rhea. The perfumed sea was the sea surrounding Nysa, a paradisaal island."

In the first place, it requires a somewhat elastic philological imagination to identify *Nicean* and *Nysaeen*. Secondly, the Nysaeen nymphs had nothing in particular to do with Dionysus after his infancy. Lastly, according to the common account, it was Juno, not Rhea, who entertained hatred against Dionysus, since he was the offspring of the mortal Semele. According to some accounts Rhea assisted in the rescue of the infant Dionysus from Juno.

Now since this interpretation seems to be a trifle erroneous, what is the correct one? Certainly the reference cannot be to Nicaea famed for its Councils. *Nicean* apparently has no meaning at all. Poe wrote the poem presumably at the age of fourteen. Perhaps there was some confusion of myths in his mind, or perhaps *Nicean* was the unconscious substitution in the writing of one word for another of similar sound. Now to attempt an emendation of Poe upon no other ground than the interpretation of a passage is, of course, a doubtful procedure, particularly in view of the fact that Poe wrote in the preface to his poems: "I am naturally anxious that what I have written should circulate as I wrote it, if it circulate at all." But while Poe might wish us to read it as he wrote it,

he certainly would like us to understand it as he meant it. Poe meant not *Nicean* but *Phaeacian*. This word accords perfectly with the sense of the poem. The conquests of Dionysus were on land; Odysseus, on the other hand, is the hero of the sea. He is the weary, way-worn wanderer whom the Phæacians bore home to his native shore of Ithaca wrapped in a sleep that might well make the sea seem perfumed, particularly when a very young poet is telling about it. Besides, what excuse has Dionysus, the god, for being tired? The fact that the wanderer is a wayfarer over the sea is brought out by implication in the second stanza:

On desperate seas long wont to roam,  
Thy hyacinth hair, thy classic face,  
Thy Naiad airs have brought me home  
To the glory that was Greece,  
And the grandeur that was Rome.

The beauty of Helen has brought Poe home "To the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome," just as the Phæacian ship brought Odysseus home of old. Her beauty intuitively guided him, just as the magic ships of the Phæacians held to their course without pilot or rudder: "For the Phæacians have no pilots nor any rudders after the manner of other ships, but their barques themselves understand the thoughts and intents of men; they know the cities and fat fields of every people, and most swiftly they traverse the gulf of the salt sea, shrouded in mist and cloud, and never do they go in fear of wreck or ruin."<sup>1</sup>

HERBERT EDWARD MIEROW.

*Lakewood, N. J.*

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* VIII, lines 557-563; translation of Butcher and Lang.

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### HEREOS AGAIN

To the occurrences of the phrase *amor hereos* (*ereos*) brought together in my article on "The Lover's Malady of Hereos,"<sup>1</sup> I have now to add another, the second of which I am aware in a work written in English. The passage is in Lydgate's *Fabula duorum mercatorum*,<sup>2</sup> in the account of the love-sickness of the Merchant of Baldac. The general medical lore embodied in stanzas XXXIX-L is highly interesting. I shall quote, however, only the immediately pertinent lines:

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, XI (April, 1914), 491-546.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Zupitza-Schleich, *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXXXIII (1897). The poem is No. 36 in MacCracken's "Lydgate Canon" (*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, E. E. T. S., 1911).

Off othir humoures han thes leechys eek  
 Ful deepe enqueeryd to serchen out the trouthe  
 By every weye, that they cowde seek:  
 In hem was founde defawte noon nor slouthe;  
 But atte laste of o thyng ha they routh,  
 That he were falle for ouht, they coud espye,  
 For thouht or love in to malencolye . . .

For, whan nature of vertu regitiff  
 Thoruh malencolye is pressyd and bor down,  
 It is to dreede gretly of the lif,  
 But soone be ordeyned opposicioun;  
 For it was likly, that this passioun  
 Was eithir thouht or love, *that men calle*  
*Amor Ereos*,<sup>3</sup> that he was in falle.

The roote wherof the corrupeioun  
 of thilke vertu callid estimatiff,  
 As yif a man haue deep impressioun,  
 That ovirlordshipith his imagynatif,  
 And that the cours be forth successyf  
 To trowe a wiht for love mor fayr or pure,  
 Than evir hym ordeyned hath god or nature.

This causith man to fallen in siknes manye:  
 So arn his spiritis vexid by travayle.  
 Allas, that man shuld fallen in frenesye  
 For love of woman, that litil may avayle!  
 For now thes leechys, as by supposayle,  
 Konne of this man noon othir fevir espye,  
 But that for love was hool his malladye.<sup>4</sup>

There is no note on the phrase in the *Anmerkungen*, and the glossary merely enters "Amor Ereos" without comment. The context of the passage seems to indicate pretty clearly that Lydgate was drawing on the general store of contemporary medical knowledge, rather than following the passage in the *Knight's Tale*. But I have made no attempt to identify his immediate source.

I may add that I am indebted to the omniscience of my friend Professor George L. Hamilton for a reference to an article by Hjalmar Crohns, "Zur Geschichte der Liebe als 'Krankheit,'"<sup>5</sup> in which a number of the *hereos* passages from the medieval medical writers are discussed. Crohns naturally enough, is unaware of the problems involved in the *Knight's Tale*, the *Philobiblon*, and the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and his concern in any case is with other than the literary aspects of the subject. But it is not without significance that the English scholar who would keep track of the

<sup>3</sup> Mss. A (Additional MS. 34360, British Museum) and H (Harleian MS. 2251, British Museum) read *Ereas*.

<sup>4</sup> Stanzas XLVI, XLVIII-L. Stanza XLVII contains a description of the sufferer's urine.

<sup>5</sup> *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, III (1905), 66-86.



multifarious interests of Geoffrey Chaucer can no longer confine himself to the bibliographies or the periodicals of his own special *Fach*.

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES.

*Washington University.*

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#### ADAM'S MOTIVE

It is not hard to agree with Mr. Elliott A. White when he points out (*Mod. Lang. Notes* xxx, 229 f.) that Milton used the love motive to give background and vraisemblance to the story of the Fall in Book IX of *Paradise Lost*. This romantic element is employed throughout the story, both before and after the Fall. Indeed, Eve's own motive in giving Adam to eat of the fruit is in part her intense (though in her case, selfish) love for him (832-833):

So dear I love him that with him all deaths  
I could endure, without him live no life.

The mere presence of the love-motive, however, is hardly sufficient to explain the entire unselfishness and nobleness of Adam's act, as contrasted with that of Eve, which was prompted by curiosity, ambition, and appetite. There seems to be no good reason, so far as the original characters of the two are concerned, why the difference in motives should have been so great. Not even Milton's well-known attitude concerning the limitations of the feminine mind and character would be sufficient to explain it, since he nowhere before this scene imputes to Eve any lack of moral strength. In this connection it should be noted that the dream incident (Bk. iv, 799 f.; Bk. v, 28 f.) is introduced to strengthen the plausibility of Eve's final capitulation.

Milton's reason for thus exalting Adam's character at the expense of Eve's seems obvious enough when it is considered that Adam is (ostensibly at least) the hero of the epic,—the protagonist of humanity. It was necessary to attribute to him the noble qualities commensurate with such a character. So, from the several possible motives, Milton chose for his hero the noblest and least selfish. Adam falls, then, not because of a lack of resolution, discernment, or moral strength, but rather prompted by these. Eve, in her double rôle of Adam's foil and the agent of his undoing, satisfies in Milton's scheme the requirements of balanced and economical epic structure. It is not improbable, of course, as Taine and Scherer have both pointed out, that Milton's personal bias makes his unchivalric treatment of Eve easy and natural; but the need for a

strong and heroic protagonist in his world-epic is in itself sufficient reason for the otherwise inexplicable difference in motive.

ALBERT H. DAEHLER.

*Purdue University.*

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### BRIEF MENTION

*Beowulf, with The Finnsburg Fragment.* Edited by A. J. Wyatt: new edition revised, with Introduction and Notes, by R. W. Chambers (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1914). The material make-up of this book, good paper and press-work, attractive typography handsomely displayed on ample pages, all is in keeping with the best tradition of the Cambridge Press. Mr. Chambers has also merited approbation for the plan of the book, especially for keeping the annotations to the text at the foot of the page, and for attempting to sum up in these notes the most important controversial matter relating to disputed words and passages. His chapter on "Persons and Places" is good; his Introduction contains some instructive paragraphs, but it is uncertain in aim, being neither uniformly full and exact for the advanced student, nor uniformly adapted to the comprehension of the student "hoping to get marks in an examination" (p. xxxi). There is an aiming between two targets, and neither is hit. This is especially true of the Glossary, which, to put it plainly, is not satisfactory. Good enough so far as it goes, it is disappointing and, for its best purpose, almost useless because it does not go far enough, because it is not complete. After a student is prepared to read this poem, he should wish to read it with accuracy, to understand the poet's workmanship, and to catch the spirit of his art. It is a late day to point to the advantage, in the study of an Anglo-Saxon poem, of a Glossary recording a reference to every occurrence of word or idiom in the text. One wonders by what process of mental readjustment Mr. Chambers could turn from the complete Glossary (ready at hand in German editions) and compromise with selected references and all the inconsistencies that must inevitably result from such a method. In his notes, Mr. Chambers is constantly sending the students to Bugge, Sievers, Trautmann, Holthausen, Klaeber, etc.; but any one that can make use of the critical sources of opinion on words, stylistic features, and grammatical construction will require, first of all, a Glossary with complete references.

Mr. Chambers has undeniably expended a generous portion of time in the compilation of his notes, and the result of his industry is welcome to those who prefer to read critical and controversial matter in their own language. Moreover, there is need of an edition of *Beowulf* with complete critical apparatus in English, and

Mr. Chambers has done much to show how this demand should be met. Some of his notes are as they should be, compact and to the point, and giving a clear view of any differences of opinion that may relate to the question at issue. This excellence, however, is not uniformly sustained, for there is a second group of notes in which there is an incomplete sifting of opinions, complemented by reference to what the student may also, if he chooses, consider. In a third class of notes one misses the touch of the sure hand; unquestionably sound emendations are not firmly grasped; a highly approved suggestion is dismissed as "unnecessary"; or again the matter is left in an inconclusive state,—there is not, to satisfy a student's rightful demand, an arbitrating among the different opinions laid before him. It will also not escape observation that thruout the notes one is not kept in mind of the elements and conventionalities of the poet's art, by which the validity of many an emendation of the text is ultimately determined. Mr. Chambers counts it a virtue to have refrained from offering any emendations of his own. This *bêot* does not in itself constitute an assurance of completest agreement in attitude of mind with the scholars, past and present, by whose efforts the text has been cleared of most of its difficulties; but Mr. Chambers makes amends in this regard by a sufficient number of more or less inflexible and over-confident decisions. In this volume only the text is dealt with. A second volume is to follow, in which the higher-criticism of the poem will be attempted. Mr. Chambers is without doubt well qualified to write a good second volume and to revise this first volume satisfactorily. Such momentary short-coming in the handling of some of the textual difficulties as has been here referred to (and believed to be attributable chiefly to haste) will be concretely considered on some other occasion.

J. W. B.

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Miss Lilian Winstanley has edited two portions of *The Faerie Queene* (*Book II*, 1914; *Book I*, 1915; Cambridge, at the University Press), and by introductory essays and annotations of the text has fully met the expectations aroused by her edition of *The Fourte Hymnes* (1907). Spenser, altho the poet of many poets whose works may be blurred and elusive in thought, is himself one of the most analyzable of the great poets. His intellectuality begets forceful and well articulated reasoning and keeps the figures of his imagination clear and consistent. Moral, nay Puritanic, in purpose, he avails himself of a systematized list of ethical principles, and thus intellectualizes his fervor for righteousness and also obtains a framework that will carry rich adornment. If ethical, he is concerned to apply philosophic reflections to life. The dominant thought and personalities of his time are reflected in his work, however veiled and interlaced they may be to suit his artistic plan. His



transcendent power to create the beautiful presides over all; but here too is to be recognized the intellectual creed that truth, beauty, and goodness are one. Even his use of archaic words, so commonly regarded as a mistaken caprice, is probably due to a reasoned conviction, which he may have accepted at the hands of Castiglione (*Book I*, p. lxxv). Spenser had therefore "a far-reaching interest in things intellectual and a most rare perception of sensuous beauty, and his allegory enabled him to render the one in terms of the other" (*Book II*, p. ix). But he is also one of the great philosophic poets. His mind does not rest in mere weight or variety of thought; all must be classified and rationally interrelated. One might proceed in these general observations, but enough has been suggested to put emphasis upon the statement that Spenser's work can for the most part be analyzed with utmost satisfaction and profit. The successful student and critic of this poet must therefore have primarily a good intelligence and the industry of a trained scholar; and this describes Miss Winstanley's equipment for her task.

Spenser whose "aim was educational" (in the Renaissance sense), as is rightly inferred from his own words declaring the end of his work to be the fashioning of "a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline," and who was called by Milton "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas," wished above all things to be clearly understood in his framing of the "twelve private morall virtues, as Aristotle hath devised," and Miss Winstanley's chapter on "Spenser and Aristotle" (*Book II*, pp. li-lxxii) is a lucid exposition of how the poet availed himself of the ethical system of the philosopher. But the poet "was far more of a Platonist than an Aristotelian," and Miss Winstanley is skilful in detecting the interlacing of the idealism of the one with the pragmatic systematization of the other. The further relations to Plato are studied in two other important chapters, one in each volume, on "Literary Sources." Here it is especially important to consult Miss Winstanley's Introduction to her edition of *The Fowre Hymnes*. The reader will often find it necessary to turn from one portion of these three volumes to another, so as to consider all that is offered on a particular thought or topic. This occupation, agreeable enough, should however have been obviated (for the reader kept in mind requires orderly assistance) by cross-references. Thus, to cite a simple instance or two, the discussion of "one of the fundamental thoughts of Platonism" in the *Phaedrus* finds its first place in *Hymnes*, p. xiv f. and is resumed, in more detail, in *Book I*, p. lix (without back-reference), and in the Notes the pertinent stanzas are in turn not connected specifically with these passages. So too should cross-references connect the observations on the *Phaedo* recorded in *Hymnes*, p. xv, and *Book I*, p. lxxv, and Notes I, ix, 362. Especially wanting are cross-references that would unite the Notes and Introductions of *Book I* and *Book II*, and the editor may be persuaded to meet this demand by revision.

and to obviate it in her further progress with the poem. The Medieval and Italian sources are well set forth (special attention may be called to the treatment of Castiglione's influence and to that of Vives, who has recently been rescued from neglect), and the "historical allegory" receives due attention. In the case of the latter subject, Miss Winstanley does more than summarize the results of much subtle controversy. She offers with cleverness and plausibility several fresh convictions, such, for example, as a clearer discrimination between Mary, Queen of Scots and Mary Tudor under the combining figure of Duessa. Her method of analysis, both in this matter and in other departments of 'sources,' is supported by the poet's express avowal and by his practice to select and combine elements at hand so as to create a higher unity or a more complete symbol. Miss Winstanley has made a praiseworthy contribution to the study of Spenser.

J. W. B.

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V. S. Freeburg's *Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1915), tho necessarily a work of quite mechanical nature, yields results that are not without interest. The author chooses 1616 as the year for the termination of his investigations; thereafter, tho certain important plays employ the disguise-motive, it had come in general to be regarded as an outworn stage-convention. The motive occurs in five leading types: the female page, the boy-bride, the rogue in multi-disguise, the disguised spy, and the disguised lover. To these generic names the individual cases do not always closely correspond. Freeburg's study of the increasing complexity of technique is excellent. The use of "retro-disguise" he considers the chief English contribution to the general motive. The best instance of this is the Second Luce in *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*. A departure by which Jonson and Beaumont strove to stimulate jaded interest is the use of surprise; the audience is itself unaware of the disguise. A last concession to a public tired of such themes is the motive of accusation of disguise where there is in reality none, as when Lady Would-be declares that a lad she finds with her husband is a wench in disguise. The study throws interesting light upon many plays. For example, Freeburg notes that the rogue in multi-disguise is a character employed in four plays of the closing years of the sixteenth century, all presented by the Admiral's Men. He suggests that from them Jonson got the idea of shifting the disguise in which Brainworm appears in *Every Man in his own Humour*, and that the whole group was perhaps written to exploit some actor of special ability as an impersonator. The nature of the monograph removes chances of inaccuracy, and as its conclusions depend on the data gathered there is no room for insecure speculation, save perhaps for occasional overvaluation of specific evidence of indebtedness when so

much material and so well established a tradition was available for the dramatist. There is a notable fault in the bibliography: *novelle*, romances, and non-English plays are grouped with English plays in one alphabetical index. The Elizabethan plays should have been listed separately and should have included only those that contain the disguise element. Other works might have been omitted altogether, since the index provides adequate facilities for reference.

S. C. C.

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The *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch: Wörterbuch der älteren deutschen Rechtssprache* (Weimar, Herm. Böhlau Nachf.) is by no means, as its name might seem to indicate, a respository of legal terms and locutions: on the contrary, it is a comprehensive German dictionary for those who may have to interpret legal and historical documents from the earliest times down to the middle of the eighteenth century. It constitutes, therefore, a worthy companion and complement to the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of the Grimms, the distinction being that the latter is based preferably upon literary sources, while the *Rechtswörterbuch* has recourse to these only as a last resort, using instead legal and historical documents written in the vernacular. The citations are very full, usually embracing the entire sentence, in the exact wording and spelling of the original. Under the auspices of the Berlin Academy, the preliminary work has been in progress for nearly a score of years, and the first fascicle of 160 columns in quarto (date, 1914, price M. 5.-) extends to the word *ablegen*. In the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* the corresponding portion embraces only 70 columns, of a somewhat larger page, however, and in smaller type. Considering, furthermore, that the later volumes of Grimm are on a much more liberal scale than the first, whereas no such expansion is probable in the case of the *Rechtswörterbuch*, it may be assumed that ultimately the size of the two works will be approximately equal. The Grimm, naturally, contains more separate entries than the *Rechtswörterbuch*, but the latter, in compensation, offers actual signed monographs on the more important words: *Abbitte*, *abitten*, 5 cols., but only 12 lines in Grimm; *abdanken*, *Abdankung*, 4 cols., against half a column in Grimm; *Abenteuer*, 3 cols., against one column in Grimm; *Aberacht* and its compounds, 5 cols., against 12 lines in Grimm: here, furthermore, it is shown that the word really means 'zweite, abermalige Acht,' *proscriptio secunda*, and not as Grimm assumed, 'oberacht, überacht,' *proscriptio superior*. It is hardly necessary to add that the *Rechtswörterbuch* promises to be a veritable *Fundgrube* for every scholar engaged in original research in the field of Germanics, and an indispensable reference work in every German Library worthy of the name.

W. K.



# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR JONSON'S PLAYS

### PART I

Source-noting is an interesting occupation. Fortunately it is also useful, since we cannot place a writer historically until we have found out what he got from others and how he used what he took. Comparative literature, too, owes what solidity it has as an intellectual discipline to the patient accumulation of innumerable bits of evidence of this character. The following list of parallels, scrappy as it is in the main, has its value from both of these points of view. I do not think that, except in one or two stated cases, any of these instances has been hitherto noticed. The text of the passages quoted from Jonson is taken from my copies of the various folios, but the line numbering is, except for prose passages, that of the Yale Series for plays included therein; for *Sejanus*, the numbering is that of the Belles Lettres edition.

### *Alchemist*

#### Dedication.

"In the age of sacrifices, the truth of religion was not in the greatnesse, & fat of the offrings, but in the deuotion, and zeale of the sacrificers: Else, what could a handfull of gummes haue done in the sight of a hecatombe? or, how might I appeare at this altar, except with those affections," etc.

Seneca, *De Ben.*, I, vi, 3: "Non est beneficium ipsum, quod numeratur aut traditur: sicut ne in victimis quidem, licet opimæ sint auroque præfulgeant, deorum est honor, sed pia ac recta voluntate venerantium. itaque boni etiam farre ac fitilla religiosi sunt, mali rursus non effugiunt inpietatem, quamvis aras sanguine multo cruentauerint."

So in the Dedication of Folio 1623: "And many nations (we have heard) that had not gums and incense, obtained their requests with a leavened cake. It was no fault to approach their gods, by what means they could: and the most, though meanest, of things are made more precious, when they are dedicated to temples."

In the quarto Dedication the above passage is followed by these lines: "Or how, yet, might a gratefull minde be furnish'd against the iniquitie of Fortune; except, when she fail'd it, it had power to impart it selfe? A way found out, to ouercome euen those, whom Fortune hath enabled to returne most, since they, yet leaue themselves more."<sup>1</sup> Here again Jonson has in mind the thought which Seneca again and again expresses, that in returning a benefit it is not the value of the thing returned but the mind in which the return is made that is of importance. More especially, he has in mind the speech of Æschines to Socrates, *ibid.*, viii: "nihil . . . dignum te, quod dare tibi possim, invenio et hoc uno modo pauperem me esse sentio? itaque dono tibi quod unum habeo, me ipsum. hoc munus rogo qualecunque est boni consulas cogitesque alios, cum multum tibi darent, plus sibi reliquisse."

# I, i.

Face and Subtle are brought in quarrelling. In the course of the quarrel Face describes the situation in which he found Subtle (at Pie-corner, taking in a meal of steam from the cooks' stalls, pinned up in rags, etc.), and then goes on to say that he will undo all his good work and bring Subtle, because of his ingratitude, to ruin. Compare the soliloquy of Argyrippus in Plautus, *Asinaria*, I, ii:

Ego (pol) te redigam eodem unde orta es, ad egestatis terminos.  
 Ego (edepol) te faciam, ut, quæ sis nunc, et quæ fueris, scias.  
 Quæ, priusquam istam adii, atque amans ego animum meum isti dedi,  
 Sordido vitam oblectabas pane, in pannis, inopia;  
 Atque, ea si erant, magnas habebas omnibus Diis gratias;  
 Eadem nunc, quom est melius, me, quojus opera est, ignoras, mala.

## Bartholomew Fair

### II, v, 29-37.

Vrs. Hang 'em, rotten, roguy Cheaters, I hope to see 'hem plagu'd one day (pox'd they are already, I am sure) with leane

<sup>1</sup> Text from Hathaway's edition.

play-house poultry, that has the boany rumpe, sticking out like the Ace of Spades, or the point of a Partizan, that euery rib of 'hem is like the tooth of a Saw: and will so grate 'hem with their hips, & shoulders, as (take 'hem altogether) they were as good lye with a hurdle.

Qvar. Out vpon her, how she drips! she's able to giue a man the sweating Sicknesse, with looking on her.

This passage seems adapted from Martial, XI, c:

Habere amicam nolo, Flacce, subtilem,  
Cuius lacertos anuli mei cingant,  
Quae clune nudo radat et genu pungat,  
Cui serra lumbis, cuspis emicet culo.  
Sed idem amicam nolo mille librarum:  
Carnarius sum, pinguiarius non sum.

### *Catiline*

The sources of *Catiline* have never been satisfactorily exhibited. Whalley, Gifford, Saegelken (*Ben Jonson's Römerdramen*, 1880), and Vogt (*Ben Jonson's Catiline*, etc., 1903) have all done something, but even the debt of Jonson to Sallust and Cicero has not been thoroughly worked out. There is, I believe, an unprinted Yale thesis on *Catiline* by A. L. Wright (Schelling, *Eliz. Drama*, II, 499), but no one knows what it contains. I shall not attempt to discuss the matter fully, and shall not deal with Sallust and Cicero, but shall merely call attention to a few borrowings from other sources.

I, i,

as he would

Goe on vpon the gods, kisse lightning, etc.

Seneca, *Medea*, 424-5:

invadam deos

et cuncta quatiam.

The character of Cethegus owes some hints to that of Capaneus in Statius; Cethegus refers to Capaneus as his ideal and quotes from Statius in IV, 5.

I, i,

It is, me thinks, a morning, full of fate!

It riseth slowly, as her sullen carre



Had all the weights of sleepe, and death hung at it! . . .  
And her sick head is bound about with clouds.

Perhaps suggested by Lucan, *Phars.*, I, 232-5:

iamque dies primos belli uisura tumultus  
exoritur. seu sponte deum, seu turbidus Auster  
impulerat, maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem.

The rugged Charon fainted,  
And ask'd a nauy, rather then a boate,  
To ferry ouer the sad world that came.

Petronius, 121, ll. 117-9:

vix navita Porthmeus  
sufficiet simulacra virum traducere cumba;  
classe opus est.

Seneca, *Edipus*, 166 ff.:

quique capaci turbida cumba  
flumina servat durus senio  
navita crudo, vix assiduo  
bracchia conto lassata refert,  
fessus turbam vectare novam.

Neither Charon nor his weariness nor the necessity of a fleet are to be found in Lucan, whom, as Whalley says, Jonson is utilizing here.

I, i.

Vogt says that the representation of the luxurious life of the Roman nobles given by Catiline in his speech is based on Jonson's knowledge of the Roman satirists, but that no special sources can be given. This statement is not quite accurate. The whole speech would seem to be inspired by Petronius, 119 and following sections, and one or two of the details come thence.

The riuer Phasis  
Cannot affoord 'hem fowle; nor Lucrine lake  
Oysters enow: . . . . .  
To please the witty gluttony of a meale.

Petronius, ll. 34-8:

atque Lucrinis  
eruta litoribus verdunt conchylia cenas,  
ut renovent per damna famem. iam Phasidos unda

præbata est avibus, mutoque in litore tantum  
solae desertis adspirant frondibus aerae.

And cf. the 'ingeniosa gula' of l. 33:

yet, they cannot tame,  
Or ouer-come their riches! Not, by making  
Bathes, orchards, fish-pooles! letting in of seas  
Here! and, then there, forcing 'hem out againe,  
With mountaynous heaps.

Petronius, ll. 85-9:

aspice late  
luxuriam spoliolum et censum in damna furentem . . . .  
expelluntur aquae saxi, mare nascitur arvis,  
et permutata rerum statione rebellant.

But the principal borrowings from this poem of Petronius are to be found in the chorus at the end of the first act, to which Whalley and Gifford have called attention.

I, chorus:

Can nothing great, and at the height  
Remaine so long? but it's owne weight  
Will ruine it?

Livy, I, Praef. 4: et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine laboret sua. Vogt, 16-17, cites Horace, *Epode* XVI, 1, which is also apt, and his statement that Gifford is mistaken in finding the source of the opening of this chorus in Petronius is quite correct.

II, i:

You thinke, this state becomes you?  
By Hercvles, it do's not. Looke i' your glasse, now,  
And see, how sciruely that countenance shewes;  
You would be loth to owne it.

Seneca, *De Ira*, II, xxxvi: "Quibusdam, ut ait Sextius, iratis profuit adspexisse speculum. perturbavit illos tanta mutatio sui."

II, i,

I am, now, faine to giue to them, and keepe  
Musique, and a continuall table, to inuite 'hem.

Cf. Martial, II, lvi:

Sed mera narrantur mendacia: non solet illa  
Accipere omnino. Quid solet ergo? Dare.

And compare the 'numerare solet' of XI, lxii.

II, i.

If you doe this to practise on me' or finde  
At what fore'd distance you can hold your seruant;  
That' it be an artificiall trick, to enflame,  
And fire me more, fearing my loue may need it,  
As, heretofore, you ha' done: why, proceede.

*Fvl.* As I ha' done heretofore? *Cvr.* Yes, when you'd faine  
Your husbands iealousie, your servants watches,  
Speake softly, and runne often to the dore,  
Or to the windore, forme strange feares that were not;  
As if the pleasure were lesse acceptable,  
That were secure. *Fvl.* You are an impudent fellow.

*Cvr.* And, when you might better haue done it, at the gate,  
To take me in at the casement. *Fvl.* I take you in?

*Cvr.* Yes, you my lady. And, then, being a-bed with you,  
To haue your well taught wayter, here, come running,  
And cry, her lord, and hide me without cause,  
Crush'd in a chest, or thrust vp in a chimney,

From Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 601 ff.:

Incitat et ficti tristis custodia servi  
Et nimium duri cura molesta viri.  
Quae venit ex tuto, minus est accepta voluptas:  
Ut sis liberior Thaide, finge metus!  
Cum melius foribus possis, admitte fenestra  
Inque tuo vultu signa timentis habe;  
Callida prosiliat dicatque ancilla 'perimus!'  
Tu iuvenem trepidum quolibet abde loco!

Saegelken, 27, and Vogt, 21, are hence mistaken in citing Horace as the source of this passage.

III, i:

Nor haue but few of them, in time beene made  
Your Consuls; so; new men, before me, none:  
At my first suite; in my iust yeere; preferd  
To all competitors, etc.

Cicero, *De Officiis*, II, xvii: Nobis quoque licet in hoc quodam modo gloriari; nam pro amplitudine honorum, quos cunctis suffragiis adepti sumus nostro quidem anno, quod contigit eorum nemini, quos modo nominavi, etc.



## III, i,

Each petty hand  
Can steere a ship becalm'd; but he that will  
Gouverne, and carry her to her ends, must know, etc.

Seneca, *Epistulae*, lxxxv, 34: Non tamquam gubernatori, sed tamquam naviganti nocet [tempestas] . alioquin gubernatoris artem adeo non impedit, ut ostendat: tranquillo enim, ut aiunt, quilibet gubernator est. navigio ista obsunt, non rectori eius, qua rector est. Vogt, p. 23, suggests Horace, Odes I, xiv, but there is no similarity between the two passages.

## III, i:

Repulse vpon repulse? An in-mate, Consul?  
That I could reach the axell, where the pinnes are,  
Which bolt this frame; that I might pull 'hem out,  
And pluck all into chaos, with my selfe. . . .  
Who would not fall with all the world about him?

Gifford found the source of the last line in Seneca, *Thyestes*, 883-4:

vitae est avidus quisquis non vult  
mundo secum pereunte mori.

But these lines are at the end of a mournful chorus, and the meaning is: When the world dies, who would wish to survive it? Catiline has a different meaning: When I die, let me pull down the world to destruction with me. This is precisely the meaning of Rufinus, in Claudian, *In Rufinum*, II, 17 ff.:

Quid restat, nisi cuncta novo confundere luctu  
Insontesque meae populos miscere ruinae?  
Everso iuvat orbe mori. Solacia leto  
Exitium commune dabit, nec territum ante, etc.

## III, ii, 1 ff.

Is there a heauen? and gods? and can it be  
They should so slowly heare, so slowly see!  
Hath Iove no thunder?

Seneca, *Phaedra*, 671-2:

Magne regnator deum,  
tam lentus audis scelera? tam lentus vides?  
et quando saeva fulmen emittes manu,  
si nunc serenum est?

## III, ii,

He acts the third crime, that defends the first.

Presumably the second crime would be the not repenting, and the third the defending. Cf. *Sententiae falso inter Publilianas receptae*, ed. Woelfflin, 147: Geminat peccatum, quem delicti non pudet.

III, ii:

Ambition, 'like a torrent, ne're looks back;  
And is a swelling, and the last affection  
A high minde can put off.

Seneca, *Epi.* lxxxiv, 11: relinque ambitum: tumida res est, vana, ventosa. Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, viii: Est autem in hoc genere molestum, quod in maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis plerumque existunt honoris, imperii, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates. Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, ed. 1826, I, 62: Ambition "is a weed (if it be a weed) apt to grow in the best soils." Milton, *Lycidas*, 70-1: Desire of fame is "That last infirmity of Noble mind." Dryden, *Abs. and Achit.*, I, 305 ff.:

Desire of power, on earth a vicious weed,  
Yet sprung from high is of celestial seed;  
In God 'tis glory, and when men aspire,  
'Tis but a spark too much of heavenly fire.

And *ibid.*, 372:

Desire of greatness is a god-like sin.

Massinger, *Very Woman*, V, iv:

Though the desire of fame be the last weakness  
Wise men put off.

*Sir John van Olden Barneveldt*, I, i:

And you shall find that the desire of glory  
Was the last frailty wise men ere putt off.

III, iii.

*Caes* . . . . . Be resolute,  
And put your enterprise in act: the more  
Actions of depth, and danger are consider'd,  
The lesse assuredly they are perform'd

Plutarch, *The Apothegms of Kings*, Transl. 1870, I, 247: Caesar said "great and surprising enterprises were not to be consulted upon but done."

## III, chorus, 1 ff.

What is it, heauens, you prepare  
 With so much swiftnesse, and so sodaine rising?  
 There are no sonnes of earth, that dare,  
 Againe, rebellion? or the gods surprising?  
 The world doth shake, and nature feares.

Seneca, *Thyestes*, 803 ff.:

quae causa tuos limite certo  
 deiecit equos? numquid aperto  
 carcare Ditis victi temptant  
 bella Gigantes? numquid Tityos  
 pectore fesso renovat veteres  
 saucius iras?

## IV, ii:

For fall I will with all, ere fall alone.

Claudian, *In Rufinum*, II, 166-7:

Haec cervix non sola cadet, miscebitur alter  
 Sanguis, nec Stygias ferar inomitatus ad undas.

## IV, ii,

Catiline, in the course of his answer to the charges against him, suddenly turns threateningly upon Cicero, who calls for help. Thereupon Catiline disclaims any intention of doing him harm. There is nothing corresponding to this passage in Sallust or Cicero's orations, and it is probable that Jonson was thinking of the similar incident in the eleventh book of the *Aeneid*, 406 ff. Turnus, speaking against the proposals of Drances:

vel cum se pavidum contra mea iurgia fingit,  
 artificis scelus, et formidine crimen acerbat.  
 numquam animam talem dextra hac (absiste moveri)  
 amittes.

## So Catiline:

In vaine thou do'st conceiue, ambitious orator,  
 Hope of so braue a death, as by this hand.

## V, i, 5 ff.

We not, now,  
 Fight for how long, how broad, how great, and large  
 Th' extent, and bounds o' th' people of Rome shall be;  
 But to retaine what our great ancestors . . . .



The quarrell is not, now, of fame, of tribute, . . .  
 . . . . . but for your owne republique,  
 For the rais'd temples of th' immortall gods,  
 For all your fortunes, altars, and your fires,  
 For the deare soules of your lou'd wiues, and children,  
 Your parents tombes, your rites, lawes, libertie,  
 And, briefly, for the safety of the world.

There is a rather striking resemblance, though I daresay there is no reason to suppose borrowing, since the ideas are what would naturally come up in the mind of a dramatist on such an occasion, to a passage in Robert Garnier's *Cornelie*, ed. Foerster, 1639 ff.:

Nous ne combattons point pour raur des thresors,  
 Nous ne combattons point pour eslargir nos bors,  
 Pour vne gloire acquerre, et laisser estoffees  
 Aux races aduenir nos maisons de trophees:  
 Mais bien nous combatons pour nostre liberte,  
 Pour le peuple Romain par la crainte escarte:  
 Nous combattons, enfans, pour nostre propre vie,  
 Pour les biens, les honneurs, les loix, et la patrie:  
 Ores le bien, l'Empire, et l'estat des Romains,  
 (Le vray prix du vainqueur) balance entre nos mains.

V, iv:

*Gab.* Is there a law for't, Cato? *Cat.* Do'st thou aske  
 After a law, that would'st haue broke all lawes . . . ?

Cf. Martial, II, lx:

Iam mihi dices  
 "Non licet hoc." Quid? tu quod facis, Hylle, licet?

*Devil is an Ass*

III, iii, 40-2.

*Mer.* You doe not thinke, what you owe me already? *Ev.* I?  
 They owe you, that meane to pay you. I'll besworne,  
 I neuer meant it.

Martial, *Ep.* II, iii: Debet enim, si quis solvere, Sexte, potest.  
 So in Brathwait's *The Mushrome*, in *A Strappado for the Divell*,  
 1615, see reprint of 1878, p. 135:

For he is said to aw that menes to pay.

And in Samuel Sheppard's *Epigrams*, 1651, p. 107:

To J. Buzby.  
 Th' art not in debt, (thou swear'st) and I dare say it,  
 For those alone do owe, that meane to pay it.

In all these cases Martial's 'potest' is translated by 'means'; intention is substituted for power.

*Epicoene*

Prologue, 8-9:

Our wishes, like to those (make publike feasts)  
Are not to please the cookes tastes, but the guests.

Martial, ix, lxxxi:

Non nimium curo: nam cenae fercula nostrae .  
Malim convivis quam placuisse cocis.

It will be observed that this passage supplies the figure that runs through the entire prologue. The passage from *Neptune's Triumph*, cited by Dr. Henry, is based on the same figure.

I, i, 23 ff.

*Trv.* Why, here's the man that can melt away his time, and neuer feels it! what, betweene his mistris abroad, and his engle at home, high fare, soft lodging, fine clothes, and his fiddle; hee thinkes the houres ha' no wings, or the day no post-horse. Well, sir gallant, were you strooke with the plague this minute, or condemn'd to any capitall punishment to morrow, you would beginne then to thinke, and value euery article o' your time, esteeme it at the true rate, and giue all for't.

*Cle.* Why, what should a man doe?

*Trv.* Why, nothing: or that, which when 'tis done, is as idle. Harken after the next horse-race, or hunting-match; lay wagers, praise Puppy, or Pepper-corne, White-foote, Franklin; sweare vpon White-maynes partie; spend aloud, that my lords may heare you; visite my ladies at night, and bee able to giue 'hem the character of euery bowler, or better o' the greene. These be the things, wherein your fashionable men exercise themselves, and I for companie.

*Cle.* Nay, if I haue thy authoritie, I'll not leaue yet. Come, the other are considerations, when wee come to haue gray heads, and weake hammes, moist eyes, and shrunke members. Wee'll thinke on 'hem then; then wee'll pray, and fast.

*Trv.* I, and destine onely that time of age to goodnesse, which our want of abilitie will not let vs employ in euill?

*Cle.* Why, then 'tis time enough.

*Trv.* Yes: as if a man should sleepe all the terme, and thinke to effect his businesse the last day. O, Clerimont, this time, because it is an incorporeall thing, and not subiect to sense, we mocke our selues the fineliest out of it, with vanitie, and miserie indeede: not seeking an end of wretchednesse, but onely changing the matter still.

*Cle.* Nay, thou'lt not leaue now—

*Trv.* See but our common disease! with what iustice can wee complaine, that great men will not looke vpon vs, not be at leisure to giue our affaires

such dispatch, as wee expect, when wee will neuer doe it to our selues: nor heare, nor regard our selues.

This whole passage is partly translation, partly adaptation of Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae*. Lines 38-46, are practically a translation, with some rearrangements of ideas, of the following, III, 5: Non pudet te reliquias vitae tibi reservare et id solum tempus bonae menti destinare, quod in nullam rem conferri possit? quam serum est tunc vivere incipere, cum desinendum est? quae tam stulta mortalitatis oblivio in quinquagesimum et sexagesimum annum differre sana consilia et inde velle vitam inchoare, quo pauci perduxerunt? Lines 30-36 are an adaptation of III, 2: Dic, quantum ex isto tempore creditor, quantum amica, quantum rex, quantum cliens abstulerit. quantum lis uxoria, quantum servorum coercitio, quantum officiosa per urbem discursatio. When in l. 51 Truewit calls this complaining of the rapid passage of time 'our common disease,' he is echoing Seneca, who at the beginning of his treatise says that it is the complaint of the most of mankind. Lines 50 ff. translate II, 5: suus nemo est. Deinde dementissima quorundam indignatio est. queruntur de superiorum fastidio, quod ipsis adire volentibus non vacaverint: audet quisquam de alterius superbia queri, qui sibi ipse numquam vacat? Ille tamen te, quisquis est, insolenti quidem vultu, sed aliquando respexit . . . ille te ad latus suum recepit: tu non inspicere te umquam, non audire dignatus est. The rapidity of the flight of time and the fact that we fail to perceive its flight are ideas several times emphasized by Seneca. Finally, lines 23-29 seem inspired by the following passage, III, 4: non observatis, quantum iam temporis transierit. velut ex pleno et abundanti perditis, cum interim fortasse ille ipse qui alicui vel homini vel rei donatur dies ultimus sit.

V, i.

The purpose of this scene is to bring Daw and La-Foole to confess that they have anticipated Morose in the enjoyment of Epicoene, a confession for which Jonson has use in the development of the plot. The underlying motif, that of belying the fame of ladies, Jonson had already touched on in the *Alchemist*, II, ii:

belye

Ladies, who are knowne most innocent, for them,



and there are other references to it in his various works. Compare Lucian, *The Rhetorician's Vade Mecum*, Fowler's translation, III, 228: "And in private you need draw the line at nothing, gambling, drink, fornication, nor adultery; the last you should boast of, whether truly or not; make no secret of it, but exhibit your notes from real or imaginary frail ones." See also Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, II, 625 ff.

It is not, however, necessary to adduce a classical source, since there is any amount of evidence that this piece of gallantry was one of the characteristic marks of the man about town of Elizabethan days. I quote a number of illustrative passages, as commentators appear to have passed the subject.

Barnaby Rich, *Roome for a Gamester*, 1609, 27 verso: "Some to winne Opinion, are excellent in discourse at a table, they will talke of their owne activity, how many fraies they made in Fleet-street, what Ladies and Gentlewomen came to visite them when they lay sicke of the tooth-ach, and they will sometimes vaunt of a favour from their mistres, that was scorned by the maide."

Brathwait, *Ar't Asleep Husband*, 1640, 136-7: "Yea, many of these will boast of your Favours: and in publique places speake liberally of your kindnesse. Beware of these; they are such spreading Tetters, as they will blemish the face of beauty: and ingage your Fame . . . to lasting infamy. For these will glory in their choice of Mistresses, and descant on their qualities."

Wilson, *History of Great Britain*, 1653, 147, sub anno 1620: "And such men as were affected to wantonness, would vulgarly brag of it; nay, many times to the traducing of a Ladies fame, and their own (I cannot say) innocence: For some would say, and vent it as an Apothegm, I would rather be thought to enjoy such a Lady, though I never did it, than really to enjoy her, and no body know it. Such pride was taken in sin, and so brazen-faced and impudent such crimes were then!"

Compare also, Fuller, *Holy State*, III, ch. iii, maxim 5, and note Howell's remark on the Spanish, *Letters*, ed. Jacobs, Book I, Section iii, Letter xxxii: "He is a great servant of Ladies, nor can he be blam'd, for, as I said before, he comes of a Goatish race; yet he never brags of, nor blazes abroad his doings that way, but is exceedingly careful of the repute of any Woman (a Civility that we much want in England)."

WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS.

Stanford University.

## NOTES ON THE RIMED FABLE IN ENGLAND

### I. *The revival of the rimed fable in England in the seventeenth century*

From the days of the Scottish Henrisonne to the end of the sixteenth century there seems to have been no collection of fables in English verse. Interest in the type was not dead; individual fables in verse and collections in prose prove this, and especially allusions to fable themes scattered generously through the literature. But the nearest approach in this period to a collection of fables in verse is to be found in some of the Emblem Books, where fable themes occur, not as fables, however, but as Emblems.<sup>1</sup>

Samuel Rowlands must be considered as the herald of a new interest in riming fables which was to become something of a craze at the end of his century. His *Diogenes Lanthorne*, 1607, contained under the subtitle *Diogenes Moralls* ten fables which rattle themselves off in easy, commonplace doggerel. Some of these are of the old, traditional stock, and some of undetermined origin. One sets forth for the first time in English, I believe, and at a period sixty years before Boileau, the story of *The Oyster and the Disputants* popularized later by both Boileau and LaFontaine.<sup>2</sup> After Rowlands and before the middle of the century, three more verse collections appeared, all more extensive and all going directly under Aesop's colors.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*, 1586 (A fac-simile reprint, Henry Green, London, 1866), and Francis Thynne's *Emblemes and Epigrammes*, 1600, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands, Hunterian Club, 1872/3, I, No. xv. The fable of *The Oyster and the Disputants*, No. 8, is interesting in the light of the fact that M. Regnier (*LaFontaine* II, 401-402) is able to give no exact analogues before Boileau's version of 1669. LaFontaine's version (IX, 9) appeared first in 1671. Rowlands' version introduces an unusual detail. One of the wayfarers is blind, but carries the other, who is lame. This situation complicates the dispute; for the blind man could not have found the oyster had not the lame man on his back pointed it out, nor could the other have come to it without the blind man's assistance.

<sup>3</sup> *The Fabulist Metamorphosed and Mythologized, Or the Fables of Esop translated out of the Latin into English verse, and moralized* by R. A. Gentleman, printed for Andrew Hebb, 1634. (2) 1639, 113 fables of Aesop translated by William Barret for F. Eglesfield. I have been unable to

The first half of the seventeenth century thus marks the beginning of a revival in England of the rimed fable.<sup>4</sup> What is the explanation of this revival, or first, what is the explanation of this wide hiatus in the line of continuation, this gap between Henrisone and Rowlands?

The explanation of the latter is probably to be found in large measure in the use of the fable in the schools. Henrisone found his fables already in verse, and naturally enough translated them into verse. The same had been true of Lydgate before him. To them Aesop was the "poete lawriate."<sup>5</sup> The Latin elegiacs used by Henrisone were reprinted early in the sixteenth century, but their popularity had waned. On the other hand, every child was familiar with Aesop as a prose writer through the regular textbooks of the schools. In this age, Aesop was simply a teller of pithy stories, known by all, since studied by all, and hence a ready source

meet with this collection, or the following. See Plessow: *Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay*, Berlin, 1906, p. lxx, a useful but inadequate treatise. (3) 1650, *The Phrygian Fabulist: or, the Fables of Aesop* (231) by Leon Willan. (*Cat. of Printed Books, Brit. Mus. E.* 1371.) Prose *Aesops* in this period:—Two reprints of the old Caxton for A. Hebb in 1634 and 1637 respectively; *A Booke called, Esops fables translated out of the Latyn into English. The Fables in prose and the Morall in verse with Pictures by H(enry) P(eacham) M(aster) of A(rts)* noticed in the *Sta. Reg.* (ed. Arber, iv, 428) on Jan. 28, 1638/9; 1646 for A. Hebb, *Aesop's Fables with the Fables of Phaedrus, translated verbatim* (from the Latin version of Gulielmus Hermannus Goudanus). Published by H. P. (*Cat. Printed Books, Brit. Mus.*)

<sup>4</sup> During the preceding hundred years little enough had been done in the way of collections. In verse, Henrisone, whose fables had been reprinted in 1570, had had no successor. In prose, the old Caxton of 1484 still held the field, and continued to be reprinted to the end of the seventeenth century. 1658 is the date of the last edition noticed in the *Cat. of Printed Books, Brit. Mus.*, and of the last given by Plessow, p. li. Other editions seem to have appeared in 1676 and 1700 (*Term. Cat.*, Arber i, 261 and iii, 178). *The Dialogues of Creatures*, 1520 (Hazlewood, reprint, 1816), *The moral Philosophy of Doni*, 1570, translated by Thos. North, and William Bullokar's *Aesops Fables in true Orthography*, 1585, were side developments, or of little significance.

<sup>5</sup> "Henrisone's Fabeln," Diebler, *Anglia*, ix, 382-3, Prol. to Fab. vii. Especially "O maister Esope, poete lawriate," and Lydgate, Prol. st. 2, *Anglia* ix, p. 1, "this poyet laureat." Lydgate's chief source was probably the verse collection of Marie de France, or some derivative of it (Sauerstein and Plessow, lii-liii), while Henrisone's was the so-called *Anonymous Neveleti*, or Walter of England (Hervieux, 2nd edit. ii, 316-351).



of easily recognized allusion. Sundry fable themes might be converted into verse, but Aesop *in toto* was thought of as essentially prose.

In 1564, however, there were printed in Rome the fables of Gabriello Faerno in Latin verse. These became popular in England as elsewhere. They were printed in England as early as 1598,<sup>6</sup> and one at least was translated as early as 1586.<sup>7</sup> It would seem that these may very well have facilitated the return to a versified Aesop, bringing, as they did, the fabulist before the public once more in somewhat the same guise as he had borne in the days of the popular *Anonymous Neveleti* (Henrisone's chief source), that is, as a poet.

Still more important probably were the iambics of Phaedrus, which had been restored to the world after centuries of oblivion by Pierre Pithou in 1596. Thirty-one of these fables in a prose translation had appeared in 1646.<sup>8</sup> The tendency for a verse original to reproduce itself in verse when translated is evidenced in 1651, when five of the Phaedrian fables were published in English verse by Clement Barksdale.<sup>9</sup> The growing popularity of Phaedrus, and hence of this influence, is still further indicated in the numerous quotations and allusions borrowed from him in the sermons of Jeremy Taylor of the same year and later.<sup>10</sup> Although we can find no direct translation of Phaedrus before 1646, nor verse translation before 1651, we can assume much earlier an acquaintance with his verses through foreign editions like that of Rigault, 1599, which was used by Barksdale.

<sup>6</sup> *Sta. Reg.*, Arber, III, 118, June 16, *Centum fabulae Ffaernij*.

<sup>7</sup> Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*, Green, p. 98, and *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, Green, London, 1870, p. 311; The Fox and the Grapes, Faerno, *Centum Fabulae*, 1564, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Aesop's Fables (45) with the Fables of Phaedrus (31). See above, note 3.

<sup>9</sup> In *Nympha Libethris, or the Cotswold Muse*, New ed., London, 1816. A most fatuous performance.

<sup>10</sup> *The Whole Works of the Rt. Rev. Jeremy Taylor*, ed. R. Heber, and C. P. Eden, London, 1859. Although Jeremy Taylor quotes but once from Avian (vol. VIII, 563; Av. 19), he draws upon the still fresh Phaedrus repeatedly. Eleven instances could be cited. In some cases we have an allusion; in others, direct quotation in the Latin. Usually there is no ascription. It would seem that Taylor expected his hearers or readers to be familiar with their Phaedrus.

On the basis, then, of this tendency of verse to be translated into verse, and of a verse Aesop to establish the idea of writing fables generally in verse, we may, in the absence of other apparent causes, attribute the original impulse of this movement to the entrance upon the English consciousness of two popular collections of fables in Latin verse.

## II. *Early influence of LaFontaine on English writers of fables*

We are apprised by Addison, writing in 1711 (*Spectator*, 183) that LaFontaine "by this way of writing [the fable] is come more into vogue than any other author of our times." It may be interesting to investigate this statement a little more minutely than has as yet been done, and to observe what evidence has survived in the shape of actual translation and imitation.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Roger L'Estrange in his collection of 1692 seems to be the first to avow a dependence on LaFontaine for some of his themes.<sup>2</sup> His collection is in prose, however.

Close on the heels of L'Estrange's first edition comes a short series of fables in burlesque verse by John Dennis, included among the poems of his *Miscellany* of 1693.<sup>3</sup> Great as is the difference in method and tone, these ten fables are translations from LaFontaine. The clearest evidence of this relationship occurs in the fable *Of the Dunghill Cock* (p. 114). By a variation of the story, the Cock sells his "huge carbuncle" (the pearl) to the next jeweller for two barley corns. The fable concludes:—

A learned Manuscript was once  
By Testament bequeath'd t' a Dunce,  
Strait trudg'd with it to Little-Britain.  
Says he t' a Bookseller, pray look,  
I've brought to sell thee here a Book.

<sup>1</sup> B. Uhlemäyr in *Der Einfluss Lafontaines auf die englische Fabeldichtung des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Nürnberg, 1900, and Max Plessow in *Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay*, Berlin, 1906, mention only L'Estrange, Mandeville, Ramsey, and Gay.

<sup>2</sup> *The Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists with Morals and Reflections*. Sir Roger L'Estrange, London, 1692.

<sup>3</sup> *Miscellanies in Verse and Prose*. John Dennis, London, 1693, licensed Nov. 17, 1692, pp. 24, 33, 36, 70, 76, 92, 101, 111, 114, 117. Reprinted in 1697.

They say 'tis Learned, very Learned:  
 But how a plague am I concerned?  
 Friend, I am one of those damn'd Blockheads  
 Who had rather see the cole in 's Pockets.

As this little additional narrative tacked to the fable occurs only in LaFontaine's version,<sup>4</sup> and seems to be original there, we have here a clear index of source. In spite of an entire change in manner, all ten of Dennis's fables follow LaFontaine closely. Such rimes as "Phys-grim" (grim-visaged) with "Isgrim" (the Wolf), "Dungle" (dunghill), "Carbuncle," "kindred" with "in dread," and the other grotesque characteristics of the Hudibrastic verse then so popular, constitute Dennis's sole claim to attention. One sees that LaFontaine has suffered "translation" after the fashion of Nick Bottom.

The next series of fables derived from the French fabulist is that of Bernard Mandeville, published in 1704. These are in octosyllabic couplets. All but two of the thirty-nine are from LaFontaine, as the preface declares.<sup>5</sup> This collection was reprinted in 1724.

Various scattering allusions or translations, one of which at least considerably antedates L'Estrange and Dennis, mark LaFontaine's influence throughout this period. LaFontaine was surely one of the writers who gave currency in England to a certain fable referred to by Tamworth Reresby (d. 1748)<sup>6</sup> as "the Fable of the Sun and the Frogs, which appeared in the Beginning of the Dutch War, and was so much applauded in the World." This is the fable published in Latin by P. Commire in 1672, and translated in the same year by LaFontaine.<sup>7</sup>

Aesop in Politics, a very busy figure from 1698 on, was no better than his fellows, and naturally had little in common with the courteous and gentle LaFontaine. Among the scores of political fables published in little collections of ten or a dozen under such significant titles as *Aesop at Tunbridge*, and *Aesop at Whitehall*,

<sup>4</sup> LaFon. I, 20, and Regnier I, p. 119, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> I have been unable to see this collection. Described with some fullness in Uhlemayr, 11 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *A Miscellany of Ingenious Thoughts and Reflexions. In Verse and Prose*, p. 301.

<sup>7</sup> Regnier's *LaFontaine* III, 346. Another early translation from LaFon. may be contained in D'Urfey's *The Malcontent*, 1684, p. 6, cant. v.



the influence of LaFontaine does not appear. In one collection, however, the so-called *Canterbury Tales*, 1701, there is one single translation, *The Foreigner* (LaF. x, 7).<sup>8</sup>

Dean Swift may have used *Le Vieillard et ses Enfants* (LaF. iv, 18) for the source of his political fable, *The Fagot*.<sup>9</sup> In two other instances the Dean seems more clearly to be following LaFontaine. The mediaeval *Poenitentiarius*<sup>10</sup> makes no mention of a plague, but assembles the animals for a *festiva dies*. LaFontaine in his *Les Animaux Malades de la Peste* (vii, 1), based upon this, motivates his story by the added detail of the pestilence. Swift in *A Fable of the Lion and other Beasts*<sup>11</sup> agrees with LaFontaine in this detail, and does not depart further from the French fable than the freedom characteristic of burlesque verse would explain.

The *motif* of the plague recurs in *The Beasts' Confession to the Priest, On Observing how most Men Mistake their own Talents*.<sup>12</sup> In the composition of this satire, however, Swift seems to be following in the main, the first part of LaFontaine's *La Besace* (i, 7), in which Jove invites each of the animals to declare how he should like to be improved, and finds that each prides himself on the features which excite in others most contempt. LaFontaine drew his initial idea from Avian 14, but Swift shows no suggestion of the Latin fable. Although Swift changes the animals, the general drift and manner of treatment seem to have been suggested by LaFontaine.

Dennis's fables had reflected little of the quality of their original. The fables of the later *Miscellanies*, however, aim at a greater literary distinction, and over them LaFontaine casts something of his grace. For a number of them he furnished themes, and others he affected in tone. In general, these fables are more extended than the French versions, the elaborations being in the nature of local allusions to fads and follies of the day. LaFontaine the Harlequin of Dennis becomes LaFontaine the Fop with Lady Winchelsea.

<sup>8</sup> *Canterbury Tales rendered into Familiar Verse* by "Nobody," 1701, No. 2. No. 4 resembles LaFon. but ends with details found only in the Greek.

<sup>9</sup> *Poems*, ed. W. E. Browning, London, 1910, ii, 166 and LaFon. iv, 18. Swift wrote other fables, and for them he seems to have gone sometimes to the Latin. Cp. ii, 181 with Ph. i, 19 and LaFon. ii, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Reinhart Fuchs, J. Grimm, Berlin, 1834, p. 397.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. ii, 244.

<sup>12</sup> Vol. i, 232.

Merely to indicate in passing *A Fable of a Council Held by the Rats*, published anonymously in *The Fifth Part of Tonson's Miscellany*, 1704 (p. 347), and based upon LaFontaine (II, 2), as the name "Rhodilard" applied to the cat attests, we come to Lady Winchelsea, who, attributing two fables to LaFontaine, in reality appropriated ten. It is easy in each instance to prove the indebtedness.<sup>13</sup> Either the fable is not of the older tradition, or, as in the case of *The Brass-Pot, and the Stone Jugg*, the English fable is distinguished by details peculiar to the French, the two pots taking, not a sea voyage but a land journey. These fables are excellent of their kind, not attempting the more sympathetic delineations, but touching lightly the surface of things. In comparison with LaFontaine, Lady Winchelsea is diffuse in the manner suggested above.

Another of these Miscellany series in which French influence is strong is that included among Allan Ramsay's *Fables and Tales*,<sup>14</sup> 1722-1730, practically synchronous with the two series by Gay. Of his twenty-four fables, four are from LaFontaine, and sixteen from LaMotte's *Fables Nouvelles*, a new French influence.

Ramsay knew how to translate closely the little humorous touches and preserve the humor, to effect a union of the human and the animal few writers achieve. Inferior in lightness to Lady Winchelsea, but with more body and distinctness of flavor, the second Scottish fabulist is of a more boisterous temper than his great predecessor, Henrisone. The grave, delicate humor in the more sympathetic figures of the latter, as in that of the little mouse that

might not wade, her shankes were too shorte,  
She could not swim, she had no horse to ride

is, of course, not to be found; nor are the attempts at mock-heroic comparable with Henrisone's polished and dignified performance. This sort of humor with Ramsay is more external, more artificial, and less striking. It is more noisy and less delicate than LaFontaine's. On a middle plane Ramsay catches much of the spirit of

<sup>13</sup> *Miscellany Poems on Several Occasions*. Written by a Lady, (Anne K. Finch), London, 1713. The fables from LaFon. are found on pages 1, 51, 55, 104, 110, 126, 212, 218, 223, 285. The fable on p. 283 is nearer Phaedrus (IV, 6) than LaFon. (IV, 6).

<sup>14</sup> "Fables and Tales" in *The Poems of Allan Ramsay*, 2 vols., London, 1800, II, pp. 449-512. From LaFon. Nos. 7, 18, 19, 23; from *Fables Nouvelles*, Antoine Houdart de la Motte, Paris, 1719, Nos. 1, 2, 4-6, 9-16, 20-22.

the fable in its more vital aspects, and presents his stories in a style familiar and droll. Although he has taken twenty of his twenty-four fables from the French, and followed his originals more closely than any of his predecessors, his manner is quite distinct: he has them well "busked in a Plaid."

Two other writers of Miscellanies make use each of one fable derived from LaFontaine: William Somerville, although chiefly dependent on Phaedrus, derives *The Fortune Hunter*, 1727, from LaFontaine (vii, 12; no other source known); and James Ralph, *The Heron*.<sup>15</sup>

It is in the Poetical Miscellany with its turning away from the older Latin sources to the French, or to the composition of original fables that we see best the literary environment out of which Gay's fables arose.<sup>16</sup> They are original. The contemporary influence most likely to be traced would be, of course, that of LaFontaine and LaMotte, both conspicuously represented, as we have seen, in Gay's northern contemporary, Allan Ramsay. There seems no reason, however, to attribute either Gay's effort at originality, or his method of writing, as has been done, to the suggestion of LaMotte.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Occasional Poems*, Wm. Somerville, London; and *Miscellaneous Poems*, 1729, p. 197, LaFon. vii, 4.

<sup>16</sup> First Series of fifty fables, 1726; Second Series of sixteen, 1738. *Gay's Chair*, Boston, 1820, p. 40.

<sup>17</sup> On this matter of *originality*, and Gay's *method* of choosing a moral first and writing the fable afterwards, see Gay's letter to Swift of 1732, and one from Swift to Gay of the same year (Pope's *Works*, Croker and Elwin, vii, 268-269 and 279). As to the *method*, Dennis already in 1716 (*Original Letters*, London, 1721, Dec. 5, 1716), speaking of the fable in the larger as well as in the stricter sense, had asked: "Can any one believe that Aesop first told a Story of a Cock and Bull, and afterwards made the Moral to it? Or is it reasonable to believe that he made the Moral first, and afterwards to prove it, contriv'd his Fable?" The method in which Gay and LaMotte agree is the almost inevitable one in a sophisticated age. One must go back to the days when the fable was just emerging from the animistic beast tale to find it regularly produced anew in any other manner. For *originality*, there are a number of considerations which help to explain Gay's resolution to invent. LaMotte's example may have been contributory. A tendency towards originality had been showing itself for a number of years in assertions in prefaces to various collections that several of the fables following were the author's own. (See *Truth in Fiction*, Edmund Arwaker, 1798.) The cutting loose more and more from the older Latin tradition, the adoption of French, modern models, the tremendous vogue the fable had enjoyed, which had hackneyed the old themes and rendered new



Neither can any very definite influence of LaFontaine be pointed out. It is not necessary to adduce Gay's two visits to Paris in 1717 and 1719 to establish a presumption that Gay knew LaFontaine. There had been an edition of the French fables published in London in 1708; but more than that, the Miscellanies give us concrete evidence that LaFontaine was known and frequently translated by the very sort of people among whom Gay moved, and those most nearly akin to him in taste and habits. In fact, we have seen that Swift, Gay's intimate friend and correspondent on the subject of the fables, seems to have translated from LaFontaine himself.

If, on the one hand, we can be reasonably sure that Gay knew LaFontaine, on the other, it is not easy to declare confidently that he took from him this *motif*, or that detail.<sup>18</sup> A few fables show some general similarity to those in the French collection. How much of this is due to conscious imitation, how much to similarities in the environments of the two poets, or the exigencies of the story, I am unwilling to attempt to say. Gay did not use LaFontaine as a source in any sense of the word. The influence of LaFontaine was in the air, and doubtless contributed to make the fables what they are. The most striking similarity is due to the temperaments and conditions of the two men. Gay shows more of that poise and that restraint which mark LaFontaine than do his immediate predecessors. He altogether avoids the turgidity of Ogilby, and the smartness of Vanbrugh. The violence and coarseness of the political fable are impossible to him. On the other hand, with Gay as with the other writers of his time and country, the fable is better in its applications to men, and in those parts con-

metrical versions superfluous, all this must have been of determining influence. Finally, Gay's own nature was antipathetic to versifying simply from a source. Neither the translator like Ogilby, nor the schoolmaster like Hoole, but a very indolent literary man and a poet, his whole inclination would be away from the pedantries of translation, his self-esteem, towards creation. These points deserve discussion because LaMotte's example has been overemphasized. (Plessow, ciii ff.)

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Plessow presses the matter of Gay's dependence upon LaFon. very hard. The most plausible parallel is between Gay I, 2 and LaFon. III, 15. There is only a general similarity. Gay introduces into his fable a great absurdity: a flatterer reduced by Jove to the form of a chameleon to debar him from the society he abused, is invited by a spaniel to return, an obvious impossibility. For other parallels, some quite invisible, see Plessow xciii ff.

cerned with human folly, than in any vital treatment of the animal actors. We should not expect Gay to take up cudgels for his humble friends in the manner of LaFontaine in his Epistle to Madame de la Sablière at the end of the ninth book. Whatever Gay derived from LaFontaine, and Gay comes the nearest to him of the English fabulists, he falls short at least of this last delicacy, grace, and sympathetic humor which combine to make that which we call in LaFontaine *naïveté*.

None of the English translators really reproduced LaFontaine. They followed his stories more or less closely, but recast them according to the prevailing fashion. LaFontaine's influence, however, extended further than to the suggestion of a few themes. Although the fable had already come to be regarded again as a poetical form before LaFontaine, it had remained largely in the hands of scholars, clergymen, and politicians. In the opening years of the eighteenth century, however, we find that it has made a place for itself among the polite, the graceful, and the urbane. It has become a social toy, a feature of the Poetical Miscellany. Unquestionably, LaFontaine's popularity tended to effect this change. His poetical excellence put the fable in a new light, and made it worth the attention of the *beau monde*. And this change in attitude may well be considered the most significant result of that influence Addison's assertion led one to expect.

### III. *Phaedrus versus LaFontaine in England before John Gay*

Two other causes besides the influence of LaFontaine may be suggested to explain the popularity of the fable among the members of the more polite society in England in the early eighteenth century. In the first place, the vogue of the Miscellany as a form of publication, resulting from Dryden's connection with the Tonson series, created a demand for verse of all sorts. If we compare the Miscellanies of this period, however, with the *Garlands*, *Galaxies*, and *Bookes of Songes* of the sixteenth century, we shall find that in the earlier Miscellanies, a few fable songs, and a considerable number of allusions occur, but nothing comparable to the extensive series of fables which distinguish the latter. A new impetus has clearly been given to the type in the interim.

The second possible explanation is the influence of Phaedrus, who makes an appeal to those who could only scorn the common

prose Aesop. Certainly Phaedrus did exert a parallel influence with that of LaFontaine. I have noticed above the first appearances of Phaedrus in English, first in prose in 1646, and then in verse (five fables) in 1651. The first Latin edition of Phaedrus printed in England was that of 1668. This was repeatedly reprinted.

Other instances in which Phaedrus was made use of by English writers during this period are: Oldham (d. 1683), *A Satire addressed to a Friend about to leave the University*, Dog and Wolf, Ph. VII, 3, rather than LaF., I, 5; 1689, Philip Ayres avows a use of Phaedrus for his verse collection, as does L'Estrange, 1692, for his prose; 1705, *Phaedrus Fables Translated into proper English, for the use of Young Scholars, according to Hoogstraten's Edition* (Term Cat.); 1710, Mathew Prior, *Examiner*, No. 6, Sept. 7, Ph. I, 7; 1711, *Aesop Naturaliz'd in a Collection of Fables and Stories*, 3rd edition, Fab. 28 and Ph. II, 4; 1722, Samuel Croxall (prose) follows Phaedrus in the first 37, except in putting *The Cock and the Pearl* first, as does the *Romulus*. The later fables include a scattering from Phaedrus. 1724, Matthew Concanen in *Miscellany Poems* alludes to Ph. III, 5,—“’Tis application only makes the Ass.” William Somerville, 1727, *Occasional Poems*, pp. 159 ff., takes his motto (Ph. IV, pt. I, 2, line 2) and several fables (one avowedly) from Phaedrus:—IV, pt. 2, 4; IV, pt. I, 24; I, 10, and *The Bald Batchelor, being a Paraphrase upon the Second Fable in the Second Book of Phaedrus* (about 225 lines). Other instances are: 1727, *A Tale and Two Fables in Verse* etc., by the “author of the Totness-Address Versify’d,” London, p. 15, *Reasonable Fear: or the Frogs and the Fighting Bulls. A Fable from Phaedrus*, I, 30; 1731, J. Husbonds, *A Miscellany of Poems by Several Hands* including *A Translation of the Third Fable of the Eighth Book of Phaedrus* (really III, 8); scattered allusions through the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, and quotations at the heads of several of the *Essays*. (See also *The Free-Thinker*, No. 76; *The Freeholder*, Nos. 9, 14, and other periodicals.)

Phaedrus, then, exercised a wide influence, and occurs beside LaFontaine in the *Miscellanies*, but the fable did not assume the new tone in the early days of the Phaedrian influence, but only after LaFontaine had begun to make himself felt.

M. ELLWOOD SMITH.

*Syracuse University.*



A summary of the various interpretations of *Beowulf* 489-490, given by Professor W. J. Sedgefield (*Beowulf*, 2nd ed., Manchester, 1913), will serve to introduce the following discussion:

489. *on sælum teo sigehrēð secgum*, 'joyfully award victory to warriors,' a flattering phrase. The ms. reading *onsæl meoto* used to be translated 'unbind thy thoughts,' *meoto* being regarded as the plur. of *met*. But *met* occurs nowhere else, and moreover, as Holthausen points out, the imperat. *onsæl* could not in this position take the chief stress. Holthausen also reads *on sælum*, following Kemble, and suggests *weota*, imperat. of *weotian* = *witian*, meaning 'determine,' 'appoint.' Klaeber reads *on sæl meota sigehrēð secga*, 'joyfully think of victory of warriors.' Equally plausible would be *on sæl nota*, 'at the right time (or, 'to good purpose') make use of victory for warriors.'

Several clauses from the latest summary of this matter, in the Wyatt-Chambers edition of the poem (1914), will make the statement of the problem sufficiently complete for the present purpose. After the observation that the ms. reading has in the past been generally defended by taking *onsæl* as imperative, and *meoto* as "some word, not elsewhere recorded, meaning either 'measure,' 'thought,' or 'speech': so *onsæl meoto* = 'relax the ties of etiquette,' or 'unknit thy thoughts,'" the comment follows:

"The difficulty is that a verb, unless emphatic, should not take the alliteration. Those who retain the ms. reading generally take *sigehrēð* as an adj. = *sige-hrēðig*, 'victory famed' (. . . but it is surely a noun), or make *sigehrēðsecgum* one word. [Klaeber's rendering is preferred, 'in joyful time think upon victory of men.'] The verb *\*metian* is not elsewhere recorded, but may be inferred from the Goth. *mitōn*, 'consider.'"

The later scholars thus find two principal hindrances to the acceptance of the ms. reading, the strong (alliterative) stress of an imperative (*onsæl*), and the form and meaning of *meoto*. A third difficulty is seen by some in the adjective function of *sige-hrēð*. These points shall be considered in the order indicated.

Professor Holthausen's emphatic denial of the possibility of construing *onsæl* as an imperative has carried conviction to some critics. His confident declaration is this: "Die beliebte übersetzung . . . 'und entseile die gedanken' ist schon deshalb unmög-

lich, weil sie gegen die grundregeln der metrik verstösst! Im zweiten halbvers kann bekanntlich das verbum nur dann vor dem nomen allitterieren, wenn eine schilderung vorliegt" (*Z. f. d. Phil.* xxxvii, 114). Persuaded by this, Professor Klaeber (*J. of E. and G. Phil.* vi, 192) writes, "The interpretation of this veritable *crux* has been materially advanced by Holthausen, who . . . properly restored the nounal character of (*on*)*sæl* and thus effectively disposed of several fanciful solutions." However, a true scholar like Professor Klaeber is not easily swung out of his orbit, and a foot-note is added by him to show that the imperative does, in fact, take the alliterative stress in the second half-line of 2163 and 2664, but he is too cautious when he points out as a condition the detail "followed by *eall(es)*."

As a mode of procedure, one may first make an inductive examination of the rhythmic value of the imperative in *Beowulf*. The classification of the occurrences will not elicit a controversy as to the application of the rules of scansion; ambiguity of rhythmic form will be duly pointed out.

*Imperatives under the first metrical stress in the first half-line*

<i>brūc þisses bēages</i>	1217a	<i>Bio nū on ofeste</i>	2748a
<i>cen þec mid cræfte</i>	1220a	<i>Gemyne mǣrðo</i>	660a
<i>waca wið wrāðum</i>	661a	<i>site nū tō symle</i>	489a
<i>Onfōh þissum fulle</i>	1170a	<i>gesaga him ēac wordum</i>	388a
<i>heald þū nū hrūse</i>	2248a	<i>Bebeorh þē þone bealo-nið</i>	1759a
<i>geþenc nū, sē mǣra</i>	1475a	<i>Aris, rīces weard!</i>	1391a
<i>Gā nū to setle</i>	1783a	<i>Ne sorga, snotor guma!</i>	1385a
<i>Hafa nū and geheald</i>	659a	<i>Ne frin þū æfter sǣlum!</i>	1323a
<i>Bēo þū on ofeste</i>	386a	<i>Hātað heaðo-mǣre</i>	2803a

The metrical stress may be questioned at most only in the four instances at the end of this list. Of these the first two are, however, made secure by the accentual coördination of imperative and vocative; the third, by the enclitic character of *Ne*; but the last may perhaps *not* be secured by the double alliteration, the presumption being in favor of associating this instance with the undisputed occurrences of the imperative in the initial thesis of the first half-line, which are the following:

<i>Onsend Higelāce</i>	452a	<i>lǣtað hilde-bord</i>	397a
<i>Wæs þū Hrōðgār hāl</i>	407a	<i>Wes þū mund-bora</i>	1481a
<i>Bēo wið Gēatas glæd</i>	1174a		

The imperatives occurring in the first thesis of the second half-line are appropriately added here:

<i>hāt</i> [pæt] in gāe (edd., gangan)	<i>heald</i> forð tela	949b
386b	<i>Gewitað</i> forð heran	291b
<i>Bēo</i> þū suna mīnum	<i>Wes</i> þū ūs lārena gōd!	269b
1227b		

Reverting to the first half-line, there remain two instances of the occurrence of an imperative under the second metrical stress:

<i>gum-cyste ongit</i>	1724a	<i>Ond</i> þū Unferð lāt	1489a
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It remains now to bring together the stressed imperatives of the second half-line. These shall be exhibited in two lists.

*Imperatives under the first metrical stress of the second half-line*

<i>brūc</i> þenden þū mōte	1178b	<i>Dōð</i> swā ic bidde	1232b
<i>Wes</i> , þenden þū lifige	1225b	<i>fremmað</i> gē nū	2801b
<i>Brūc</i> ealles well	2163b	þū þē lār be þon	1723b
<i>lāst</i> eall tela	2664b	ond <i>onsæl</i> m . . . .	489b
ond <i>geþēoh</i> tela	1219b		

*Imperatives under the second metrical stress of the second half-line*

<i>Higelāce onsend!</i>	1484b	symbol-wynne <i>drēoh</i>	1783b
<i>Nō</i> þū him wearne <i>getēoh</i>	366b	ond byssum cnýhtum <i>wes</i>	1220b
ond þisses hrægles <i>nēot</i>	1218b	þū on sælum <i>wes</i>	1171b
mægen-ellen <i>cýð</i>	660b	ond tō Gēatum <i>spræc</i>	1172b
ond þē þæt sēltre <i>gecēos</i>	1760b	ond þinum mægum <i>læf</i>	1179b
<i>Ofer-hýða</i> ne <i>gým</i>	1761b		

These lists from *Beowulf* are here offered to serve a wider purpose than that of the specific argument; from them may be inferred the complete convention of the rhythmic use of imperatives in Anglo-Saxon. However, in the circumstances in which an imperative comes to be used there is often occasion for sustaining the form in a succession of lines (or only in both halves of one line) by accretion or iteration. This stylistic feature, not shown in the lists, is important enough to be noticed here. It is found, for example, in *Beowulf* 659-661; 1170-1172; 1217-1220; and *Finnsburg* 10-12, which is noticeable, moreover, for two instances of an imperative (lines 10 and 12) in the first half-line with exclusive alliteration:



*Ac onwacnigeað nū      wigend mine,  
habbað ēowre handa      hiegeað on ellen,  
winnað on orde,      wesað on mōde!*

For another detail one may notice two closely related passages of *Genesis* (1512-1514; 1532-1535), which preclude the attribution of rhythmic variation to any other cause than the exigency of the poet's art; here the imperative *fyllað* has two positions in the line (*cf.* also 196):

*Tȳmað nū and tiedrað,      tīres brūcað  
mid gefēan fryðo!      fyllað eorðan,  
eall geīceað!*

*Wēaxað and wrīdað,      wilna brūcað,  
āra on eorðan!      æðelum fyllað  
ēowre fromcynne      foldan scēatas,  
tēamum and tūdre!*

It is not necessary to enlarge on the plain inferences to be drawn from the foregoing citations. The outstanding features of the rhythmic use of the imperative are manifestly these: (1) the imperative occurs most frequently at the beginning of the line, and oftenest under the stress; (2) next in frequency of occurrence are the stressed imperatives in the second half-line, distributed about equally under the first and the second stresses; (3) some of the less significant imperatives are subordinated to the first thesis in either half-line (the occurrences are not numerous, for these may also be placed under the last stress of the second half-line, and exceptionally under that of the first half-line).

Turning now from the results of an inductive examination of the rhythmic use of the imperative in Anglo-Saxon verse (as shown in *Beowulf*), it will be found that a deductive procedure leads to a confirmation and, what is more, to an adequate explanation of the same results.

Germanic alliterative verse (chiefly Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon) is held to give the clearest exhibit of certain principles of sentence-accent. These principles are therefore available as a postulate for verification in a selected text. Deductively, then, it would be expected to find the finite form of the verb unstressed or lightly stressed in the principal clause, and the stronger stress to fall as regularly on the finite verb of the subordinate clause. The verb in the principal clause may, on occasions, be emphatic in sense and

alliterate, this special emphasis being most commonly secured by placing the verb at the beginning of the sentence. Now, what is thus exceptional in the case of the finite verb must be held to be exclusive of the imperative, which converts the exception into a rule, for the imperative is regularly placed at the beginning of the sentence and demands the sentence-accent.<sup>1</sup>

There is, of course, in Germanic verse a margin of variation, which does not, however, obscure the general observance of the rules of sentence-accent.<sup>2</sup> With reference now to the imperatives in the lists given above, it is seen that in *Beowulf* the poet has managed these forms with as close adherence to the accentual law of this special category as could be expected, considering the exigencies of his difficult art-form. This reference to the lists given above unites the two methods of inquiry here pursued in the common result of an incontrovertibly strong presumption in favor of retaining *onsæl* (line 489) as an imperative, in agreement with the earlier critics, who rightly attributed the difficulty of the clause to the form of the object of the verb. Undoubtedly, if *meoto* were a known substantive, the question of the fitness of the stressed imperative would never have been raised. At all events, with this conviction in mind, the preceding digression on the imperative has been offered principally for the wider purpose of directing

<sup>1</sup> "Das Verbum war vollbetont, wenn es an der Spitze des Satzes stand. Dies wird wahrscheinlich gemacht durch Keltisch und Germanisch. . . . Vor allem stand das Verbum im Imperativ an der Spitze, ganz naturgemäss" (Hermann Hirt, *Der Indogermanische Akzent*, Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1895, p. 309). See Hirt's complete chapter on the subject, in which it is shown that the Germanic alliterative verse conserves this principle of sentence-accent "als altes Erbgut." It is important to observe the confirmatory fact that the imperative and the vocative are associated in this doctrine of sentence-position and accentual weight, and that proper names are *ipso facto* vocatives, as I have elsewhere shown for Anglo-Saxon verse (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIV, 347-368).

<sup>2</sup> "Bei diesen Abstufungen des natürlichen Accents handelt es sich selbstverständlich um *relative verhältnisse*, da der Satzaccent nicht absolut fest ist, sondern durch einfluss des rhythmischen schemas modificiert werden kann" (E. Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1893, p. 26. The entire division, "Grundlagen der altgerm. metrik," pp. 18-49, is of first-class importance in connection with this discussion, altho Sievers does not in § 24 separate for special treatment the imperatives from the other finite forms of the verb).

attention to principles of accent that are not always well understood by students of the old poetry. Otherwise the discussion would have been confined within the limits of a proposed explanation of the MS. reading *meoto*.

Assuming the form *meoto* to constitute the "veritable *cruz*," it may be subjected to scrutiny with reference to a probable paleographic error. From this point of view, one is not unprepared for an erroneous interchange of *c* and *t*, and this similarity in the form of the letters admits as a third member the vowel *o*, as seen in the *Beowulf* MS. at line 3146 (*swicðole*, for *swioðole*). It was possible for the scribe, therefore, to write *meoto* for *mecto* or for *metto* (not to devise other possible combinations of the letters). Now *mëtto*, thus obtained, is just the word to meet the sense read into the clause by the earlier critics. In the simple form it is not reported to occur elsewhere (tho it may yet be found), but it is frequent enough in the compound *ofer-mëtto*. The meaning it must have in the simple form is to be inferred from its character as an abstract noun based on *mōd*. The stem of the abstract noun is in *-īpa*, and the development is regular from *\*mōdīpa* to *mëtto* (see Sievers, *Beiträge* I, 501 and V, 134 note 1). Not to argue the question of the meaning of *mëtto*, which is sufficiently given in the character of the form, one may observe, as close synonyms of the abstract *mëtto*, such words as *mōd-gehygd* and *mōd-geþanc*, and the equivalence of *ofer-hygd* and *ofer-mëtto*, which, taken together, show that *mëtto* is synonymous with *gehygd* and *geþanc*.

As to the grammatical function of *sige-hrēð*, the remaining point to be considered here, there is no need to hesitate in construing the word as an adjective. 'Possessive compounds' like *glæd-mōd*, *glēaw-mōd*, *ofer-mōd*, and *yrre-mōd* are equivalent to forms, with which these are used interchangeably, in *-mōdig*. So too *sige-hrēð* as an adjective is a proper variant of *sige-hrēðig*.

Summing up the results thus obtained, the lines in question are a well-constructed expression of the royal injunction: 'Take thy place at the table, and do thou, victory-famous one, disclose to these men what thou hast in mind, so far as thy wisdom may urge.' A noticeable stylistic feature of these lines is a symmetry in the distribution of the parts of the injunction that represents the poet's best manner. It is also conventionally compact. In a passage by another hand (Grein-Wülker, II, p. 123, ll. 95-97) this compactness



is somewhat less rigidly observed, but the poet has an injunction to express that is sufficiently similar to that of the lines in *Beowulf*, and he does this in so similar a fashion as to supply confirmation of the results of this discussion :

Nū ic þē hāte,      hæleð mīn sē lēofa,  
 þæt ðū þās gesyhðe      secge mannum:  
 onwreoh wordum      þæt hit is wuldres bēam

In comparing passages so disconnected, it is not permitted to be dogmatic; but a code of conventionalities is observed in all Anglo-Saxon verse with a degree of uniformity that favors such a comparison, if it be kept within pliant limits. It is, therefore, not altogether inappropriate to refer to the second passage for confirmation of the assumed construction both of *sige-hrēð* and of *secgum*; and *onwreoh* is equally confirmative of *onsæl*. A further confirmation of *onsæl mētto* lies in its conformity to the conventional formula, in Anglo-Saxon verse, for expressing the *dis-closing* of one's mind. The formula, which arrested the attention of Grimm (*Andreas und Elene*, 1840, p. xxxix), is typically represented by *word-hord onlūcan*, and is sustained by verbs synonymous with *on-lūcan*: *onbindan*, *onspannan*, *onwrēon*, with which *onsælan* is also synonymous.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

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#### THE TOWNELEY PLAY OF THE DOCTORS AND THE *SPECULUM CHRISTIANI*

Dr. George C. Taylor in his paper, "The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric,"<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that a passage in the Towneley *Play of the Doctors* (xviii, 141-180) is based directly upon a metrical version of the Ten Commandments which was printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae* (I, 49-50) from Jesus Coll. Camb. MS. Q. G. 3. In view of the direct bearing of this discovery upon the much discussed problem of the relations of the cycles, it becomes a matter of some interest to assemble such evidence as is available concerning the poem in question.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philol.*, v, 1-38.

This version of the Commandments, together with a paraphrase of the Seven Deadly Sins (likewise in quatrains), and other pieces of religious verse occur in a treatise usually known as the *Speculum Christiani*, which circulated widely in the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Some idea of its popularity may be gained from the fact that no less than thirty-three manuscripts survive. Of these the earliest appears to be Ms. Bodley 89, which in the judgment of the authorities at the Bodleian was written about the year 1400. I print below the text of the *Ten Commandments* according to Bodley 89, supplying within brackets from another manuscript of the same type (Bodl. ms. Eng. th. e. 16) written in the first half of the fifteenth century, two stanzas which are lacking in Bodley 89, owing to the loss of a leaf.

Ms. Bodley 89, fol. 3<sup>a</sup>:

- fol. 3<sup>a</sup>. In heuene schall dwell al cristen mene  
bat knowe and kepe goddis byddynges tene
- fol. 3<sup>b</sup>. Thou shalte loue god wyth herte entiere  
4 Wyth all þi sowle and alle þi mygthe  
Other god in no manere  
Thou shalte not haf be day ne nygthe
- fol. 4<sup>a</sup>. Goddes name in vanitee  
8 þou shalte not take for wele nor woo  
Nor dysmembre hym that on rode tree  
ffor þe was made both blak and bloo
- fol. 4<sup>b</sup>. Thy holy daies kepe wele also  
12 ffro wordly werkys þou take þi reste  
All þi householde þe same shall doo  
Both wyff and childe *seruaunte* and beste
- Thy fader and moder þou shalte honoure  
16 Nogth oonly wyth reuerence

<sup>2</sup> The authorship of the *Speculum Christiani* is ascribed by Tanner to John Watton, on the authority of the colophon in ms. C. C. C. Oxf. 155: "Explicit speculum Christiani quod dominus Iohannes Watton." But this ascription cannot safely be accepted until the testimony of the other manuscripts has been collected. Harley 206 reads: "Liber compilatus per Willemum de Wattone." Pembroke Coll. Camb. 285: "Explicit speculum christiani Garton." St. John's Coll. Camb. G. 8: "Explicit tractatus qui dicitur Speculum christiani per Phillippum de Spencer compilatum." Harley 6580, according to the Catalogue, assigns the *Speculum* to Roger Byrde. The majority of the mss., including some of the earliest, make no mention of the author's name.

In þeir nede þou tham socoure  
And kepe aye goddis obediens

- fol. 5<sup>a</sup>. Off mane kynde þou shalte nogth slee  
20 Ne harme wyth worde ner wyll ner dede  
Ner suffre none lorne ner loste to be  
If þou may wele Hym helpe at nede
- fol. 6<sup>a</sup>. Thy wyff in tyme þou maiste wele take  
24 But none oper womane lawfully  
Lecherye and synfull luste flye and forsake  
And drede aye god wher so þou be
- fol. 6<sup>b</sup>. Be þou no thefe nor thefes fere  
28 Ne no thyng wyne thurgh trecherye  
Okir ne symonye come þou none nere  
But *conscience* clere kepe aye trewly

[Ms. Eng. th. e. 16]

- fol 12<sup>a</sup>. [Thou schalt in word be trewe also  
32 And witnes fals þu schalt non bere  
Loke þu not lye for freend nor fo  
Lest þu thi soule ful gretly dere
- fol. 12<sup>b</sup>. Thi neighbores wyf þu not desyre  
36 Nor womman non thurgh synne coueyte  
But as holy kirke wolde it were  
Right so thi purpos loke þu sette]
- fol. 7<sup>a</sup>. Howse ne lande ner other thyng  
40 þou schalte not covete wrongefully  
But kepe wele goddis hyddyng  
And cristen fayth leue stedfastly.

A comparison of this text with that in the Jesus Coll. ms. discloses several differences. The readings of the Jesus Coll. ms. are: v. 12, 'Fra bodely werk'; v. 17, 'Bot in thaire nede'; v. 18, 'gode obedience'; v. 32, 'fals wytne'; v. 42, 'trow stedfastly.' In each instance, it will be observed, the Towneley play agrees with the reading of the later manuscript, altho, in some cases at least, Bodley 89 clearly preserves the original reading.

This fact seems to offer some slight evidence as to the date of the quatrain portions of the Towneley plays. The composition of the *Speculum Christiani* can hardly be assigned to a period earlier than the last decade of the fourteenth century; and some time must be allowed for the introduction and circulation of the altered read-



ings which appear in manuscripts of the later type. It is probable, therefore, that the passage based on the *Speculum Christiani* was not introduced into the text of the Towneley plays until well on toward the middle of the fifteenth century.

It remains to speak briefly of the corresponding passage in the *Coventry Weavers' Play* (977-1000). Here one finds a paraphrase of the Commandments which differs widely from both Towneley and York. Dr. Hardin Craig,<sup>3</sup> observing in 977-984 a somewhat closer resemblance to the phrases in Towneley (143-152), inclined to the opinion that the Coventry play derived from Towneley. Coventry and Towneley, however, show no noteworthy agreement beyond the use of the rimes, *reste:best* and *honowre:succure*. Moreover, a few lines further on (989-992) we come upon phrases which are quite as directly based upon York (181-186).<sup>4</sup> This dependence upon York in the seventh and eighth commandments is certainly as significant as the similarity to Towneley in the third and fourth commandments. For if the Coventry playwright worked on the basis of Towneley, he would have found the York version of the Commandments already displaced by the passage borrowed from the *Speculum Christiani*.

Finally, it may be pointed out that the direct use of the *Speculum Christiani* in the Towneley stanzas on the Commandments raises a serious objection to the conclusion reached by Dr. Craig, 'that W Co and T preserve here parts of the same original' (p. xxxi). If the relation between Coventry and Towneley were as close as Dr. Craig supposes, one would expect to find in the Coventry text more definite and extended reminiscences of the *Speculum Christiani* than those that appear in the lines on the third and fourth commandments.

CARLETON BROWN.

Bryn Mawr College.

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<sup>3</sup> *E. E. T. S.*, Ext. Ser. 87, p. xxxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Coventry also shows slight resemblances to York rather than Towneley in the following lines: 967 (cf. Y. 147); 986 (cf. Y. 176); 997 (cf. Y. 157).

## REVIEWS

*La Riforma Ortografica dell' Inglese, del Francese e dell' Italiano*, di Giacomo De Gregorio. Palermo, Tip. Boccone del Povero, 1915. Estr. d. Atti d. R. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti di Palermo, S. 3<sup>a</sup>, vol. x.

In this essay the Marquis De Gregorio, the well-known editor of *Studi Glottologici Italiani*, briefly describes the rise of modern movements for the simplification of spelling in English, French, and Italian; criticizes the reforms that have been suggested, and the objections raised against them; and makes some new proposals regarding Italian orthography.

De Gregorio's attitude toward the whole question may be described as scientific and international. The scientist appears in the bold assertion that the object of spelling reform is phonetic accuracy: "to leave no opportunity for errors or uncertainties in pronunciation," an expression the force of which is not lessened by the admission that practical utility demands a more simple and more accurate representation of sounds. It is true that, far from scorning the claims of material advantage, he dwells repeatedly on the need for simplification and regularity for the sake of children and foreigners, but for the very purpose of gaining this material advantage as largely as possible he holds that reforms in the three languages (there is only a passing reference to spelling reform in German) would do well to proceed uniformly as far as possible, and that their common ground is scientific phonetic writing, which is also the only durable ground. This idea is apparent in many of his criticisms of the reforms proposed, and it is with this intention that he makes the fundamental postulate that each separate sound must be represented by one separate sign.

After thus expressing the idea that seems to inform the whole of this essay, it should be said that the author often shows a tenderness for the written word such as is usually ascribed to the man of letters rather than to the word-monger. Again and again he deprecates the defacing ("svisare") of words except for excellent reasons, and this even after pointing out that spelling reform is no new thing, that alterations in the written signs have occurred continually in the past, owing to sound-change outstripping the more

conservative writing, and after saying that experimental phonetics has taught us to attach more importance to sound and less to writing. On the other hand his linguistic sense recoils from wanton destruction of signs that indicate the etymology of a word correctly, and would save such signs wherever it is possible without sacrificing scientific principles. Such a catholic view as this is beyond praise: it is that of Philology itself.

In the brief sketch of the rise of spelling reform in America, Theodore Roosevelt figures imposingly enough to satisfy his most fervent admirers. He is presented as the principal champion of the movement, although it is added that when the Simplified Spelling Board was formed, Professors Calvin Thomas, Brander Mathews, and Thomas Lounsbury, all, apparently, of Yale University, made modifications and additions to the proposal of Roosevelt. The author is acquainted with the first two lists of simplified spellings, but not, it seems, with the others, although he mentions the letter of Secretary Howard to the Members of the Modern Language Association, of March, 1915, and the answers to it.<sup>1</sup>

De Gregorio comments favorably on the recommendations of these two lists, excepting that which advises, in the case of "words with the verb-suffix of Greek origin, spelled *-ise* or *-ize*," the adoption of *-ize*. This, he says, is useless and contrary to the standard of agreement between orthography and phonetics. Although in English *z* has the same sound as *s* in the words in question, *z* in the scientific alphabet and in other languages represents a composite sound different from *s*. It is a mistake to refer to the Greek origin, since these words came from French verbs in *-iser*, and not directly from Greek. An obvious explanation in reply would be that the Board were minded to save *s* for the unvoiced sibilant, and to use *z* for the voiced. They were not thinking of the advantage of agreement with spelling in other languages, and were not aiming at phonetic accuracy, but were attempting to promote regularity in English.

The spelling with *-or* of nouns formerly ending in *-our*—already established in America—meets with the approval of the author, all the more because the original Latin ending was *-or*. One wonders

<sup>1</sup> The information on which De Gregorio comments is furnished by an article of Prof. Juan M. Dihigo of the University of Havana, an article that is unknown to the reviewer.



why the Latin origin of these words should be considered, if the Greek origin of verbs in *-ize* ought not to be mentioned. These also came through French, and De Gregorio adds: "Probably the *u* of *ou* in use in England is only a remainder of the *eu* of the French *ardeur*, *couleur*, etc." This hypothesis, however, is difficult to entertain, considering how rare *eu* is in Anglo-Norman, and how frequent is *u* and, to a less extent, *ou*.

The author only modifies his general approval of the suggestions of the Board by remarking that the number of words altered is small compared with the number that would be reformed by a general application of the principles illustrated—it must be remembered that he has seen only the first two lists—and that there are more important reforms to be considered, which would cause the writing of English to approach something like an international standard, toward which all national writing ought to tend.

De Gregorio's hostility to the suggestions of the reformers of French spelling is surprising, since many of his objections are such as would apply to the new English spellings. His chief criticisms are that the reform is not based on any consistent principle; that the signs proposed are often phonetically inaccurate, and sometimes sacrifice etymological indications without achieving accuracy; that some are of a kind that would hinder rather than help foreign students of the language; that some much needed and far-reaching reforms are not proposed because of difficulties peculiar to French.

For example:—To use the sign *gn* for the sound *ñ*, and *ch* for *š* is to depart from the essential principle that each sound be represented by a single sign. To write *qi* for *qui*, *qalifie* for *qualifie*, and at the same time to write *arkéologues* and *considérer*, is to use three signs for the same sound, and *q* is superfluous as a phonetic sign. The *c* which is suggested instead of *s* in *maladrèce*, and for *t* in *atancion*, represents other sounds in phonetic science, in other languages and in French itself, and if the unvoiced sibilant *s* is to be represented by *c*, why keep *s* in *aussi*, and why use *ç* in *réçamant*? The writing *cc* for *ct* in *traduccion* etc. is inferior to the old writing which at least represented two sounds by two signs: here the reformers, to be consistent, should have written *traduqcion*, but the more phonetic *traduksion* would have been far preferable. To write *j* for *g* in *jenre* etc. is to use a sign that is not in general use, and which in phonetic science represents a different sound: it would

have been better to keep the *g* which is at least etymological. *An* for *en*, and *en* for *in* represent an approach to phonetic accuracy, but are no help to those who are learning French and also know Latin or one of the other Romance languages: the old writings had the advantage of preserving the Latin vowel. The reformers still write *examen*, *single*, *renseignement* and *impossible*, which is inconsistent. *S* for final *x* in *ceus* etc. is to substitute one useless sign for another, and considering the daring of the reformers, it is strange that they should be unwilling to eliminate mute vowels, or to represent *ou* by its phonetic equivalent *u*.

The French peculiarity of pronouncing so many of the final consonants before a vowel, but not before another consonant, creates an almost insurmountable difficulty: either *tan* or *tans* for *temps* would disfigure the word and abolish all indication of its etymology, and *tan* for *tant* would not be phonetic before a vowel. The reformers decided to preserve final *s* and *t*, and so were driven to use *êt* for *est*, and *et* for *et*, although the phonetic *ê* and *e* must have been tempting because of their reasonableness.

"All things considered," we are told, "the reform of French orthography presents so many difficulties and of such a kind that, much as we may praise the efforts of the reformers, it can be developed and applied usefully only in a few points, and for the present it will be absolutely necessary to confine it to the alterations which have been accepted by the French Academy." Now the changes accepted by the French Academy are very few indeed.

In Italy on December 10th, 1910, under the auspices of the *Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze*, there was founded the *Società Ortografica Italiana*, and at a meeting in October, 1911, presided over first by Prof. I. Guidi and then by Prof. Pio Rajna, it was resolved to promote the acceptance, for use in elementary schools, of a minimum reform program as follows:

1. The letters *h*, *j* and *q* to be abolished. Examples, *io ò. ieri. kuesto*.
2. The signs *k* and *g* to be used for the gutturals; *c* and *g* (temporarily *ci* and *gi*) for the palatals. Examples, *anke, lingue; traccati* (temporarily *tracciati*), *gorni* (temporarily *giorni*).
3. *gl* and *sc* to be used without a following *i*, before all vowels; *gn* to be kept. Examples, *figlo, gl'antiki, scame, ingegnere*.
4. Accent to be used in parts of *avere* instead of *h*.

The minutes and circulars of the Society were immediately edited with these alterations by Prof. P. A. Goidànich, while a wider reform was held in reserve. This latter contemplated the writing of  $\tilde{n}$  for *gn*,  $\tilde{s}$  for *sc*,  $\tilde{l}$  for *gl*, and special signs for voiced and unvoiced *s* and *z*, and for close and open *e* and *o*.

De Gregorio ably defends the abolishing of *h*, *j*, and *q*, and reasonably proposes that *x* and *y* should be deprived of the limited usage they now enjoy. The former represents no other than the sounds *ks*, and the latter is only another sign for semivocalic *i*. Of the signs proposed for the palatal consonants he speaks as follows:

Italian children are taught to call the letters *c* and *g* "ci" and "gi," and yet are not allowed to pronounce *ca* and *go* "cia" and "gio": for their sake as well as for consistency the different sounds should be distinguished graphically. He himself had formerly proposed the four signs *k* and  $\acute{c}$ , *g* and  $\acute{g}$ , thus excluding the sign *c* which is used in other languages for different sounds (*s* in English and French, *z* in German, *th* in Spanish). But if *c* were excluded, *g* would remain open to similar objections, and if *g* were preserved it would be unreasonable to banish a simple sign like *c*, which might well be kept for the unvoiced prepalatal. These two are simple sounds, notwithstanding the German writings *tsch* and *dsch* and the English *ch* and *dg*. For the voiced prepalatal he now proposes italic *g* (the sign advocated for the voiced guttural by the Society), and so the four signs would be *k* and *c*, *g* and *g*. It is a mistake, he says, to suppose that *k* is not a national Italian sign, for all mss. of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries have it, especially southern mss. As for the suggested temporary writings *ci* and *gi*, he thinks it would be better to settle now a matter that must be settled sometime.

He admits that the present signs *gn*, *gli*, *sci*, are monstrosities, but the new signs proposed in the minimum program, *gl* and *sc* (without *i*) are not scientific. *gl* is modelled on *gn*, itself indefensible since it is not phonetic even when etymological (*degno*), and *gl* is neither phonetic nor etymological, while to simplify *sci* by dropping the *i* is to cause *c* to play a double rôle. He therefore supports the proposals in the reserve program:  $\tilde{n}$ ,  $\tilde{l}$ ,  $\tilde{s}$ , the first two of which are already familiar in Spanish.

He also proposes that the sign *i* be used for the plural of nouns



ending in the singular in unaccented *io*. The 2d pers. Pres. Ind. of verbs like *risparmiare* should be written *risparmii*. It is curious that he does not even consider the writing of plurals such as *studi*, and of verb-forms such as *tu risparmi*, which are nevertheless in good use and apparently phonetic.<sup>2</sup> He is not in favor of using new signs for *k* and *g* palatalized by a following semivocalic *i*, although he is convinced that these are simple sounds like *ĩ* and *ñ*.

"Long vowels," he says, "and consonants uttered with energy, are ordinarily represented by doubling the sign," a statement which, as regards vowels, is true of only very few words. It has often been pointed out, and has been demonstrated experimentally,<sup>3</sup> that stressed vowels before single consonants are much longer than before doubled consonants, but these quantities do not appear in the written word. The expression "consonants uttered with energy" and his saying later that the writing of doubled consonants is "not scientific," seems to show that De Gregorio holds that doubled consonants represent energy but not length, and yet Josselyn showed that they take more time to pronounce than single consonants. No change in the writing is suggested.

The interests of foreigners are shockingly neglected by the author where he disapproves of the reformers' intention to distinguish the qualities of *e* and *o*. His reasons are that popular pronunciation of these vowels differs in the various regions of Italy, and that the public should be spared the burden of deciding how to write them. The "vernaculars" do differ, but they differ consistently, and a Roman will always say *Rôma*, and a Venetian *bêne*, while a Tuscan will always say *Róma* and *bêne*. If a foreigner, in view of the difficulty, undertakes to disregard the qualities, he will speak a language that will not sound like any Italian, but if he reasonably chooses to adopt the Tuscan pronunciation he will find it very difficult to learn so long as the qualities are not indicated in the writing. To mark the difference between the close and open stressed vowels would not be an excessive burden, and would be a step toward uniformity in Italy as well as an immense boon to foreigners. The problem of distinguishing voiced and unvoiced *s* and *z*, which De Gregorio also sets aside, is much less important, but it is again dis-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Malagoli, *Ortoepia e Ortografia Italiana Moderna*, Milano, 1905, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Josselyn, *Phonétique Italienne*, Paris, 1900.

appointing to find that he has no recommendations to make as to the use of new accents. He merely reports that the "Congresso Ortografico" was in favor of written accents to distinguish homonyms of spelling such as *tórre* and *tòrre*, and that Malagoli has made a list of the least known proparoxytones, with the accents noted. It is the proparoxytones that cause the greatest difficulty to foreigners, and it would be a great advantage to have them all marked. If this had been done in the past we should have avoided the traditional mis-pronunciation of Milton's *L'Allegro* and of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, and *Trissino* would no longer mean a trap.

De Gregorio's conclusion, which is printed with the new spelling, meets common objections to spelling-reform; advocates the preparation of a manual of writing, new dictionaries and the promulgation of the manual of the Società Ortografica; comments on the arrangement of the new alphabet, and predicts that the new orthography will be stable because it will be phonetic—he does not consider the possibility of sound-change in modern times. The introduction of the new system will not be more difficult than was that of the decimal system of weights and measures: it will soon be familiar. "Then there will be no more doubt as to the meaning of letters in their various positions, no need of further alterations, no more differences of pronunciation among the different nations. And Italian orthography, already so transparent, will become, after undergoing a little reformation, actually perfect, so as to be the model for the writing of all the other languages." 'Utopia' is the word that naturally occurs to one on reading these concluding sentences, but it is a word that is already almost phonetically spelled in all languages. However, before the desired *Pax Romana* can be established, the "difficile" French and the stubborn English will have to be overcome,—to say nothing of the "irto increscioso alemanno."

J. E. SHAW.

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*Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit* von Dr. M. J. Rudwin. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. [Hesperia: Schriften zur germanischen Philologie, 6.] xi + 194 pp.

In this work Dr. Rudwin has expanded his doctor's dissertation, *Die Teufelsszenen im geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters*, into a study on very broad lines of the rôle of the devil in religious drama and the creator of this rôle: the German people of the Middle Ages, "Denn wie wir ein Volk durch seinen Gottesbegriff kennen lernen, so können wir auch anderseits ein Volk nach seinem Teufel beurteilen." (Page v.) The reader is left, for the most part, to draw his own conclusions; but the author has furnished ample material, painstakingly and attractively arranged, and, in spite of the fact that some unpublished manuscripts have not been consulted, there is probably little or nothing to add to the description of the devil and his surroundings as far as religious drama is concerned. It is a matter for regret, however, that from the beginning of critical investigation of medieval drama a strong line of demarcation and division has been drawn between religious and non-religious plays, in spite of the fact that the one kind merges almost imperceptibly into the other. Convenient as it may be to limit a field of investigation in this way, yet the art of drama is so unified, the reciprocal influence of religious and non-religious plays, as of tragedy and comedy, is so strong that to leave one out of consideration when treating the other is to run the risk of not being entirely clear or complete. Thus Dr. Rudwin correctly points out that the devil in religious plays is a character borrowed from the Bible and the Apocrypha, resting on Christian tradition, and that the devil, as he appears at first in these plays, is by no means the buffoon of the old Germanic folk festivals; yet he adds that the devil owes his origin indirectly to these same heathen festivities in which a kind of devil's mumming can be traced back to the ninth century, although, as he says elsewhere it would be a mistake to consider the devil as merely the successor of the fun maker in the Feast of Fools or as the predecessor of the *Hanswurst* or *Pickelhering*. One cannot help feeling, however, that had Dr. Rudwin included in his investigations such plays as the *Neidhartspiele* he could have answered more completely the question of the interrelationships among the comic characters in the old folk festivals, the



Germanic and the Christian devils, and the later *Hanswurst*. In the devil scene in the *Neidhartspiel* the devil presents a curious mixed rôle of villain and buffoon which offers interesting material for the investigation of the devil in religious plays in his relations to comic characters in profane plays, especially as this scene shows the influence not only of religious drama but also of the secular *Fastnachtspiel*.

In regard to the growth of the element of comedy in this rôle, it is pointed out that not only was the appearance of the devil grotesque and grimly humorous, but that from the defeats suffered by this enemy of God and man sprang the impression of stupidity which would easily arouse scornful laughter. That the devil was at first purely a villain is probably the most important factor in the development of this character into a comic figure. It may be added that the comic element is an inevitable outgrowth of the villain character, which, by the very fact that it is a caricature of the ideal, is bound to have a grotesque and humorous element which rises to the surface sometimes in spite of the playwright. The Jew of Malta and Shylock are excellent examples of rôles in which the villain and comic elements are so inseparable that the general effect depends upon the interpretation of the actor and the mood of the audience. In view of this close relationship between the villain and the comic characters, perhaps Dr. Rudwin will at some future time investigate the question of the rôle of the devil in medieval comedy and complete this work so well begun.

In regard to the religious drama, Dr. Rudwin has clearly shown the overwhelming importance of the rôle of the devil, the character which "ties the knot of the greatest world tragedy." As he says, without the devil in religious drama there would have been no drama. In other words, true dramatic action arose only when the devil ranged himself as an antagonist. Until that time there had been only a show or spectacle. The rôle of the devil is, therefore, of the utmost importance in the development of medieval technique of the drama, for in spite of many assertions to the contrary, the drama of that period had a technique of its own; and investigators of that subject will find this book very helpful and suggestive. In tracing the development of the rôle, Dr. Rudwin inclines to the theory that the devil first appeared in the scene of the *Descent into Hell*, although the first extant play in which a devil appears is the twelfth century *Sponsus*. With the growth of

the Easter Play into the Passion Play is commensurate the growth of the devil's rôle, developing from a passive secondary character into an active character of the first rank. The development of the rôle is traced as the different scenes are added to the cycle of the Passion Play until, with the inclusion of the episodes of the Fall of Man and the Last Judgment, the devil "appears as the Alpha and Omega of the Christian world system."

A careful study is made of the rôle of the devil in all of the scenes in which he appears. In each case the theological or biblical foundations for the part are given; the source of the rôle is indicated and its development is traced; the contents of the scene are fully described; the number of verses in each scene in which the devil plays a part, and the different names applied to the devils are tabulated; the professions and the social status of the souls in Hell are given. Thus these scenes in Hell, especially, as the author points out, are a humorous satire on the social and religious life on earth. They also contain, perhaps unconsciously, the moral of the play.

The stage setting of Hell is found to be far more simple than in French plays of this period, there being no subdivision of the scene to indicate the different localities in Hell, such as Limbo. At times even the interior of the scene is not shown, but the action took place in front of the entrance where the wine vat, on which the devil sat, was placed. Dr. Rudwin rejects correctly the theory of the stage built up in three stories of which the lower represented Hell, but he admits that the setting for Hell may well have been on a slightly lower level than the stage proper. This is in all probability the correct view; but, as this is one of the vexed questions of the system of medieval stage decoration, we wish that evidence upon which this conclusion is based had been given.

In connection with the stage setting of Hell on the German stage, Dr. Rudwin takes up the question of the *dolium* or wine vat upon which the devil sits enthroned in his realm, and disagrees with the generally accepted view that the *dolium* was a kind of improvised, symbolic setting for the Hell scene. "Das Dolium," he says, "war nichts mehr als der Standort des Hauptteufels, der Thron des Höllenfürsten, den himmlischen Thron parodierend." This stage property, however, seems to have had a different significance from that given it by Dr. Rudwin and the other commentators on the subject. In the Vulgate, Revelation xiv, 19-20

reads as follows: *Misit igitur angelus falcem suam acutam in terram et vindemiavit vineam terrae et misit in lacum irae Dei magnum et calcatus est lacus extra civitatem, etc.* The word *lacus* means, especially in classical Latin, a vat into which wine flowed from the press. DuCange, however, gives only *piscina* as the meaning of *lacus* in medieval Latin; but for *dolium* he gives *cupa major, lacus vinarius*. He cites from the Charta of Bishop Gebhart (1222) a passage in which the word *dolium* is used for the classical Latin *lacus*, or wine vat. The *dolium* of the stage directions in these plays is, therefore, evidently medieval Latin for *lacus* and, in all probability, refers to the wine vat of the wrath of God in this passage of the Bible, or wine press, as the King James version translates it. Since a series of illustrations of this vision, having their origin, according to M. Mâle,<sup>1</sup> in the Wittenberg Bible (1522), shows only the angels gathering and pressing the grapes in the vat, the question may be raised as to the symbolism of the devil in this connection. The answer lies in a miniature of the early 14th century, in a Latin and French manuscript of the Apocalypse, which also illustrates these verses.<sup>2</sup> An angel is cutting the vines and is handing the grapes to a devil seated on the wine press of the wrath of God. That in this miniature the *lacus* is a medieval wine press and not a vat need not trouble us. The artist has merely committed a common anachronism. We plainly have, then, in art a tradition of a *dolium*, representing symbolically the wrath of God, serving as a seat for the devil. This symbolism of medieval iconography was probably adopted on the stage without question and perhaps without clear knowledge of its full significance, just as many a piece of stage setting, especially for the Hell scene, was copied bodily from some plastic representation of the same subject. Thus it would not be surprising if this bit of symbolism, having developed into a mere stage tradition, was never referred to in the lines of the plays themselves, especially as the interpretations of the Apocalypse were constantly varying and changing entirely. In this connection it may be suggested that Dr. Rudwin could find at least corroborative evidence for many of his conclusions in the iconography of the Middle Ages. Indeed, it would be well worth while to investigate the plastic representation of the Descent into

<sup>1</sup> E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*. Paris, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum Add. ms. 17333, f. 28. See: *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*. 1910.



Hell scene—probably of Byzantine origin—and the Last Judgment scene with reference to the questions of priority and their general conception, as a means of throwing light on the introduction of the rôle of the devil and the development of the Passion Play. As the present writer has tried to show,<sup>3</sup> influence was not merely exerted on the art of the Middle Ages by contemporary stage setting according to the view of M. Mâle, but there was at least as strong an influence in the other direction. With his wide knowledge of the devil on the stage, Dr. Rudwin might well investigate the question of the reciprocal influence of art and drama on the representation of the devil.

The second part of the book is devoted to a study of the devil and all of his activities as reflected by the religious drama. This is the most original and the most valuable part of this interesting monograph. From the passive rôle in the Descent into Hell scene or from the mute rôle in the *Sponsus* the character of the devil develops, subdivides, and one may say propagates itself, until there is a whole realm of evil spirits with Lucifer in command, Satan as his lieutenant, and the lesser devils in attendance. Nor are these devils all of one piece. A keen analysis shows the difference in character between Lucifer and Satan and the lesser demons. The author also explains their relations to the medieval man, woman, and priest, and with the heavenly powers. He shows that much of the character of the devil can be explained by the fact that the rôle develops as a contrast to and as the reverse side of the heroic rôle, that the devil is the *simia Dei*. Indeed, almost everything appertaining to the divine power is caricatured in this interesting personification of the power of evil. Nothing seems to have been omitted which tends to elucidate the conception of the devil in the Middle Ages in Germany. Full details are given of what may be called the daily life of the inhabitants of Hell, their speech, occupations, food, dances, songs, etc., being carefully described. After reading this book one is convinced that the same methods may well be applied to a study of the devil in the drama of the Middle Ages in England and France. Only it is to be hoped that all forms of drama, not merely plays on religious subjects, will be employed as material for such investigation in the future.

Princeton University.

DONALD CLIVE STUART.

<sup>3</sup> *Romanic Review*, IV, No. 3.

HONORÉ DE BALZAC, *Eugénie Grandet*. Prepared for class use, with introduction, notes and vocabulary by T. ATKINSON JENKINS. New York, Holt and Co., 1915. xx + 308 pp. and two illustrations.

RENÉ BAZIN, *Le Blé qui lève*. Edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary by THEODORE LEE NEFF. New York, Holt and Co., 1915. xxv + 300 pp. and five illustrations.

From a cultural as well as from a linguistic point of view Bazin's stories are so eminently suited for use in American class rooms, that we welcome the addition of *Le Blé qui lève* to our stock of annotated works.

An appreciative introduction brings out, beside the necessary biographical details, the author's originality and his attitude toward what he considers the novelist's function which is to interest, to instruct, and to elevate the mind.<sup>1</sup>

The notes and vocabulary are satisfactory as far as they have been tested, but a large part of what appears in the notes might well have been relegated to the vocabulary. Thus, since Cambrai, Beauvais, Blida, Lyon, and other names appear in the vocabulary, why not also Chartres, Bourges etc.? That Chartres was "the home of La Chapelle, E. Deschamps and other illustrious Frenchmen" will scarcely appeal to Freshmen and Sophomores. *On aurait dit des chrétiens* (51.8) should be under dire; and why do Mr. Neff and many other editors persist in translating that expression by 'One would have said'? The exact meaning of course is 'They looked for all the world like Christians,' or 'One might have taken them for Christians.'

61.9: *que ça n'est guère* (see voc. under *guère*) means: 'that is not much,' or 'that's hardly worth the while,' and not as the vocabulary has it: 'that is scarcely possible, that isn't easy.' 62.28: *bijoux peu titrés*; the word *titré* is translated in the vocabulary by 'genuine.' In France gold that is less than 18 carats is called *à bas titre*; the *titre* being the proportion of gold or silver contained in coin, plate, jewelry, etc. The word *rouleau* in *battre le blé au*

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Neff adopts a modified reformed spelling, but is not always consistent as instanced by the following: preacht, p. xi; reached, p. 203; introduct and introduced, both participles, on p. xxi; touched, p. 202; possessed, p. xv; developpt, p. 252 (under *hauteur*); the imperfect lookt, p. 202; wished, p. 204, elsewhere wisht.

*rouleau* is translated by 'roller.' It is in reality the business end of the flail. On page three occurs the sentence: *un front bas sous des cheveux châtain, durs, qui faisaient éperon au milieu sur la peau mate*. The vocabulary translates *éperon* (occurring but once) by 'spur, tuft.' It is a spur, but not a tuft, a spur meaning a sharp point. 75.11: *C'est rudement tapé*, referring to a speech. The vocabulary has: 'That's a famous speech,' which is correct; but a wrong impression is conveyed by the addition: 'that's hitting hard.' There is here no more idea of hitting than in the English: 'He struck it right.' *Tapé* is slang for *réussi*. Compare: *Jupiter avait une bonne tête, Mars était tapé*. (Zola, *Nana*); and *Aussi a-t-on fait plusieurs couplets sur tous les ministres dont le portrait est bien tapé* (*Journal de Barbier*, 1742). Of a well turned phrase or speech, or a good likeness one may say: *c'est tapé*, or of the latter, and less elegantly still: *c'est craché*.

78.20: *Il en était le maître et moi d'accepter* is rendered by 'He was competent to do so, and I accepted.' The note adds: *D'accepter* is the historical infinitive. Or by changing the punctuation slightly, we may make a reading which also seems good: *Il en était le maître . . . et moi (j'étais le maître) d'accepter*. There is no doubt whatever that the latter is the correct interpretation. Gilbert did not mean to imply that he hastened to accept, but merely that he was free to do so. 104.28: P. L. M. stands for Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée, not for Paris-Lyon-Marseille.

Proof reading has been done with much care, the reviewer having noticed only two misprints. In the voc. under *quelque* read *sort*, and a little further down *quérir*; in the introduction, first line read western for eastern; p. xiii, omit his before *les Misérables*.

Professor Jenkins has kept little of the material of the Bergeron edition of *Eugénie Grandet* used these twenty years. The extreme care with which he has acquitted himself of his task has resulted in what might be termed in a way an *édition définitive*. The introduction, though not too long, contains the essentials of the author's life and character; the facts are well selected, well condensed, and well presented. The same may be said of the preparatory remarks to the novel in hand. The notes, moreover—and this is a happy innovation in text editing—abound in penetrating running comments intended to impress on the reader the high literary value of the work. Having read abundantly *autour de son sujet*, the editor



is enabled to give us, together with the benefit of his own readings and his own meditations, a clear and suggestive interpretation of the story and of the characters. Even though the student were not in the end convinced "that *Eugénie Grandet* is a masterpiece of a great novelist" we refuse to believe that the editor's work could be considered a failure.

Nearly all matters of a linguistic, geographic, historic or biographic nature are to be found in the vocabulary, while a separate section is reserved for grammatical peculiarities. The notes are thus almost entirely of an interpretative character.

The following unimportant remarks are offered *par acquit de conscience*. 19.12: *sa taille haute*. This refers to Nanon, the maid, who is said to be 5 feet 8 inches tall. Mr. Jenkins remarks that "In France a man from 5 ft. 4 in. up to 5 ft. 8 or 9 in. is said to be "*de grande taille*." But 5 ft. 8 in. in French measurement are equivalent to more than 6 English feet, the French *piéd* being 0.<sup>m</sup> 324, the *pouce* 0.027. *Cinq piédz huit pouces* = 1.<sup>m</sup> 836, while 6 English feet = 1.<sup>m</sup> 824, or over one centimeter less.

34.13: *il est neuiffe-s-heures*. The note reads: "This is a so-called *fausse liaison* like à *quatre-s-yeux*, *il reviendra-z-à Pâques*."

That is not quite correct else the writer would have transcribed *neuf-z-heures* or *neuve-s-heures* or something similar, but certainly not with *ff*. As a matter of fact a pun is intended on *neuf soeurs*. What the allusion is, or whether there is any allusion at all I am unable to say, but I do know that the *f* is here never voiced. The original perpetrator of this atrocious play of words may have had in mind the *neuf muses* confusing them with the *Heures* (jeunes déesses qui ouvraient ou fermaient les portes du ciel, présidaient aux saisons etc.) Cf. Dante: E già le quattre ancelle eran del giorno rimase addietro, *Purg.* xxii, 18-19). 61.30: *Quien!* I find nowhere stated that this is dialectical for *tiens!* 166.4: *Va, mon enfant, tu donnes la vie à ton père; mais tu lui rends ce qu'il t'a donné*. Does *ce qu'il t'a donné* really refer to the *beau trésor* of rare coins? I doubt it. I feel more inclined to think that it has reference to life which Grandet has given his daughter. A little further the old miser says: *La vie est une affaire*. 177.23: *le nez avait l'impertinence de rougir*. The editor quotes Rostand's lines in *Cyrano de Bergerac*, act i, sc. iv. In order that the students might not think that Rostand borrowed this conceit from Balzac, it might be well to quote Théophile Viau's more famous lines in

*Pirame et Thisbé: Le voilà, le poignard qui du sang de son maître s'est souillé lâchement; il en rougit, le traître.* And being on that subject there can be no harm in mentioning Gloucester's words in *Henry VI*: "See how my sword weeps for the poor king's death." 178.27-28: Is the fashionable quarter of Paris today the Boulevard des Italiens, or the Quartier de l'Etoile and Passy? *Question de goût* perhaps. 187.8: *Vous devez conserver ce que Dieu vous a donné.* Professor Jenkins is of opinion that the abbé's reasoning is weak, and that there was nothing "to prevent Eugénie from entering a convent and leaving all her fortune to charitable foundations." But the abbé and Balzac knew that once Eugénie entered a convent, her fortune would go with her never to return again, way out of reach of the abbé, and what a parishioner the good curé and the town of Saumur would lose!

Grammatical notes: § 1c. It is stated that Grandet's language is often careless, and as examples *du bon vin*, 96.18, and *du bon or*, 159.16, are cited. Grammarians still continue to hold similar views, but even the best speakers disregard that rule today.

§ 2a. Proper names of persons which are used to designate persons that resemble the ones named generally take the mark of the plural, and *des Nanons*, *des Eugénies* would have been more in accord with the best usage. § 5b. "Balzac continues to use *en* in speaking of persons where the best usage now avoids it: *pour écouter son cousin croyant en avoir entendu les soupirs.*" The reason why *en* was used here is obvious: if the writer had used *ses soupirs* we should have two possessives in the third person, one referring to Eugénie, the other to Charles, and whereas this would not create any confusion, it would look somewhat awkward; *les soupirs de ce dernier* or *de celui-ci* would have been correct but heavy. Moreover, are there not many offenders against this supposed rule? François de Curel, a very careful and elegant writer in *L'Envers d'une sainte*, p. 54 (édition Stock): *Hier j'ai eu l'occasion de dire deux mots à Georges sans témoins. J'ai obtenu qu'il vous ferait une visite . . . Je tiens à savoir ce que vous en pensez* (She means: what you think of him). It would be an easy matter to multiply instances taken from the best modern writers.<sup>2</sup>

J. L. BORGERHOFF.

Western Reserve University.

<sup>2</sup> Misprints: P. 199, note 27 should read 5.27; note 36.4-5 should read 36.5-6; note 124.6 read *Gretchen*; 149.28 read *somewhat* for *some*; note 158.6 read *Fête-Dieu*; p. 226.1 read *il oubliait*.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE, *Some Love Songs of Petrarch*. Translated and annotated and with a biographical introduction. Oxford University Press, 1915. 244 pp. \$1.15.

From the time of Wyatt and Surrey on, attempts have been made to put Petrarch's lyrics into English; but in comparison with the translations from Dante, those from Petrarch are insignificant. A long series of translated sonnets is necessarily monotonous, and especially so when the originals themselves display a certain monotony. Since the charm and the influence of Petrarch depend on his perfect adaptation of expression to thought, rather than on any variety or originality in the thought itself, the *Canzoniere* loses nearly everything when its poetic form is lost. Even though certain versions of single lyrics do reproduce something of the effect, a translator must soon find himself hampered by the greater paucity of rhyme-words in English than in Italian; and it is obviously impossible to use rhyme in a translation without modifying the meaning.

In most of the seventy-five sonnets which he has translated, Mr. Foulke uses the Shakespearean sonnet-form (ABAB, CDCD, EFEF, GG), which is much easier to manage in English than the Italian form (ABBA, ABBA in the quatrains). The closing couplet, however, produces an effect foreign to the Italian sonnet. For instance, Mr. Foulke compresses the last three lines of Son. 3 into these two:

Scant honour his to wound me thus, nor show  
To you, well armed against him, even his bow!

and accordingly he inserts an entire line that has no equivalent in the original. The insertion of extra words is perhaps inevitable in a rhymed translation, but it is unfortunate; it seems to overload verses that in the original are accurately balanced. Thus in the rendering of the first quatrain of the sonnet quoted above, the words in italics are additions by the translator:

It was the day when the Sun's *heavy* rays  
Grew pale in pity of his *suffering* Lord,  
When I fell captive, lady, to *the* gaze  
Of your fair eyes, *fast* bound in *love's strong* cord;

furthermore, the word "Lord" is inaccurate for "fattore," and the phrase "e non me ne guardai" is omitted. These remarks are not meant so much in criticism of Mr. Foulke's work, as to illustrate the hopelessness of undertaking to reproduce accurately the



thought of Petrarch in a form even remotely suggesting the original: either accuracy or form must be sacrificed. In rendering the *Canzoni*, he departs widely from the original metre; but it is interesting to observe that the most successful translation in the collection is the one which follows with remarkable faithfulness the intricate structure of the *Sestina* (the only lapse being the failure to introduce the end-word "Earth" in the first line of the *Commiato*). The first stanza may be quoted:

Unto whatever creature dwells on earth,  
(Save only those whose eyes do hate the sun)  
The time to toil is while it still is day;  
And when at last the heavens light their stars,  
Man homeward turns, the beasts hide in the wood  
And find repose at least until the dawn.

The translation, with the obligatory repetition in every stanza of the same end-words, is no more forced or stilted than the Italian. At his best Mr. Foulke gives a very fair suggestion of Petrarch's effect, but on the whole his work proves how elusive this effect is. In spite of not having attained complete success, he deserves gratitude and appreciation for his serious effort to present the poet to English readers.

The title "Some Love Songs of Petrarch" is not entirely descriptive. Some of the poems translated (*e. g.*, *Fiamma del Ciel*, p. 45; *Italia Mia*, p. 101; and the hymn to the Virgin, p. 188) are not love songs; while the biographical introduction and the appendix fill twice as many pages as the translations. The introduction makes no pretense to originality; it is agreeably written, and will help to popularize the traditional biography of Petrarch. An index is added. Mr. Foulke gives extensive extracts from Petrarch's letters, always quoting them at second hand from such books as those of Hollway-Calthrop and M. F. Jerrold; but not appearing to be acquainted with the obvious book of Robinson and Rolfe. He refers constantly to the untrustworthy De Sade, and makes little use of the results of modern scholarship. He stoutly supports the reality of Laura and of Petrarch's love for her, devoting an appendix of nearly twenty pages to a discussion of the matter; but he advances no new arguments. There are a number of inaccuracies and obscurities of statement, such as this: "The manuscript thus sent [to Malatesta in 1373] is regarded as perhaps the most valuable now existing of the Italian poems of Petrarch" (p. 91); no reference is given, and nothing is said as to the present location of

the manuscript in question, which is certainly not the Vatican ms. No. 3195. Why does Mr. Foulke nowhere mention this, the poet's own copy of his Italian writings? "A certain pessimism in his nature" is hardly accurate for "Acidia" (p. 199).

It is a pity that Mr. Foulke did not use more critical judgment in choosing his authorities, but after all the translations are the important part of the work. The book is attractively and accurately printed at Oxford. Since nothing is said as to the residence of the translator, it would be natural to infer that he was British. He is, however, a native of New York, now living in Indiana.

KENNETH MCKENZIE.

*University of Illinois.*

## CORRESPONDENCE

## AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF HONORÉ DE BALZAC

The following letter of Honoré de Balzac is found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia in the Ferdinand J. Dreer collection of autographs. A catalogue of this collection, which comprises about nine thousand letters, was printed for the society in 1890. The only mention which seems to have been made of the Balzac letter is in Spoelberch de Lovenjoul's exceedingly valuable book, *Autour de Honoré de Balzac*, (Paris, 1897, pp. 269 and 270), where the author declares that he has made several attempts to obtain a copy of the document, and regrets the fact that he has never succeeded.

The letter reads as follows:

Monsieur le conseiller,

J'ai parlé avec tant d'enthousiasme des livres curieux par leur bizarrerie que vous m'avez montrés, ainsi que des deux bustes de David, qu'une personne de mes amis, dont la réputation d'esprit a dû venir jusqu'à vous, Mme Hanska, a le désir de voir la bibliothèque, et j'avoue que je la reverrai avec le plus grand plaisir; si donc demain il faisait beau, nous vous rendrions visite à onze heures.

Je saisis cette occasion de vous réitérer mes remerciemens de la bonne grâce avec laquelle vous m'avez montré vos trésors, en vous offrant l'expression de mes sentimens les plus distingués.

de Balzac.

Dresde, 9 mai.

During Balzac's numerous visits to Germany he was in the capital of Saxony on two occasions in the month of May—in 1845, when he spent a brief period of time there with Mme Hanska, and in 1850, on his honeymoon trip from Russia. The present letter could not have been written during this latter sojourn, since Balzac would not have referred to his wife either as Mme Hanska or as “une personne de mes amies.”

The year 1845 embraces the most unproductive months of Balzac's literary career. His letters during this period to Mme Hanska, who was spending the winter in Dresden, express a constant note of impatience because of their separation, and the novelist repeatedly begs his friend to allow him to join her. In February, he impulsively proposes that she and her niece come to Paris incognito for the Spring season.<sup>1</sup> This invitation, we know, was not accepted. Finally, on the 18th of April, Balzac writes to Mme Hanska from Paris to reserve for him a suite of rooms in Dresden, and declares that he will join her in a few days. A certain amount of mystery is attached to this voyage which Balzac evidently wished to keep secret, and during the whole time that he spent in Dresden, he apparently discontinued his usual correspondence with Paris friends.

The librarian of the Royal Public Library from 1835 to 1852 was Konstantin Karl Falkenstein,<sup>2</sup> who, in 1839, published at Dresden a catalogue of the collections under his care, with the following title: *Beschreibung der Königlichen Oeffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*. On the title-page of the volume we learn that the author possessed the distinction of being *Königl. Sächs. Hofrath und Bibliothekar*. There seems to be no doubt then that Balzac's note to “Monsieur le conseiller” is addressed to Hofrath Falkenstein of the Dresden Library.

On the main staircase of the library are two marble busts of Goethe and Tieck made by David d'Angers, whose bust of Balzac had been recently completed. Only a few months previous to this visit to Dresden the novelist had written to Mme Hanska of the bust, and promised to send her a replica of it.<sup>3</sup> It was doubtless with some vanity then that he wrote to ask permission to show his

<sup>1</sup> *Corr.*, Calmann-Lévy ed., p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, VI, 294.

<sup>3</sup> Letter dated Feb. 15, 1845. *Corr.*, Calmann-Lévy ed., p. 423.



distinguished Russian friend these other tributes to genius, done by the same sculptor.

In the published correspondence of Balzac for 1845 there is only one letter which may have been written from Dresden. In this letter to Froment Meurice the address of the sender is omitted, and the barest reference is made to an absence from Paris. The present letter is then interesting as the only dated document we have from the author of the *Comédie Humaine* during this brief and mysterious voyage to Germany in 1845.

I am indebted to Mr. Albert J. Edmunds of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and to Mr. Gregory Keen, trustee of the Ferdinand J. Dreer estate, for their kindness in permitting me to publish the above letter.

WALTER SCOTT HASTINGS.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

#### UNE CLEF DES *Caractères* DE LA BRUYÈRE

Dans son savant Appendice aux *Caractères* de La Bruyère<sup>1</sup> M. G. Servois décrit un petit cahier imprimé en 1697 qu'il considère comme la première clef imprimée des *Caractères*. Un exemplaire de cet opuscule précieux se trouve à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, où il porte la cote R 2810 + A (Inv. R 18, 813).

Il existe de cette clef rarissime une copie manuscrite qu'on n'a pas encore signalée comme telle. Nous la trouvons au tome 39 de la *Bibliothèque universelle*, 1680-1732, de l'abbé Philippe Drouyn, conservée à la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.<sup>2</sup> C'est un petit cahier manuscrit, 9½ x 17 cm., inséré dans un grand recueil in-folio. Les feuilles sont numérotées de 269 à 284, mais le texte ne comprend que les ff. 269 à 281a.

La première partie du manuscrit est une copie fidèle de la clef imprimée de 1697, dont elle reproduit toutes les particularités.<sup>3</sup> Elle remplit les ff. 269-279, les derniers noms commentés étant ceux de Louvois et de M. de Seignelay. La notice finale de la clef imprimée<sup>4</sup> s'y trouve également sous la forme suivante :

"Monsieur *de-la-bruyere* (*biffé*) jean de la / *Brye* (*biffé*) Bruyere estoit gentilhomme de / Mr. le prince et l'un des quarante

<sup>1</sup> Ed. des Grands Ecrivains, I, 399; III, 153, No. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Voir dans le *Catalogue des MSS. de la Bibl. de l'Arsenal*, v, 398; VIII, 519 sq., une notice sur Drouyn. P. Laeroix, dans un article sur la *Bibl. univ.* (*Cabinet historique*, XVII, 33-49 (1871)), ne mentionne pas cette clef.

<sup>3</sup> Voir les indications de l'Appendice des Gr. Ecr., *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Gr. Ecr. I, 339, n. 1.

de / l'academie françoise. il mourut/ subitement le jeudi 10. may. 1696. a / 10. heures du soir aage de 57 ans."

Plus bas on a ajouté cette mention: "ont (*sic!*) croit qu'il a esté empoisonné a la / sollicitation de quelques grands qui / luy en vouloient a cause de ses caracteres."

A la même page (ff. 279-281a), sous le titre "Augmentations de la clef des caracteres de Theophraste," suit, écrite de la même main, une seconde série beaucoup plus restreinte de notices, puisées dans les nombreuses clefs du commencement du 18e siècle. En voici les premiers trois articles:

*Lise*, la comtesse d'Olonne <sup>5</sup>

*Dorinne*, madlle, foucault <sup>6</sup>

*combien de*, madlle de Rassac, Bôlé et Amelin <sup>7</sup>

Notons encore l'indication suivante (f. 279b) qui se rapporterait au No. 42 des Grands Ecrivains (I, 259) et que M. Servois passe sous silence: "*l'on ouvre*, les marchands." L'annotation est, évidemment, peu spirituelle, la réflexion de La Bruyère ayant un caractère plutôt générale.

Voici le dernier article de notre clef:

"*les citations*, l'abbé Boileau qui est mort depuis peu." <sup>8</sup>

L'abbé Boileau mourut en 1704; nous obtenons ainsi l'année 1704 ou 1705 comme date approximative de notre manuscrit.

WALTHER P. FISCHER.

*Ratisbonne, Bavière.*

#### A PARALLEL TO THE *Rosengarten* THEME

This parallel has been concealed by the inapposite analogues suggested by von der Hagen in his edition of *Der wîze Rosendorn*.<sup>1</sup> The editor, who failed to see its similarity to the *Rosengarten* of the epics and the *märchen*, sought to relate the description to stories

<sup>5</sup> Cette indication se trouve déjà dans la clef de 1697, qui est seule à placer ici ce nom. Elle a été omise dans la première partie de notre clef manuscrite.

<sup>6</sup> Gr. Eer. I, 455: Clefs du 18e siècle.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* 459: Clef du 18e siècle.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Gr. Eer. II, 221, No. 4, et 416.—Une dernière notice explique les renvois aux éditions de Lyon et de Paris (1696) qui se trouvent en marge du manuscrit.—Voir, sur ces éditions, Gr. Eer. III, 148, No. 9.

<sup>1</sup> *Gesamtabenteuer*, Stuttgart, 1850, III, 21 f. Cf. also the notes, pp. v-viii; on the manuscript, cf. p. 763. It does not appear whether the tale in the Vienna MS. is identical or not, cf. p. 761. The text is based solely on the Dresden MS. of 1447.

of swan-maidens. This he was led to do by his equating of the *schwank* with an Old French *fabliau* which contains the swan-maiden incident. It is not necessary to discuss the extremely obscene tale with which the *Rosengarten* theme is combined further than to say that it has only the slightest connection with the *fabliau*. Indeed no particularly close parallel to the German tale is to be found in the analogues cited for the French one.<sup>2</sup>

The detailed description of the *wurzgarten*, as it is called in the *schwank*, occupies thirty-seven lines. The following details are given: The owner (*ein junkvrouwe*) seeks to keep all intruders out of this garden filled with rare herbs and beautiful plants. From these she distills essences. From a large rose-tree (*rosendorn*) she obtains rose-water for bathing. This tree is trained in a ring and gives shade enough for twelve knights. By chance one of the plants causes one of her members to talk. Thus ingeniously the debate between the girl and her body is introduced. The *Rosengarten* is not mentioned again in the *schwank* and indeed seems to be forgotten in a later mention of the scene, p. 27.

Elsewhere the *Rosengarten* appears in a variety of connections. In *märchen* and tradition it is the garden of a dwarf or of some supernatural creature, e. g., Rübezahl. In *Laurin* the theme is combined with the maiden-robbing dwarf. In the various *Rosengarten* epics, the garden belongs to either Gibeck or Kriemhild. In these the theme is combined with the story of the combat between the twelve champions of Dietrich and of Kriemhild. In the *märchen* and the epics the garden is said to contain rare and delightful plants, in particular, roses. In these, too, the owner vigorously resents any violation of its boundaries. The same name is further attached to a variety of places, of which some are or have been burial grounds. In still other instances the spot seems to have had some particular significance in Germanic religion. The name is also associated with the Germanic Paradise. The relations of all these different *Rosengärten* is still a matter of dispute.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Liebrecht, *Germania*, I, 262 (refers to Keller, *Erzählungen aus altdeutschen Handschriften*, pp. 435, 437, 443); Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*,<sup>2</sup> p. 453 (v); J. J. Meyer, *Isoldes Gottesurteil*, 242, N. 47. On the separation of this part of the body, cf. Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 412; *Des trois dames qui trouvèrent . . .*, Montaiglon-Raynaud, *Rec. gen.*, v, 32; *De la sorisete des Estopes*, *ibid.*, II, 158. On the speaking of this part, cf. *Zs. f. vgl. Literaturgesch.*, XII (1899), 106; *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, IX, 141; Ward, *Cat. of Romances*, I, 816; Chamberlain, *Aino Folk Tales*, p. 47. The foregoing references are illustrative rather than exhaustive.

<sup>3</sup> Boer in *Die Dichtungen vom Rosengarten zu Worms*, AfnF, XXIV, 138 ff., 276 ff. upholds the theory that the *Rosengarten* of the epics is not mythical in origin; for the opposing view, cf. Holz, *Die Gedichte vom Rosengarten zu Worms*, Halle, 1893, Einl., p. c and following and E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, p. 126. In further investigation the undeservedly neglected monograph by Ed. Jacobs, *Rosengarten im deutschen Lied, Land*



As long as we do not know the source of *Der wize Rosendorn* it is impossible to say whether the combination of the *Rosengarten* theme and the obscene *schwank* was suggested by the presumably French original or whether it was due to the German narrator. The absence of analogues in French and their abundance in German material render it rather more probable that the *wurzgarten* is of German origin. The resemblances to the *Rosengarten* of the epics are quite unmistakable. That the *rosendorn* could give shade for *twelve* knights is also suggestive of some connection. On the other hand there are features which suggest association with popular belief, *i. e.*, bathing before sunrise. The description of the *wurzgarten* is not at all in the spirit of chivalry and the romances.

This parallel is of especial interest because it is another example of the *Rosengarten* theme as a floating one which could be combined with other stories and which was current in this form in Germany. From this point of view it is of importance in the discussion of the origins of the *Rosengarten* epics.

ARCHER TAYLOR.

Washington University.

#### CHAUCEUR AND RICHMOND

That exquisite vision of bereavement, Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* or *Death of Blanche*, is near its close. The disconsolate husband, John of Gaunt, the great Duke of Lancaster, has narrated amid the shadows of a dream forest the touching story of his love and loss to the sympathetic Dreamer. The royal hunt, whose echoes have been ringing throughout the elegy, is over, and the "king," supposedly the Duke's father, Edward III, rides homeward unto a place which is very near,

A long castel with walles whyte,  
By Seynt Iohan! on a riche hil.

Now let us read Professor Skeat's comment:

"Possibly the *long castel* here meant is Windsor Castle; this seems likely when we remember that it was in Windsor Castle that Edward III instituted the order of the Garter, April 23, 1349; and that he often resided there. A *riche hil* in the next line appears to have no special significance. The suggestion, in Bell's Chaucer, that it refers to Richmond (which, after all, is not Windsor) is

*und Brauch, mit besonderer Beziehung auf die thüringischsächsische Provinz, Neujahrsblätter*, No. 21, hrsg. v. d. hist. Kommission der Provinz Sachsen, Halle, 1897 should be consulted. I am indebted to my friend Robert P. More for these references.

quite out of the question, because that town was then called Sheen, and did not receive the name of Richmond till the reign of Henry VII, who renamed it after Richmond in Yorkshire, whence his own title of Earl of Richmond had been derived."

This would seem to settle the matter. Even the "prophetic soul" of Chaucer, wafted on the wings of dream, could hardly pierce so far the mists of futurity. But wait a moment. There is another Richmond in the field. Is not the "castle on a rich hill" that mighty Yorkshire Richmond or Richemont, which in this year of Blanche's death, 1369, was John of Gaunt's own? Etymology and history both speak loudly for this famous castle of the North. "Richemont"—the frequent fourteenth-century form of the name—might well be rendered "rich hill" by the poet who, in this very elegy, dubs Blanche, "Whyte," and who elsewhere calls Oliver Mauny ("mau ni"), "wicked nest" and plays upon the "beast"—suggesting surname of Philip Vache. This lofty stronghold, begun by Alain de Bretagne in the Conqueror's days, held proudly by the Dukes of Brittany for many generations, and completed in this very fourteenth century, came into John of Gaunt's possession at the tender age of two, when he was created, on September 29, 1342, Earl of Richmond. This was his title, when he married at nineteen, in May, 1359, his cousin, Blanche of Lancaster. The greater title, gained through her when her father died two years later, effaced the less; but at the time of Blanche's death, indeed until John's second marriage in 1372, Richemont was his. Thus for thirty years he was lord of this stately castle. And we may be sure that at no time during those thirty years could a poet fond of just such word-play introduce into John's story a "castle on a rich hill"—coupling it with the prince's name-saint (By St. John!)—without suggesting to every reader Richemont.

Now Chaucer speaks of the castle as if he knew it. It is a "long castle with walls white." Is it sheer coincidence that Richmond, far above the brawling Swale, is even to-day noted not more for the dizzy height of its Norman Keep than for the length of its walls, six hundred and fifty yards, the third of a mile, in circuit? Richemont was certainly "long." And if "white" is to be deemed here as distinctive as Ruskin found Byron's "snow-white battlement" of Chillon, what English castle could the epithet better fit than Yorkshire Richemont with the newly reared walls of its Hall of Scolland, so large a part of this splendid building? Fascinating vistas of conjecture are opened to us who recall that Chaucer was in Yorkshire at Hatfield, a youthful page of the Countess of Ulster, when a boy of near his age, the young Earl of Richmond, paid in 1357 a visit to his sister-in-law, the Countess. Richmond is but a county's length away from Hatfield. Did Chaucer visit it then in the train of the young John? Or did he come to know it some years later when Walter de Ursewyk was its constable—the same

Walter who levied in 1366 Yorkshire bowmen for John fighting in France and who won by marriage the arms of Scrope which Chaucer knew so well? Was it in these days that he mastered the dialect of the Northern students of his *Reeve's Tale*? All this is pleasing guess-work.

It is not, however, mere guess-work that, by the identification of "rich hill" with Richemont, Chaucer's earliest original work of note is, like Spenser's, closely associated with the North. May we mark the interesting coincidence that this particular corner of Yorkshire is linked with yet another of Chaucer's great contemporaries? John Leland tells us in his famous *Itinerary*: "They say that John Wyclif, Hereticus, was borne at Spreswell, a poore village, a good myle from Richemont." It is a pretty coincidence, too, that to the country near Richmond belongs another poetic record of "hart-hunting,"—Wordsworth's *Hart-Leap Well*.

FREDERICK TUPPER.

University of Vermont.

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#### BRIEF MENTION

*The Lay of Havelok the Dane.* Re-edited from MS. Laud Misc. 108 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat. Second edition revised by K. Sisam (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1915). The first edition of this excellent text-book is dated 1902. Since then, to quote Mr. Sisam's words, "the criticism of *Havelok* has been greatly advanced by the work of Heyman [*Studies on the Havelok Tale*, Upsala, 1903] and Deutschbein [*Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands, I. Teil: Die Wikingersagen: Hornsage, Haveloksage, Tristansage, Boevesage, Guy of Warwicksage*, Cöthen, Otto Schulze, 1906] on the story, by Holthausen's second edition [1910], and Professor Skeat's discovery of the Cambridge Fragments." But this current of "studies" flows on, as it should, and an article entitled "The Author of *Havelok the Dane*" (*Engl. Stud.* 48, 193-212) has appeared simultaneously with Sisam's revision. The writer of this last contribution to the subject contends that the English form of the romance lays bare the characteristics of an independent author, who "was not far removed from the audience which he addressed, and that he steeped his tale, not in the atmosphere of conventional romance, as most minstrels would have done, not in the atmosphere of the Vikings, but in the atmosphere of contemporary, commonplace England." So far as its author has re-traced the distinctive features of the English romance, there is merit in this article. Resuming the account of Mr. Sisam's edition, there is offered a "remodelled" Introduction; text and foot-



notes with slight changes (slight because of the stereotyped plates) to secure closer conformity to the ms.; Notes, however, that "are for the most part new"; and a thoro revision of what was already an excellent Glossary. Altogether new is the added text of the Cambridge Fragments, printed with the utmost accuracy.

Skeat's Introduction of sixty pages has been "remodelled" into forty. This contraction represents both a loss and a gain. The excising hand has removed many a line or paragraph, by which Skeat in his unhurried and rather discursive manner had meant to impart a wider interest to the matter in hand or to record contributory observations. The difference between the method of the earlier and that of the later editor may be seen at once by comparing the two forms of §3. The new section is shortened by a page, but by his accuracy in revision and his selection of pertinent details, Mr. Sisam has fully justified the change. On the other hand, Mr. Sisam has rejected an opportunity in his section on "Minor Versions" to engage the reader's attention in an entertaining and instructive manner. Skeat (§30) could not let the matter pass so lightly, and did enough in his enumeration of "the various forms of the story *later* than the English Lay" to give the hint for a chapter on the diffusion of stories that could be made attractive to the beginner, and valuable to the scholar for the exhibition of principles and methods in literary history. Nor has Mr. Sisam availed himself of the opportunity to write up in the best fashion the results of the efforts made by scholars to identify the historic elements of the story. The apology that only a "few weeks were available for the task of revision" cannot be accepted as satisfactory in so important a matter. It is right to ask, Why this haste? Is it dealing fairly with those for whom the book is intended to put forth hasty and incomplete work to be kept in use during the years this revision may meet the demands of the sales-room? Such questioning is not rightly answered by urging the fact that in this matter the latest investigators have arrived at no complete result, that they contend chiefly for denials of this and suppositions of that. Involved in the problem is too much of important national history and tradition to be disposed of in a few over-compressed paragraphs. At this point the reviser should have adhered more closely to Skeat's method and recounted in brief form the available records of persons and places, so as to show in what the difficulties of the problem consist. The inadequacy of this portion of Mr. Sisam's Introduction impels one to remind authors of text-books that Skeat never committed the too common mistake of not keeping in mind thruout an entire book a definite class of readers. He never made sudden transitions from lucidity and completeness into pre-suppositions thru which only the specialist could follow. His aim was to make all equally apprehensible to the particular reader he had in mind. Within the necessary limits of this notice, no parts of Mr. Sisam's work can be treated in detail. It is gratifying to

notice the excellence of his style, which is graceful and classic in its purity. He handles grammatical and metrical matter with clearness and notable accuracy. His notes are scholarly and compact, but never obscure. He is direct and business-like (as the expression goes), and proves himself equipped for the best grade of editorial work. One might dispute minor details, found here and there, or prefer a changed method of statement. Thus, in transferring from Skeat (p. xxiii) observations on *to* and on a use of the infinitive, Mr. Sisam (p. xxxvii) might have disposed of a simple matter by giving a useful definition of the "separable prefix," which should be understood as a separate adverb (the cited substantive *tō-gang* being subject to a different law of accentuation); and he should not have perpetuated the misleading statement that "the infinitive mood active [in some peculiar constructions] partakes of a passive significance." Finally, it will be found that the Introduction has been improved in the order and balance of its parts, and with advantage reduced in the number of pages at the sections relating to the language and meter of the poem,—sections that show admirably the learning and editorial skill of the reviser.

J. W. B.

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Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* of 1494 is one of the most important of German incunabula, not merely because there are no manuscripts extant, but also from the fact that we know that it was printed under the direct supervision of the author, who was an experienced proof-reader. Zarncke's edition (1854) gave a worthy reproduction of the text, but had to limit itself to a verbal description of the wood-cuts, which are so intimately connected with the text. This defect has now been remedied by the simultaneous appearance of two fac-simile editions. The one, prepared by Hans Kogler for the *Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen* (Weimar, 1913), gives an exact reproduction of the edition of 1494, without any explanatory matter, however, altho the temporary binding in which the volume is furnished seems to indicate that it is to be supplemented by a *Nachwort* of some sort. The other edition by Franz Schultz constitutes the first number of the publications of the *Gesellschaft für Elsassische Literatur*, (Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1913) and offers in addition to the fac-simile text an introduction of 56 pages, dealing in the main with questions pertaining to the wood-cuts. These vary at times in the different copies,—*e. g.*, on pp. 188, 217, 252, the two editions, made from different copies, offer different illustrations, whereas on pp. 26, 172, 178, for which differences are also noted by Schultz, the copies agree. The last page of the text proper (312), with the printer's name, seems to exist in as many as four different states, to judge from the reproductions in the two editions. Other textual differences

are noted by Schultz on pp. xii—xv, and a comparison of the leaves in question in the two fac-similes reveals additional differences, overlooked by the editor. For example, *hat*—*hatt*, p. 51, 5; *wil*—*vil*, 51, 15; *vil*—*wil*, 51, 21; *Und*, 51, 26; *keyn*—*Keyn*, 51, 30. Additional passages occur on pp. 52, 61, 62. These textual variations can be found in all early printed books of considerable size, particularly in the German Bibles of the fifteenth century, in some of which a double and even three-fold setting of various leaves can be noted. A discussion of the causes of these double printings, which Schultz is unable to explain, would lead us too far.

When Zarneke published his edition of the *Narrenschiff* in 1854, the edition of Rostock, 1519 (edited by C. Schroeder, 1892), was considered to be the earliest Low German version. In 1867 Zarneke discovered that the Library of the British Museum contained a Low German edition of Lübeck, 1497, and in 1900 Borchling discovered a second copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm. This oldest Low German version has now been made accessible by Herman Brandes: *Dat Narrenschyp* von Hans Van Ghetelen (Halle, Niemeyer, 1914). Both of the extant copies of the original are slightly imperfect, but the editor, strange to say, did not use the Stockholm copy to complete that of the British Museum, but used instead the Rostock edition of 1519, because it was more accessible. The translation, as may be seen from the title given above, is ascribed by the editor to Hans Van Ghetelen, and the book itself is assigned to the so-called *Mohnkopfdruckerei* at Lübeck, the other productions of which are enumerated on p. xxi. These data will probably stand the test of time, but at any rate it would be no more than proper either to have the title page anonymous, as in the original, or else to add the name of Sebastian Brant.

W. K.

Richard Misyn's English translation (1435) of Richard Rolle of Hampole's *Incendium Amoris* was published many years ago by the Early English Text Society and this version has latterly (1914) been done into English by Frances M. M. Comper. If we except, however, the autobiographical chapter (ch. 15), which was included in early editions of Rolle's writings, the work in its original Latin form still remained unprinted up to last year, when an edition of it, by Margaret Deanesly, was issued under the auspices of the University of Manchester (Longmans, Green & Co.). The treatise does not leave on the reader who is familiar with the religious literature of the Middle Ages any marked impression of originality, and it is inferior in interest to the best of the same author's tracts in English; but Rolle is so important a figure in the history of English mysticism that an edition of the present work was desirable, and Miss Deanesly has accomplished her task with exemplary thoroughness. To be sure, her way had already been smoothed to a considerable extent by the researches of Miss Hope Allen of Rad-



cliffe College, whose striking article on the authorship of *The Prick of Conscience* (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 15) will be remembered by students of Rolle. Miss Allen made the happy discovery of the best manuscript—Emmanuel College, Cambridge, ms. 35—of the *Incendium Amoris*, and she also supplied Miss Deanesly with a list of the other manuscripts of the work, of which in England alone there are twenty-six, all described with full details in the present edition. Not many years after the composition of the original treatise a shortened redaction came into circulation, and by a singular accident the best text of the *Incendium Amoris*—that which constitutes the basis of Miss Deanesly's edition—is found in a manuscript (the above-mentioned Emmanuel College, ms. 35) of this abbreviated version into which the missing portions of the original text were copied from Rolle's autograph copy of the work in its authentic form. The person who entered these missing portions—and from Rolle's own copy, as he tells us,—was John Newton, treasurer of York Cathedral in the late fourteenth century, and for a time, also, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. In her Introduction Miss Deanesly gives (compiled from documentary sources) a biographical sketch of this worthy, and also an account of the foundation of Sion Abbey. Newton's manuscript belonged to a Briggittine sister of this abbey in the early years of the sixteenth century.

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J. D. B.

In his *Elementary Grammar of Colloquial French on Phonetic Basis* (W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1915, viii + 181 pp.), Mr. G. Bonnard, Professeur au Gymnase de Lausanne, has attempted to restate grammatical principles from the point of view of sound-change. Some interesting conclusions are reached. For example, "Most nouns have in the plural the same form as in the singular" (p. 12), and "Adjectives ending in a consonant in the masculine have, as a rule, only one form for both masculine and feminine" (p. 15). Naturally, important exceptions are noted in each case. A knowledge of phonetics being presupposed, paradigms, forms, and examples are printed in the script of the *Association phonétique internationale*; but close *o*, instead of open *o*, is nasalized throughout the book, and other modifications are noted (p. 2ff.). As a grammar, the book has little, if any, value for elementary work, on account of the absence of exercises, questionnaires, and reviews; and its usefulness for reference or for advanced study is seriously impaired by its incompleteness (*cf.* title). If the strictly phonetic method is "well on the way to becoming general" (p. vi), and if "a need has arisen for a French Grammar suitable for those learning the language on these lines" (p. vi), the present work can hardly be said to supply the need satisfactorily.

H. S. W.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## SCHILLER'S INFLUENCE ON *WILHELM MEISTERS* *LEHRJAHRE*

In Goethe's *Tag- und Jahreshefte* for the year 1795 we find the following entry in regard to his *Wilhelm Meister*:<sup>1</sup> "Schiller's Theilnahme nenne ich zuletzt, sie war die innigste und höchste;" and a year later he writes to Schiller in the same connection:<sup>2</sup> "Wenn dieses nach Ihrem Sinne ist, so werden Sie auch Ihren eigenen Einfluss darauf nicht verkennen, denn gewiss ohne unser Verhältnis hätte ich das Ganze kaum, wenigstens nicht auf diese Weise, zu stande bringen können."

Goethe scholars have investigated this influence,<sup>3</sup> but none of them have treated the subject exhaustively. What is more, recently found material, such as the *Theatralische Sendung*, renders untenable many former conclusions and it seems, therefore, that the subject needs further investigation.

Goethe published his novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* in four volumes of which the first three appeared in 1795 and the last in

<sup>1</sup> *Goethes Werke*, Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Herzogin Sophie von Sachsen, Weimar, 1892 (hereafter referred to as *Werke*), xxxv, 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*, Mit Einleitung von Franz Munker, Stuttgart und Berlin, (hereafter referred to as *Briefwechsel*) I, 198.

<sup>3</sup> 1. Düntzer a) *Erläuterungen zu den deutschen Klassikern*, Erste Abtheilung: Erläuterungen zu Goethes Werken, 3 Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre Leipzig, 1875 (hereafter referred to as *Erläuterungen*). b) *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Herausgegeben von Joseph Kürschner 96. Band, Erste Abteilung, Goethes Werke 15, 1 and, Zweite Abteilung, Goethes Werke 15, 2 (hereafter referred to as *Kürschner*). 2. Gräff, *Goethe Ueber Seine Dichtungen*, Erster Teil, Die Epischen Dichtungen, Zweiter Band, Frankfurt a. M., 1902 (hereafter referred to as *Gräff*). 3. R. Borges, *Über Schillers Einfluss auf Goethes Dichtung*. Diss., Leipzig, 1886.

the fall of 1796. Each of these volumes contained two books. Schiller did not see books one and two before they went to press. On December 6th, 1794 Goethe writes to him:<sup>4</sup> "Leider werden Sie die beiden ersten Bücher nur sehen, wenn das Erz ihnen schon die bleibende Form gegeben; . . . Die folgenden werden Sie noch im biegsamen Manuskript sehen und mir Ihren freundschaftlichen Rat nicht versagen."

A month later Goethe sent the manuscript of book three to Schiller and shortly after paid him a twelve-day visit. A good deal of this time was undoubtedly taken up by the discussion of *Wilhelm Meister* and especially of the third book. That Goethe received suggestions from Schiller we know from one of his letters. Toward the end of January, 1795 he writes to Schiller:<sup>5</sup> "Mein drittes Buch ist fort; ich habe es nochmals durchgesehen und Ihre Bemerkungen dabei vor Augen gehabt." What these suggestions were, and the changes due to them, will probably never be exactly determined.

In regard to Schiller's criticism on book four we are more fortunate. When Goethe sent Schiller the manuscript of this book, he asked him to make marginal comments on doubtful passages. Schiller did this and explained his objections to two of these passages in a letter.<sup>6</sup> In his first explanation he argued that in view of the tender relations existing between Wilhelm and the Countess, good taste would not permit the latter to offer Wilhelm money, especially through a third party, and that it was improper for Wilhelm to accept this money. He suggested that the money be offered to Wilhelm as reimbursement for previous expenses and accepted as such.

To meet this criticism Goethe either partly added, or at least considerably modified, the passage in chapter one<sup>7</sup> beginning with "Der Baron trat herein" to "Der Baron hatte kaum das Zimmer verlassen." It is clearly pointed out in this passage<sup>8</sup> that Wilhelm

<sup>4</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 58.

<sup>6</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 72 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 68.

<sup>7</sup> *Werke*, XXII, 4-8.

<sup>8</sup> In a footnote to this passage (*Kürschner*, xv, 1, 197) Düntzer makes the following comment: "Merkwürdig wird von Schiller der notwendigen Hauptveränderung nicht gedacht, dass das Geld von dem Grafen und der Gräfin kommt, denn nach seiner Äusserung scheint das früher nicht der Fall gewesen zu sein." Where Düntzer gets this idea is not clear. It is nowhere stated that the money comes from both the Count and the Count-



has spent his own money to hasten the staging of certain plays, and the words "zartfühlen" and "Delikatesse" are undoubtedly due to the words "Zartgefühl" and "Delikatesse" in Schiller's letter.

In his second explanation Schiller pointed out that the three parts of the Hamlet discussion followed each other too rapidly and that it would be advisable to separate them by other important episodes. As will be seen by a comparison of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* with the *Theatralische Sendung*,<sup>9</sup> Goethe evidently also followed Schiller's advice here. In book six of the *Theatralische Sendung* the three parts of the Hamlet discussion follow each other in rapid succession; the first appearing in chapter seven, the second in chapter eight, and the third in chapter nine. This was very likely also the case in the manuscript Schiller had before him. In the fourth book of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* we find the first of these three discussions in chapter three, the second in chapter thirteen, and the third in chapter fourteen; chapters thirteen and fourteen in the main corresponding to chapters eight and nine of the *Theatralische Sendung*. We thus see at a glance what changes Goethe made.<sup>10</sup> Instead of letting the three parts of the discussion follow each other in three succeeding chapters, the first was advanced ten chapters,<sup>11</sup> placing the long hold-up episode between it and the second. We also find that the transition to the second part of the discussion has been lengthened and made less abrupt,

ess; in fact it is clearly indicated that it comes from the Count. Moreover Wilhelm has just received a gift from the Countess (*Werke*, xxi, 322 f.).

<sup>9</sup> *Werke*, vols. 51, 52.

<sup>10</sup> In his *Erläuterungen* (p. 22) Düntzer advanced the theory that Goethe either partly added or elaborated the passage in chapter fourteen, beginning with "Wilhelm hatte nicht bemerkt" to "Serlo der eben." Neither happens to be the case. This passage already existed in the *Theatralische Sendung* (*Werke*, lII, 237, l. 23—247, l. 19) and would not have remedied Schiller's objections. Düntzer later recognized this and retracted (*Kürschner*, xv, 1, 236), advancing the theory, still more incorrect, that Goethe politely ignored Schiller's criticism.

<sup>11</sup> Düntzer very correctly felt that this part of the Hamlet discussion was out of place (*Kürschner*, xv, 1, 208, footnote), but this clue was not sufficient to suggest to him the real state of affairs. That this part of the discussion was originally intended for book five is a mistake, partly due to the fact that Düntzer was not aware of the changes Goethe made in the Hamlet episode and partly because he, like other Goethe scholars (*Gräf*, I, 2, 732), took it for granted that book six of the *Theatralische Sendung* corresponded exactly to book four of the *Lehrjahre*, which is not the case.

but whether or not this change is a result of Schiller's suggestion will probably remain undecided.

The manuscript of book five Goethe submitted to Schiller in two instalments, the first, ending with chapter twelve,<sup>12</sup> in June and the second in August 1795. Schiller was charmed by the beauty of the first part of book five; his only objection was that the part exclusively concerned with the theater was too long. To this criticism Goethe replied: <sup>13</sup> "Um so lieber habe ich Ihre Erinnerungen, wegen des theoretisch-praktischen Gewäsch, genutzt und bei einigen Stellen die Schere wirken lassen."<sup>14</sup> It is difficult to point out all the passages which were shortened as a result of this pruning, but we can probably determine some of them.<sup>15</sup>

Here again the *Theatralische Sendung* is of assistance to us. Its last two chapters roughly correspond to the first three chapters of the fifth book of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and are almost entirely made up of episodes chiefly of interest to theatrical people. In the *Lehrjahre* they have practically disappeared and it is not improbable that this is largely due to Schiller's objection.

To the second part of book five Schiller had two objections; first, that "Publikums" and "Publici" were used promiscuously and, secondly, that in the poem at the end a word had been used long which by virtue of its position was kept short, and *vice versa*. Goethe unified the genitive forms of "Publikum" to "Publikums" and apparently also remedied Schiller's objections to the poem. We have an earlier version of this poem in the *Theatralische Sen-*

<sup>12</sup> *Gräf*, I, 2, 770 f.

<sup>13</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 95.

<sup>14</sup> In his *Erläuterungen* (p. 27) Düntzer agrees that Goethe shortened some of the passages concerned with the stage as a result of Schiller's criticism, but in his introduction to *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* he states exactly the contrary (*Kürschner*, xv, 1, 14). The second conclusion is incorrect (*Briefwechsel*, I, 93-95). Cf. also J. H. Scholte, Der "Angel-punkt" in Goethes *Theatralischer Sendung*, *Neophilologus*, I (1915), 33-35.

<sup>15</sup> Düntzer claims (*Kürschner*, xv, 2, 26, footnote) that Goethe shortened the passage discussing the difference between novel and drama, but this is doubtful. If there was any shortening done here, it was not as a result of Schiller's advice, for this passage is of general interest. Moreover we know that Schiller was very much interested in it himself (*Gräf*, I, 2, 768). This error is no doubt due to the fact that Düntzer later took Goethe's phrase *theoretisch-praktisches Gewäsch* too literally. The letter in which Goethe uses this phrase can only refer to Schiller's criticism (*Briefwechsel*, I, 93-95). Cf. *Neophilologus*, I, 33-35.

*dung*<sup>16</sup> and by comparison we find that in the later version one word has been shifted from a stressed to an unstressed position, and *vice versa*. The two lines in question read:

1.) "Allein mir drückt ein Schwur die Lippen zu."

2.) "Allein ein Schwur drückt mir die Lippen zu."

From what we know of Goethe's way of transplanting poems from the *Theatralische Sendung* to *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, it seems probable that Schiller had the first of these two versions before him and that the two words which were changed are "mir" and "drückt."

Although begun the first part of March, book six was not completed until the beginning of October,<sup>17</sup> and it is probable that Schiller only saw the first half of this book, the second not being completed in time to be sent to him before it went to press.<sup>18</sup> After complimenting Goethe on the excellent treatment of a subject absolutely foreign to him,<sup>19</sup> Schiller called his attention to the following faults:<sup>20</sup> 1. That the leading motives of the plot were not sufficiently emphasized; 2. that the story seemed to have come to a standstill; 3. that the religiously inclined might find fault with the flippant treatment of certain passages; 4. that the appearance of the uncle seemed to point to a crisis and that this would break off the religious discussion before it had received adequate expression.

Goethe replied to all of these objections, except number two. He granted their validity, but argued the difficulty of keeping the golden middle in the first, and stated that his plan for book eight and the remaining part of book six avoided Schiller's apprehensions in regard to numbers three and four. Goethe had to hurry, because Unger was waiting for the manuscript; and it is unlikely that he made any changes in this part of book six. To follow some of Schiller's suggestions it would have been necessary to recast the entire first half of this book.

Probably disappointed because he had not seen the last part of book six before it went to press, Schiller urged Goethe to have

<sup>16</sup> *Werke*, LI, 260.

<sup>17</sup> Düntzer claims (*Kürschner*, xv, 1, introduction, p. 13) that book six was completed by the end of March. This is incorrect (a) *Briefwechsel*, I, 101, 105 f., 113, 118. (b) *Gräf*, I, 2, 782 f.

<sup>18</sup> *Gräf*, I, 2, 783.

<sup>19</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 80.

<sup>20</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 104.



the two remaining books ready several months before they were due,<sup>21</sup> and offered to acquaint himself thoroughly with the foregoing part of the novel and try to criticize them genetically.<sup>22</sup>

The effect of this new method of criticism on the final form of book seven must have been considerable. Of the eight months during which this book demanded foremost attention the two poets were together nearly four. At these visits book seven served as a kind of "Strickstrumpf" being repeatedly referred to as such and undoubtedly received a good deal of attention; but we have no record of the discussions at these visits and therefore no means to trace Schiller's influence on book seven.<sup>23</sup>

In regard to book eight we are more fortunate, for the final discussion of this book was largely carried on by correspondence. Schiller was completely carried away by the beauty of it and the novel in general. It drew forth from him a series of splendid letters<sup>24</sup> which will always remain an excellent commentary on Goethe's novel.

But Schiller also called Goethe's attention to a number of faults and in some instances suggested remedies. For convenience we shall treat these criticisms in two groups. Those of the first group were the following: 1. That Mariane has been unnecessarily sacrificed to the plot; 2. that Wilhelm takes the loss of Therese too severely; 3. that the sentimental requirements of the reader are violated at Mignon's death, by the doctor's premature speculations on embalming her body and by Wilhelm's joyous reflections on recognizing the band on the doctor's instrument case; 4. that the entrance of the Marquis is not sufficiently motivated, which could easily be done by making him an acquaintance of the uncle or Lothario; 5. that Sperata's story might be shortened; 6. that it is to be regretted that the epithet *schöne Seele* has been snatched

<sup>21</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 124.

<sup>22</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 122 f.

<sup>23</sup> The only change which we can definitely point out in book seven is due to Schiller's wife and is of minor importance. She called Goethe's attention to the fact that in the first book he had called Mariane's lover *Norberg* and in the seventh *Normann* (*Briefwechsel*, IV, 202). We have the manuscript of book seven and there the name *Normann* occurs twice (*Werke*, XXIII, 335). Goethe changed it to *Norberg* to conform to book one. *Normann* is the name used in the *Theatralische Sendung* and it is possible that the name *Norberg* slipped into *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* by mistake.

<sup>24</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 181-212.

away from Natalie; 7. that the reappearance of the Countess is not sufficiently motivated; 8. that Werner's children are too old; 9. that a few words of explanation ought to be given about the three misalliances at the end of the novel, preferably by Lothario.

A few days later Goethe sent Schiller a list of the changes he intended to make to meet these objections.<sup>25</sup> The list reads:

ZUM ACHTEN BUCHE.

- 1). Die sentimentale Forderung bey Mignons Tod zu befriedigen.
- 2). Der Vorschlag des balsamirens und die Reflexion über das Band zurück zu rücken.
- 3). Lothario kann bey Gelegenheit, da er von Aufhebung des Feudal Systemhs spricht, etwas äussern was auf die Heirathen am Schlusse eine freyere Aussicht giebt.
- 4). Der Markese wird früher erwähnt, als Freund des Oheims.
- 5). Das Prädikat der schönen Seele wird auf Natalien abgeleitet.
- 6). Die Erscheinung der Gräfin wird motivirt.
- 7). Werners Kindern wird etwas von ihren Jahren abgenommen.

As will be seen by a comparison of this list with the first group of Schiller's criticism, Goethe intended to remedy all, except number one and number five; objection number two having been previously withdrawn by Schiller. The resulting changes can all be more or less definitely traced. Since we find no remedy mentioned for Schiller's first objection, we are probably correct in assuming that Goethe passed it by. Objection three, referring to Mignon's death, Goethe seems to have remedied by inserting the passage beginning with "Natalie winkte Theresen" to "Da die Freundinnen" in chapter five.<sup>26</sup> It is also possible that several minor changes were made. In regard to number four Goethe followed out Schiller's suggestion and made the Marquis an old acquaintance of the uncle.<sup>27</sup>

It is improbable, however, that Goethe took Schiller's advice to shorten Sperata's story,<sup>28</sup> for no such change is mentioned among Goethe's contemplated corrections, nor is it referred to by Schiller in his final review of book eight.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Werke*, XXI, 333.

<sup>26</sup> *Werke*, XXIII, 204-6.

<sup>27</sup> *Werke*, XXIII, 148, 240, 248 f.

<sup>28</sup> In his *Erläuterungen* (p. 30) Düntzer thinks that Goethe probably did shorten this story, but he later changes his mind (*Kürschner*, xv, 1, 308, footnote).

<sup>29</sup> *Briefwechsel*, II, 17 f.

Schiller's wish regarding the epithet *schöne Seele* was likewise fulfilled by Goethe. The name *schöne Seele* is now used of Natalie on several occasions,<sup>30</sup> and on one of them it is clearly stated that she deserves this epithet even more than her aunt, the heroine of the *Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele*. Schiller's advice in regard to better motivation for the reappearance of the Countess was also heeded by Goethe,<sup>31</sup> for it is now clearly indicated why the Countess is coming. Schiller's eighth objection, referring to the chronological error regarding the age of Werner's children, Goethe remedied by changing Werner's remark that his boys are able to figure, write, and barter, and that he has already set all of them up in business, to the effect that he anticipates their doing these things.<sup>32</sup> Goethe also carried out Schiller's suggestion to have Lothario explain in a few words the three misalliances at the end of the novel.<sup>33</sup> He did this by letting Lothario theorize about an ideal state of marriage and very likely also added Therese's remarks on this topic.<sup>34</sup>

Goethe was pleased with the interest Schiller took in his novel and wrote to him a few days after he had received the first group of criticisms:<sup>35</sup> "Fahren Sie fort, mich mit meinem eigenen Werke bekannt zu machen." Schiller did so. The result was another group of objections and suggestions which continue the first as follows: 10. That there is too much of the accidental and supernatural which ought to be motivated from within the story; 11. that it is not sufficiently indicated what is meant by apprenticeship and mastership; 12. that Wilhelm ought to be brought in contact with philosophy during his apprenticeship; 13. that it would be well if the Count honored Wilhelm by a certain dignified treatment;

<sup>30</sup> *Werke*, XXIII, 184 f., 307.

<sup>31</sup> Düntzer denies this (*Kürschner*, xv, 2, 301, footnote), but he overlooked the passage beginning with (*Werke*, XXIII, 180) "Er kommt mit ihr." He was not aware of the fact that Goethe had decided to meet Schiller's objection (*Kürschner*, xv, 1, 18, introduction). There is another error in this footnote. The letter Düntzer refers to is that of July third. We have no letter of June second.

<sup>32</sup> (a) *Werke*, XXIII, 135. (b) *Briefwechsel*, I, 192 f.

<sup>33</sup> Düntzer denies this (a) *Erläuterungen*, p. 30. (b) *Kürschner*, xv, 2, 252, footnote), but he overlooked the passage in chapter two beginning with (*Werke*, XXIII, 146 f.) "Wie viel glücklicher wären Männer und Frauen." Düntzer would no doubt have avoided this mistake; had he had access to Goethe's list.

<sup>34</sup> *Werke*, XXIII, 184, I. 6-20.

<sup>35</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 199.



14. that it would be advisable to have Jarno tell Wilhelm that Therese could not make him happy and point out to him what type of woman would.

Goethe also met most of these objections and suggestions. When calling Goethe's attention to the fact that there was too much of the accidental and supernatural in the novel which ought to be motivated from within, Schiller pointed out to Goethe that people for instance might ask: 1. Why Wilhelm has been chosen as the object of the *Abbé's* pedagogical experiments; 2. why the *Abbé*, or one of his friends, plays the ghost in *Hamlet*; 3. why Wilhelm is urged to quit the theater and at the same time assisted in the production of *Hamlet*; 4. whether the *Abbé* and his friends knew previous to Werner's appearance at the castle that they were dealing with a close friend and relative when purchasing the estate; 5. where the *Abbé* gets his information of Therese's parentage.

All of these questions, except the first, are now more or less definitely answered; and the first as well, if we are to assume that the *Abbé's* words:<sup>36</sup> "Ein Kind, ein junger Mensch; die auf ihrem eigenen Wege irre gehen, sind mir lieber als manche, die auf fremdem Wege recht gehen" were intended as an answer. Judging by the first of Goethe's two letters to Schiller of July 9, 1796,<sup>37</sup> it is possible, however, that other passages are due to question one; for instance the paragraph beginning with "Es ist sonderbar sagte Wilhelm" and one of Jarno's remarks in chapter five.<sup>38</sup> The answer to the second and the third question we find in chapter five.<sup>39</sup> Question four Goethe seems to have answered indirectly<sup>40</sup> by saying that Jarno and the *Abbé* did not seem surprised when Wilhelm and Werner recognized each other,<sup>41</sup> and number five we now find satisfactorily answered in chapter six.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Werke*, XXIII, 167.

<sup>37</sup> Düntzer misread part of this letter (a) *Erläuterungen*, p. 32, l. 4-7; (b) *Briefwechsel*, I, 205 f. Goethe's answer is not negative, but affirmative.

<sup>38</sup> *Werke*, XXIII, 167 f., and 214, l. 10-13.

<sup>39</sup> *Werke*, XXIII, 215, l. 16-216, l. 12.

<sup>40</sup> In his *Erläuterungen* (p. 33) Düntzer states that Goethe answered question four by the passage in chapter one beginning with (*Werke*, XXIII, 134, l. 4-11) "Wenn Sie es nicht diesem jungen Manne" to "nicht bedürfe." But this is improbable, because it does not answer Schiller's question.

<sup>41</sup> *Werke*, XXIII, 133.

<sup>42</sup> *Werke*, XXIII, 229, l. 11-14, and 232, l. 2-26.

In addition to answering these questions Goethe seems to have heeded Schiller's tenth objection in general by adding, or elaborating, certain passages; as for instance certain parts of the last half of chapter five,<sup>43</sup> which are now largely given up to explaining the mysteries of the tower.<sup>44</sup>

Objection number eleven Goethe met only partially and not altogether to Schiller's satisfaction.<sup>45</sup> The latter had suggested using the second half of the *Lehrbrief*<sup>46</sup> to bring out the difference between apprenticeship and mastership, but Goethe used it largely to explain the mysterious machinations of the tower, and it is improbable that he made any attempt to carry out Schiller's suggestion.<sup>47</sup> The only change which resulted from objection eleven is in chapter five where Wilhelm figures as an art critic,<sup>48</sup> but this only indirectly bears upon the main issue.

We know from one of Schiller's letters<sup>49</sup> that Goethe fulfilled Schiller's wish of bringing the hero of the novel in contact with philosophy during his apprenticeship. The main changes which resulted from this suggestion are undoubtedly to be found in chapters one, five, and ten,<sup>50</sup> but it is difficult to determine what they were.

To meet Schiller's suggestion that the Count honor Wilhelm, Goethe either added, or elaborated, certain parts of chapter ten,<sup>51</sup> where the Count speaks of Wilhelm as an English nobleman.

<sup>43</sup> *Werke*, xxiii, 209-21.

<sup>44</sup> In a footnote to one of these passages Düntzer makes the following comment (*Kürschner*, xv, 2, 272): "Wenn es in Schillers Brief vom 8. Juli heisst: 'Das achte Buch giebt einen historischen Aufschluss über alle Ereignisse, die durch jene Maschinerie gewirkt werden' so muss es siebente statt achte heissen, da nur VII, 9 gemeint sein kann." Düntzer is mistaken about this. The historical explanation of the events due to the secret society is not to be found in VII, 9, but in book eight (*Werke*, xxiii, 209-21).

<sup>45</sup> *Briefwechsel*, II, 17.

<sup>46</sup> *Werke*, xxiii, 211-18.

<sup>47</sup> In his *Erläuterungen* (p. 34) Düntzer says that Goethe carried out Schiller's suggestion too far and suggests that a large part of chapter five (*Werke*, xxiii, 209, l. 18—219, l. 24) was perhaps added as a result. This in the light of the Schiller-Goethe correspondence seems very improbable (*Briefwechsel*, I, 200-13, and II, 17).

<sup>48</sup> *Werke*, xxiii, 199, l. 7—201, l. 9.

<sup>49</sup> *Briefwechsel*, II, 17.

<sup>50</sup> *Werke*, xxiii, 138 f., 211-19, 305.

<sup>51</sup> *Werke*, xxiii, 291, l. 21—292, l. 23, and 293, l. 25—295, l. 7.

Schiller's advice in regard to number fourteen of having Jarno tell Wilhelm that Therese is not suited to him was very likely not heeded by Goethe.<sup>52</sup>

These are all the changes in book eight for which we know Schiller was directly responsible. There is another important change however for which he was indirectly responsible. When he advised Goethe that he ought to be more explicit as to what is meant by apprenticeship and mastership, the latter replied: <sup>53</sup> "Ihr heutiger Brief deutet mir eigentlich auf eine Fortsetzung des Werks, wozu ich denn auch wohl Idee und Lust habe." <sup>54</sup> Although Schiller very likely did not have this in mind, Goethe, after a consultation with him, nevertheless carried out the idea and added, or elaborated, several passages so that they pointed to a continuation of the novel. Such passages are to be found in chapter seven.<sup>55</sup>

These are the main changes in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* which can be definitely traced to Schiller. There is no question however that Schiller's influence was much greater, for the Schiller-Goethe correspondence can hardly be regarded as more than supplementary to their personal discussions. So far Schiller's influence on Goethe's novel has been greatly underestimated.

O. E. PLATH.

*Massachusetts Institute of Technology.*

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<sup>52</sup> Düntzer agrees with this (*Erläuterungen*, p. 34 f.), but thinks that Jarno's jocose remark about the *Abbé* and Natalie and Therese at the end of chapter five (*Werke*, XXIII, 219 f.) may have resulted from it. This is very improbable, because the remark would not in the least have met Schiller's suggestion.

<sup>53</sup> *Briefwechsel*, I, 213.

<sup>54</sup> This is the first time we hear of a continuation of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and it therefore seems plausible that we would have no *Wanderjahre* if it were not for Schiller. Fourteen years later Goethe says in his *Tag- und Jahreshefte* (*Werke*, XXXVI, 60 f.): "Der Gedanke der Wanderjahre, der den Lehrjahren so natürlich folgte, bildete sich mehr und mehr aus," but this is no proof that he did not receive the first impulse to continue the novel from Schiller.

<sup>55</sup> *Werke*, XXIII, 235-41.



## THE 1710 AND 1714 TEXTS OF SHAKESPEARE'S POEMS

Eighteenth century editions of the poems of Shakespeare (the whole number of which is not great, since the poems were not then commonly included with the collected Works) begin with two which appeared in 1710, one published by Lintott, the other by Curll.<sup>1</sup> The text of the former is based on the various originals, including the Sonnets quarto of 1609 and *The Passionate Pilgrim*; the text of the latter is from the garbled collection made by Benson in 1640. But Curll's issue, though less fortunate in its sources, is the more important for the history of the text, as it was followed by the later editors, like Sewell and Ewing, until Malone led the way back to the more authoritative early editions. A revised edition appeared in 1714.

The Curll volume of 1710 bears the following title: "Works of Mr. William Shakespeare. Volume the Seventh. Containing, Venus & Adonis, Tarquin & Lucrece And His Miscellany Poems. With Critical Remarks on his Plays, &c. to which is Prefix'd an Essay on the Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage in Greece, Rome and England." The significance of the "volume the seventh," as has been generally understood, is in the fact that the book was intended as a supplementary volume to be sold to purchasers of the set of Rowe's *Works of Shakespeare*.<sup>2</sup> There has been considerable uncertainty as to the editor of the volume, some authorities referring it to Charles Gildon, known to be the author of the essays it contains, others to a mysterious "S. N.," because in some copies those initials are attached to the Dedication. In the Cambridge Shakespeare, and certain other editions based on it, the readings of the Curll text of 1710 are referred to Gildon, and Sir Sidney Lee calls him "the editor of the supplementary volume of 1710."<sup>3</sup> On the other

<sup>1</sup> Lintott's collection is in two volumes, the first bearing the date 1709.

<sup>2</sup> See *Notes & Queries*, 2d ser., 12, 349, where the book is called "one of the piratical productions" of Curll, and Jaggard's *Bibliography*, p. 434b. In the latter, the reader may be confused by the omission of the opening words of the title, though they are given in full for the corresponding volume of 1714.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to the Clarendon Press reprint of the Sonnets, 1905, p. 59 n. Lounsbury (*The Text of Shakespeare*, 1906, p. 73) puts it thus: "The

hand, the British Museum Catalogue says (in brackets), "Edited by S. N.," and Jaggard follows this;<sup>4</sup> while Leslie Stephen, in his sketch of Gildon in the *D. N. B.*, mentions him only as the author of the "essay prefixed to a volume published by Curll."

Having occasion to ask my friend Professor H. D. Gray to collate some passages in the Sonnets, in a copy of the Curll *Poems* in the New York Public Library, I was so fortunate as to learn through his careful memoranda that in that copy the Dedication to the volume (addressed to the Earl of Peterborough) is signed, not by "S. N.," but by "Charles Gildon."<sup>5</sup> The only other copies of the book which I know to be in this country are in the Barton Collection in the Public Library of Boston and in the Library of the University of Illinois. Both contain the "S. N." signature. A misprint which I noted in one of the latter copies (p. 428, "as" omitted at the beginning of line 9 from the bottom) has apparently been corrected in the New York ("Gildon") copy, and this seems to confirm one's natural conjecture that the issue containing the full signature is the later. Mr. Frank Chase, of the Boston Library, has suggested to me, "in view of the known character of Curll and Gildon, and the tortuous manner of publication of the volume of poems—the attempt to graft it on the successful edition of the plays, published by Tonson—that the suppression of Gildon's name may well have been deliberate, and the mysterious S. N. may stand for *Sine Nōmine*." It remains only to imagine, as one pleases, what circumstances may have led to the later substitution of Gildon's name. In any case, as both Professor Gray and Mr. Chase have kindly pointed out to me in correspondence, the writer of the Dedication refers to himself as the author of the essays that

volume was apparently edited by Gildon; at least he contributed to it half its contents."

<sup>4</sup> Oddly enough, Jaggard inserts in brackets "Edited by Charles Gildon" under the *Lintott volume*, and in a note refers to Malone and Rodd as having connected the collection with Gildon. The only remark on the subject which I have been able to find in Malone is to the effect that "spurious editions of Shakespeare's Poems have also been published by Gildon, Sewell, Evans, etc." (*Works*, 1790, i, 234), and this doubtless refers to the Curll edition. See also Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times*, 1817, ii, 59.

<sup>5</sup> A subsequent comparison of the page with a tracing from one of the "S. N." copies shows that the two forms of the page are typographically identical, the name of Gildon standing exactly on the line of the "S. N."

follow, and the writer of the "Remarks on the Poems" opens them by saying: "I come now to Shakespear's Poems the Publication of which in one Volume, and of a piece with the rest of the Works, gave occasion to my Perusal of his other Writings;" hence if Gildon wrote any of the critical material, he also wrote the Dedication and edited the volume. And since we have at least one copy containing his signature, it appears that all doubt on the subject may be put aside.

The edition of 1714 still bears Curll's imprint, but would seem to have been issued in accordance with some arrangement between him and Tonson, since the title of the new edition of the Works (that is, Rowe's second edition) now includes the words, "To the last volume is prefix'd, I. An essay on the art, rise, and progress of the stage," etc.,—this being the supplementary volume of Poems.<sup>6</sup> The title of the supplementary volume is now "Works of Mr. William Shakespeare. Volume the Ninth," and the contents are, in general, the same as those of the volume of 1710, except that the Dedication is omitted.<sup>7</sup> But the text is newly revised, and in more than a perfunctory way,—at least for the Sonnets, to which my detailed investigation has been confined. This text is not listed by the Cambridge editors among those which they consulted and collated, whether from having escaped their observation<sup>8</sup> or from being regarded as a mere reprint of that of 1710. Lee also passes over it in his enumeration of the eighteenth century editions

<sup>6</sup> The Cambridge editors list the 1714 Works as of *eight* volumes, whereas the title just cited has reference to nine in all; and for this reason it has occurred to me that there may have been another issue with different title-page and with no reference to the supplementary volume. Lounsbury puts it thus: "To Rowe's second edition of 1714, which appeared in eight duodecimo volumes, this reprint of the one brought out in 1710, containing the poems, was joined as the ninth volume."

<sup>7</sup> The reader must be warned against an extremely perplexing aspect of Jaggard's entry of this book (*Bibliography*, p. 434 b). He lists two volumes of *Poems* under 1714, the one just described and another with the title "A collection of poems, in two volumes," etc. As this latter title was that of the Lintott collection of 1710, we are led to expect another issue of that text. To add to our perplexity, the volume is attributed to Gildon's editorship, and the only finding reference is to the Boston Library. No such book is known at the latter institution, nor is it in any of the British catalogues; it appears, in fact, to be a myth.

<sup>8</sup> See note 6, above.



of Shakespeare's Poems.<sup>9</sup> The only textual note making reference to it which I have found in any edition of the Sonnets is one on Sonnet 46, line 9, in Miss Porter's First Folio Edition, and this is mysterious from being unique.<sup>10</sup> In reality, this 1714 volume not only gives us a new and interesting revision of the text, but was evidently used freely by Sewell and Ewing in the subsequent editions prepared by them.

I can best show the character of this text by giving a list—since it seems never to have been collated—of the chief new readings it furnishes in the text of the Sonnets, classified, for convenience, according as they seem to represent corrections of errors or the making of new errors. (Such a distinction as this is, of course, more or less uncertain and disputable, but I base it merely on the consensus of opinion indicated by modern texts, and reserve for a third brief list readings of passages still in dispute).

#### 1. *Corrections made in 1714*

Sonnet 27, 2. *Q travail*; 1714 travel (so also Sewell,<sup>11</sup> attributed by the Cambridge editors to Ewing).

28, 12. *Q guil'st*; 1714 guild'st (*i. e.* gild'st; an important permanent correction, attributed to S).

29, 10-12. *Q then my state, (Like to the Larke . . . arising) From sullen earth*; 1714 then my state, Like to the lark

<sup>9</sup> Introduction to the Clarendon Press reprint of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1905, p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> In other words, of the numerous other readings of the 1714 text Miss Porter gives not one, everywhere following the Cambridge editors in erroneously attributing its readings to Sewell and others, or omitting them altogether. An amusing feature of her edition is that in the list of "editions consulted" our text is listed under the name of Darby (who was Curll's printer), and the abbreviation "Dar." is indicated for it. Nowhere in the volume, however, is Darby, in abbreviated or other form, honored by an allusion; the one reading I have mentioned ("eide" for "side" in 46, 9) being attributed to "Gildon, 1714." Since Miss Porter would seem to be guiltless of any immediate acquaintance with the 1714 text, I am quite at a loss to conjecture the source of this one note.

<sup>11</sup> The immense majority of the references to Sewell (hereafter indicated by S) are to his second edition, 1728. Indeed the number of agreements between his 1725 readings and those first introduced by the 1714 editor is so small that it appears probable that he made no use of the latter's work until 1728

. . . arising From sullen earth (another permanent correction, followed by S, but attributed to Ewing, 1771).

- 46, 9. Q *side this title*; 1714 'side this title (attributed to S).
- 58, 7. Q *patience tame, to sufferance*; 1714 patience, tame to sufferance (so S, but attributed to E).
- 63, 5. Q *travaïld*; 1714 travel'd (so S; attributed to E).
- 64, 14. Q *loose*; 1714 lose (so S; attributed to E).
- 65, 6. Q *wrackfull*; 1714 wreckful (attributed to E).
- 69, 3. Q *that end*; 1714 thy due (an important correction, supplanted by Tyrwhitt's and Malone's "that due;" attributed to S).
- 77, 1. Q *were*; 1714 wear (attributed to S).
- 80, 11. Q *wrackt*; 1714 wreck'd (attributed to S).
- 97, 14. Q *the Winters neere*; 1714 the winter's near (attributed to S).
- 110, 6. Q *Asconce*; 1714 Askance (attributed to S).

#### 2. *Erroneous or unique readings of 1714*

- 7, 12. Q *tract*; 1714 track (attributed to S).
- 12, 4. Q *curls or silver'd*; 1714 curls are &c. (an attempted correction, followed by S and E, supplanted by Malone's "curls all;" attributed to S).
- 14, 8. Q *oft predict*; 1714 ought predict (so S and E; attributed to S).
- 23, 4. Q *strengths abundance*; 1714 strength abundant (so S and E; attributed to S).
- 23, 12. Q *more hath more exprest*; 1714 hath not more &c. (not found elsewhere).
- 29, 12. Q *sings himns*; 1714 to sing (so S and E; not noted).
- 35, 9. Q *in sence*; 1714 incense (so S and E; attributed to E).
- 62, 4. Q *my heart*; 1714 the heart (not found elsewhere).
- 69, 11. Q *churls their*; 1714 their churl (so S and E; attributed to E).
- 72, 6. Q *for me then mine owne*; 1714 for me now, than my (a revision of the 1710 reading—found also in S and E—"for me now, than mine own").
- 83, 2. Q *faire*; 1714 face (not found elsewhere).
- 84, 14. Q *fond on*; 1714 fond of (so S and E; attributed to Gildon, i. e., the 1710 text).
- 85, 3. Q *Reserve*; 1714 Preserve (not found elsewhere, save as MS. conjecture).
- 87, 6. Q *that ritches*; 1714 those riches (not found elsewhere).

- 89, 9. Q *in my tongue*; 1714 on my &c. (so S and E; not noted).  
 98, 1. Q *have I*; 1714 I have (not found elsewhere).  
 104, 4. Q *forrests*; forest (so S and E; not noted).  
 105, 14. Q *never kept seate*; 1714 did never sit (not found elsewhere, but its influence appears in the S-E reading "have never sate").  
 110, 2. Q *the view*; 1714 thy view (so S and E; not noted).  
 111, 4. Q *manners*; 1714 custom (not found elsewhere).  
 112, 4. Q *ore-green*; 1714 o'er-look (not found elsewhere).  
 117, 7. Q *saile*; 1714 sails (so S and E; attributed to S).  
 118, 1. Q *to make our*; 1714 you make your (so S and E; attributed to S).  
 118, 8. Q *there was true*; 1714 that was truly (not found elsewhere).  
 119, 1. Q *potions*; 1714 potion (not found elsewhere).  
 119, 7. Q *Spheares*; 1714 sphere (not found elsewhere).  
 125, 1. Q *Wer't ought to me*; 1714 Where it ought to be (so S and E; attributed to S).  
 131, 1. Q *art as . . . so as*; 1714 art . . . so (so S and E; attributed to S).  
 134, 4. Q *restore to be my*; 1714 restore to me, my (so S and E; except for the comma, the reading of 1710).  
 142, 2. Q *on*; 1714 upon (not found elsewhere).  
 145, 11. Q *fiend*; 1714 friend (not found elsewhere).  
 146, 7. Q *inheritors*; 1714 in Herriots (this extraordinary reading, not found elsewhere, seems to be due to the 1640 spacing "in heritors").

### 3. Readings of 1714 in doubtful passages

- 28, 9. Q *to please him thou art bright*; 1714 to please him, thou &c. (this punctuation, found in many modern editions, was followed by S, E, and Malone; the Cambridge editors attribute it to Dowden and Hudson).  
 51, 11. Q *naigh noe dull flesh*; 1714 need no &c. (attributed as a conjecture to Kinneare; since adopted by Butler and Walsh).  
 85, 5. Q *other write*; 1714 others write (so S, E, Malone, and a number of modern editors; attributed to S).  
 86, 11. Q *victors of my silence*; 1714 victors, of &c. (do.)  
 95, 12. Q *all things turnes*; 1714 all things turn (do.).  
 125, 4. Q *Which proves*; 1714 Which prove (do.).



The upshot of all this is perhaps not greatly to the credit of our 1714 editor, since his misreadings outnumber his improvements of the text; but at least he does not appear to be lacking in zeal and initiative. In general he follows closely the text of the Curll volume of 1710 (this, of course, does not appear from the evidence here set forth, but is obvious to one comparing the two editions), and it is probable that he used it as the immediate basis for his text; there is some evidence, however,<sup>12</sup> that he used independently the Benson volume of 1640. As to who he was, there is no definite evidence; but if Gildon was indeed the maker of the text of 1710, there would seem to be no reason to doubt that this is his own revision of his earlier work (he lived till 1724), and we may then properly denote the two Curll texts as "Gildon 1st" and "Gildon 2nd."

The influence of the readings of the 1714 text has sufficiently appeared. In the later editions of the eighteenth century they recur abundantly; and so largely have the readings formerly attributed to Sewell been shown to be due to the editor of 1714, that Sewell's importance in the history of the text of the Sonnets dwindles decidedly. Not that his text was "nothing more than a reprint of the poems as they had previously appeared," as Lounsbury has it;<sup>13</sup> he furnished, for the Sonnets, between twenty-five and thirty new readings of some individuality, apart from matters of punctuation and the like;<sup>14</sup> but the sum total is very little compared with what was done in the texts of 1710 and 1714. We may say, then, that if these two editions were the work of Gildon, he is the one important predecessor of Malone in the making of the text of Shakespeare's Sonnets.

RAYMOND MACDONALD ALDEN.

*Leland Stanford Junior University.*

<sup>12</sup> Such as the error noted above in 146, 7.

<sup>13</sup> *The Text of Shakespeare*, p. 73. Some observations of the textual notes of the Cambridge editors should have warned against the inaccuracy of this statement; yet in fact, as has appeared from our list of readings, it is much nearer the truth than one would have supposed.

<sup>14</sup> Of these a few are mere blunders; a few are corrections of some value, such as "One" for "Our" in 99, 9, "prov'd a" in 129, 11, and "I" for "eye" in 152, 13; two or three represent interesting guesses, as "o'er-skreen" for "ore-green" in 112, 4, and "me, thinks I'm dead" in 112, 14; and two are still *sub judice*, viz., "she gave thee more" in 11, 11, and "O let my looks" in 23, 9.

## DIE DOPPELDRUCKE DER ZWEITEN COTTASCHEN AUSGABE VON GOETHE'S WERKEN.

Von Doppeldrucken der zweiten Cottaschen Ausgabe der Werke sind bisher nur solche des ersten und neunten Bandes bekannt geworden.<sup>1</sup> Tatsächlich liegen nun die sämtlichen Bände 1-10 in einem Doppeldruck (B<sup>2</sup>) vor, der äusserlich, d. h., was Titel, Jahres- und Seitenzahl betrifft, durchaus mit dem Originaldruck B übereinstimmt. Dass Goethe von dieser Nachschuss-Ausgabe gewusst habe, ist zu bezweifeln, dass er durchaus keinen Anteil an der Korrektur derselben hatte, darf man als sicher annehmen, ob- schon die augenscheinlichen Druckfehler des Originaldrucks an vielen Stellen verbessert sind. Im grossen und ganzen bietet jedoch B den korrekteren Text, da die eigenen Druckfehler und willkürlichen Aenderungen von B<sup>2</sup> weitaus zahlreicher sind. Der Zweck des Nachschusses war also nicht etwa, einen korrekteren Text zu liefern, sondern einfach, die abnehmenden Bestände des Verlegers zu ergänzen. Nach Goethes Entwurf des Kontrakts (*Briefe*, Bd. 25, No. 7022, vom 20. Feb. 1815) wurde Cotta das Verlags-Recht bis Ostern 1823 zugestanden. Die Höhe der Auflage wurde nicht erwähnt, demnach darf man annehmen, dass für diese zweite Cottasche Ausgabe ähnliche Bedingungen, wie bei der ersten gelten sollten.<sup>2</sup> Der Verleger durfte also eine beliebige Anzahl von Exemplaren drucken lassen, musste sie aber vor dem festgesetzten Termine Ostern 1823 verkaufen: was dann noch übrig blieb, war Makulatur. Es lag demnach im Interesse des Verlegers, nur soviel Exemplare drucken zu lassen, als er innerhalb des Termins zu verkaufen hoffte. Augenscheinlich überstieg die Nachfrage Cottas Erwarten, denn im Jahre 1817, als Band 1-8 schon gedruckt waren, während am Satze der Bände 9 und 10 noch gearbeitet

<sup>1</sup> In der Weim. Ausg. xiv, 251 von Erich Schmidt, und daraufhin II, 299 von Gustav v. Loeper erwähnt. Dabei hat jedoch v. Loeper die beiden Drucke nicht immer streng aus einander gehalten, wie z. b. aus der Lesart zu 37, 15 im 2. Bande zu ersehen ist; andererseits fehlen im Apparate des 1. Bandes auffallende Lesarten von B, wie z. b. 138, 50; 192, 21; 293, 2, die v. Loeper doch hätte bemerken müssen, wenn er den Originaldruck B benutzt hätte.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. M. L. N. xxvi, 133.

wurde, fand der Verleger eine grössere Auflage nötig. Die Bände 1–8 mussten neu gesetzt werden, sowie die Bogen 1–17 des neunten, und Bogen 1–5 des 10. Bandes. Für die Bogen 18–27 des 9. Bandes (S. 273–419), und Bogen 6–25 des 10. Bandes (S. 81–395), sowie für die Bände 11–20 liegt in allen von mir eingesehenen Exemplaren nur einmaliger Satz vor. Dass die ersten Bogen des 10. Bandes schon vor den letzten Bogen des 9. Bandes gedruckt waren, beweist die Fussnote auf S. 368 des 9. Bandes, die sich auf S. 21 des 10. Bandes bezieht.

Für das Jahr 1817 als Erscheinungsjahr des Doppeldrucks B<sup>2</sup> spricht ferner eine andere Tatsache. In diesem Jahre erschienen nämlich die beiden für die Besitzer der Ausgabe A hergestellten Gedicht-Bände, die den ersten Band der Ausgabe A ersetzen sollten, und dementsprechend den Titel *Erster Band, Erste Abtheilung*, und *Erster Band, Zweyte Abtheilung*, tragen. Das Datum ist 1817. Der Text dieser beiden Bände ist jedoch mit B<sup>2</sup> identisch, indem nur die Boggennorm entsprechend abgeändert wurde: *Goethe's Werke. I. Bd. 1. Abth.* und *Goethe's Werke. I. Bd. 2. Abth.*

Obschon mir eine vollständige Kollation der in Betracht kommenden Bände der Drucke BB<sup>2</sup> vorliegt, sollen an dieser Stelle nur die interessantesten Lesarten aus jedem Bande angeführt werden. Dass C<sup>1</sup> von B<sup>2</sup> beeinflusst worden sei, ist kaum anzunehmen, trotz der manchmal übereinstimmenden Lesarten dieser Drucke. Dagegen sind in einigen Bänden der Weimarer Ausgabe die Lesarten von B<sup>2</sup> mit der Sigle B bezeichnet.

Durchschnittlich entfallen auf jeden Band etwa 300–350 Varianten, die jedoch zum grossen Teil rein orthographisch sind. Von den übrigen entfällt ein beträchtlicher Bruchteil auf die Interpunktion. In den ersten Bänden setzt B konsequent *giebt, dies, Punct, Capelle, faszte, liefszest, geküfzt*, und ähnliche Formen, während B<sup>2</sup> dafür *gibt, diesz, Punkt, Kapelle, fasste, liessest, geküsst*, schreibt. In einzelnen Bogen des dritten und vierten Bandes von B, und fast durchweg vom fünften Bande an, finden sich auch im Originaldruck die Formen mit 'ss,' während dagegen die Schreibweise *dies, Punct* u. dgl. beibehalten wird.

Im folgenden Varianten-Verzeichnis werden die üblichen Siglen gebraucht, und zwar bedeutet:

S : Goethe's Schriften. Leipzig, 1787–1790, 8 Bände.

S<sup>1</sup> : Goethe's Schriften. Leipzig, 1787–1791, 4 Bände.



N : Goethe's Neue Schriften. Berlin, 1792-1800, 7 Bände.

A : Goethe's Werke. Tübingen, 1806-1808, 12 Bände.

B : Goethe's Werke. Stuttgart, 1815-1819, 20 Bände.

B<sup>1</sup> : Goethe's Werke. Wien und Stuttgart, 1816-1822, 26 Bände.

C<sup>1</sup> : Goethe's Werke. Stuttgart, 1827-1830, kl. 8°.

C : Dieselbe Ausgabe in 8°.

N<sup>2</sup>, A<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>, B<sup>2</sup> : Die Doppeldrucke der betreffenden Ausgaben.

H : Handschriften, wie sie in App. der Weimarer Ausgabe (W) beschrieben sind.

ERSTER BAND. S. 101, 2 Füllest wieder B (*Druckfehler*), Füllest wieder B<sup>2</sup>. 113, 14 Stunde denn noch nicht B, Stunde noch nicht B<sup>2</sup>. 130, 21 Die festen Formen B, Die besten Formen B<sup>2</sup>. 141, 2 Sehe Niemand kommen! BB<sup>1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>, Sehe Niemand rennen! B<sup>2</sup>C. Der Reim beweist, dass B<sup>2</sup>C die bessere Lesart haben: die frühere Lesart wird in Apparat von W nicht erwähnt. 195, 22 erneuern B, erneuen AB<sup>1</sup>B<sup>2</sup>C<sup>1</sup>C

ZWEYTER BAND. S. 29, 3 anzutreten.) B, anzuordnen. B<sup>2</sup>. 35, 2 Turn BC<sup>1</sup>, Thurm B<sup>1</sup>B<sup>2</sup>. 149, 17 Deines gleichen B, Deinesgleichen B<sup>2</sup>. 186, 7 Stellt' B, Stellt B<sup>2</sup>. 198, 7 Seeligen B, seligen B<sup>2</sup>. 240, 10 Maas B, Mafz B<sup>2</sup>. 288, 3 Gedult B, Geduld B<sup>2</sup>.

Oben wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass die beiden Ersatzbände des Jahres 1817 mit dem Titel *Erster Band, Erste Abtheilung*, und *Erster Band, Zweyte Abtheilung*, von dem Satze des ersten und zweiten Bandes von B<sup>2</sup> abgezogen sind. Um dies anschaulich zu machen, sei auf folgende Stellen hingewiesen, an denen die betreffenden Drucke aufs genaueste übereinstimmen: Band 1, S. 171, 9 steht der Punkt hinter *hervor* zu hoch; S. 225, 11 steht das Semikolon hinter *verehrt* schief; S. 240, 11 stehen die zwei ersten Buchstaben des Wortes *Liedchen* zu hoch; S. 254, 22 steht *Reichmit* anstatt *Reich mit*; S. 297, 10 steht das Komma hinter *Pflanze* zu hoch; S. 321, 8 steht das *ch* des Wortes *mich* zu hoch. Band 2, S. 106, 17 steht der Punkt hinter *nieder* zu hoch; S. 142 unten stehen hinter *gestellt* zwei Kommata; S. 191, 7 steht *Jünglind* anstatt *Jüngling*; S. 200, 1, steht *Rceensent* anstatt *Recensent*; S. 222, 12 steht *verdients* anstatt *verdient's*.

Ferner ist zu bemerken, dass die zweibändige Einzelausgabe der

*Gedichte* des Jahres 1815, trotz der kleineren Seitenzahl<sup>3</sup> von dem umgebrochenen Satze von B abgezogen ist. Man vergleiche z. B. im ersten Bande die Stellen 101, 2 *Füllest*; 153, 9 *wohlbekanut*; 183, 3 *festllchen*; 208, 2 *Es war ein Kind' das*; 327, 6 *Bettinnen* (anstatt *Bettinen*); 356, 5-6 *vernahme'ns* (anstatt *vernehmen's*): an all diesen Stellen kehrt der Satzfehler in der Einzelausgabe wieder. Nur S. 277, 3 hat B den Satzfehler *Beglückteu*, während die Einzelausgabe richtig *Beglückten* liest. Im zweiten Bande lassen sich zwar keine Fehler dieser Art nachweisen, es liegt jedoch auch hier derselbe Satz vor.

DRITTER BAND. S. 5, 17 Junker AB<sup>1</sup>, Junger B, Junge B<sup>2</sup>. 15, 3 und fleissig BC<sup>1</sup>C, noch fleissig NAB<sup>1</sup>B<sup>2</sup>. 106, 24 Wie jammert NN<sup>2</sup> ABB<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C, Wie jammerte N<sup>3</sup> B<sup>2</sup>. 144, 4 Bändern und Flintern B, Bändern und Flittern B<sup>2</sup>. 199, 12 ohnerachtet ABB<sup>1</sup>, ungeachtet B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C. 226, 19 wie er letzt BB<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C, wie er jetzt NAB<sup>2</sup>. 266, 3 Demohngeachtet ABB<sup>1</sup>, Defzungeachtet B<sup>2</sup>.

VIERTER BAND. S. 39, 21 die Weise B, diese Weise B<sup>2</sup>. 47, 7 sagte man B, sagt man B<sup>2</sup>. 75, 26 Mägdchen B, Mädchen AB<sup>1</sup>B<sup>2</sup>C<sup>1</sup>. 289, 14 Bildnifz B, Bild B<sup>2</sup>. 295, 2 Unordnung B, Ordnung B<sup>2</sup>. 346, 5 Freunden B, Fremden B<sup>2</sup>. 372, 18 regelmässig BC<sup>1</sup> (*Druckfehler*), rechtmässig AB<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> C. 386, 14 genung B, genug B<sup>2</sup>. 437, 16 nicht B, nichts AB<sup>1</sup>B<sup>2</sup>C<sup>1</sup>C. 497, 23 ängstlichsten B, ängstlichen B<sup>2</sup>.

FÜNFTER BAND. S. 15, 7 zu heftig A<sup>1</sup> A<sup>2</sup> BB<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C (*Druckfehler*), so heftig HAB<sup>2</sup>. 59, 2 Alcestens B, Alcests B<sup>2</sup>. 70, 24 begleitet B, begleitet B<sup>2</sup>. 172, 20 dein Reich BC<sup>1</sup> C (*Druckf.*) das Reich AB<sup>1</sup>B<sup>2</sup>. 273, 5 Arsirend B (*Druckf.*), Arsiren B<sup>2</sup>. 326, 1 Gewalt B, Gestalt B<sup>2</sup>. 336, 21 Krönungsornat B, Königsornat B<sup>2</sup>. 359, 3 Nun möchte ich doch B, Nun ich möchte doch B<sup>2</sup>. 386, 17 thöriche BB<sup>1</sup>, thörichte B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C. 433, 16 Staubgetümmel B, Staubgewimmel B<sup>2</sup>.

SECHSTER BAND. S. 20, 1 Schenk' B, Schenkt B<sup>2</sup>. 39, 15 wegschwindet B, verschwindet B<sup>2</sup>. 48, 23 blinken B, blicken B<sup>2</sup>. In der Hempelschen Ausgabe führt Strehlke obige Lesarten von B<sup>2</sup> für B an. 56, 26 Weisling B, Weislingen B<sup>2</sup>. 70, 6 Wirthshaus BC<sup>1</sup>, Wirthshaus AB<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> C. 133, 19 Geht mir ABB<sup>1</sup>, Geh' mir B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C. 152, 12 Ein Bündel B, Einen Bündel B<sup>2</sup>. 211, 7 Hast

<sup>3</sup> Der erste Bd. von B enthält VIII + 364, der zweite, x + 292 Seiten. Die *Gedichte* 1815 weisen dagegen nur VIII + 256, und VIII + 207 Seiten auf.

da BC<sup>1</sup> C (*Druckf.*), Hast du AB<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup>. 406, 12 die erste Stunden SAB, die ersten Stunden B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C. 414, 26 Vergebung B, Verzeihung B<sup>2</sup>. 435, 15 unübersehblichen B, unüberwindlichen B<sup>2</sup>. 442, 4 ist Buenco fort B, ist Buenco B<sup>2</sup>. 445, 14 über dem B, über den B<sup>2</sup>. An den vier letzten Stellen sind in W die Lesarten von B<sup>2</sup> als diejenigen von B angegeben, da R. M. Meyer bei der Herausgabe des *Clavigo* B<sup>2</sup> anstatt B benutzt hat.

SIEBENTER BAND. S. 23, 7 vorenthalten B, vorenthalten B<sup>2</sup>. 68, 2 sagt' ich's B, sagt's ich B<sup>2</sup>. 82, 15 Ist's uns B (*Druckf.*), Ist uns B<sup>2</sup>. 92, 1 Apollens B, Apollons B<sup>2</sup>. 133, 2 sonst verlor B, sich verlor B<sup>2</sup>. 134, 26 wilder Trieb B, milder Trieb B<sup>2</sup>. Weinhöld, der Herausgeber des *Tasso* in der Weimarer Ausgabe, hat hier, wie auch an anderen Stellen, B<sup>2</sup> und nicht B benutzt. 147, 28 fodern ABC<sup>1</sup> C, fordern B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup>. 200, 22 fordre ABC<sup>1</sup> C, fodre B<sup>2</sup>. 236, 16 beyden Armen B, beyden Händen B<sup>2</sup>. 241, 11 Vollkommne B, Vollkommner AB<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C. 252, 19 diese Stirne B, dieser Stirne AB<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C. 257, 21 an jähe Klippen hin ABB<sup>1</sup>, an jähen Ufern hin B<sup>2</sup>. 260, 30 betrauren B, bedauern B<sup>2</sup>. 334, 19 mich bedroht B, dich bedroht B<sup>2</sup>. 415, 3 fürcht' er sie B, fürcht er ihn B<sup>2</sup>.

ACHTER BAND. S. 20, 23 Will sie nicht bequemen BB<sup>1</sup> (*Druckf.*), Will sie sich nicht bequemen AB<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C. 49, 8 Gestehst mir nun B, Gestehst du nun B<sup>2</sup>. 110, 8 Blühet BB<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C (*Druckf.*), Blühtet SAB<sup>2</sup>. 160, 17 Nebenthal S<sup>1</sup> AA<sup>1</sup> BB<sup>1</sup> (*Druckf.*), Nebelthal SB<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C. Die Weimarer Ausgabe verzeichnet den Druckfehler nur für B. 220, 9 schöne Gestalt B, schöne Gewalt B<sup>2</sup>. 302, 9 was es soll B, was ich soll B<sup>2</sup>. 332, 14 Weisen BB<sup>1</sup> (*Druckf.*), Weise AB<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup>. 345, 2 wenn' er B, weil er B<sup>2</sup>. 379, 11, 12: Dies Zeilenpaar wird in B<sup>2</sup> wiederholt. 440, 17 ich hatte Puls BB<sup>1</sup> (*Druckf.*), ich halte Puls B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C.

NEUNTER BAND. S. 14, 2 Schauspiel B, Beyspiel B<sup>2</sup>. 33, 28 ich hör' B, ich hört' B<sup>2</sup>. Hier, wie auch unten, S. 133, 10, hat v. Loeper in der Hempel'schen Ausgabe B<sup>2</sup> anstatt B benutzt. 35, 19 Pergament ist BC<sup>1</sup>, Pergament, ist AB<sup>2</sup>. 64, 24 Undene B, Undine B<sup>2</sup>. 79, 23 bequemen B, benehmen B<sup>2</sup>. 92, 14 dictirt B, dictirt' AB<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup>. 133, 10 Nur fort B, Nun fort B<sup>2</sup>. 150, 14 schone meine Lunge B, schone meiner Lunge B<sup>2</sup>. 160, 8 Muss . . . gehn? B, die Zeile fehlt B<sup>2</sup>. 185, 17 Zum . . . Sänger! B, die Zeile fehlt B<sup>2</sup>. 248, 17 die Achsen B, die Wagen B<sup>2</sup>. Von Bogen 18 an sind BB<sup>2</sup> von demselben Satze abgezogen.



ZEHNTER BAND. Nur die Bogen 1-5 sind neu gesetzt. In der Regel sind diese Bogen gleichmässig, d. h., sie gehören in dem betreffenden Exemplare sämtlich zum Drucke B oder B<sup>2</sup>. Vereinzelt finden sich jedoch andere Zusammenstellungen, wie z. b. ein Exemplar in meinem Besitz die Bogen 1, 2, 4, 5 der Gattung B<sup>2</sup>, dagegen Bogen 3 der Gattung B aufweist. Der Originaldruck lässt sich dadurch bestimmen, dass der Zeilenschluss konsequent mit A übereinstimmt, gegen B<sup>2</sup>. Auch textlich stimmt B meistens mit A überein: an einigen auffallenden Stellen hat jedoch B<sup>2</sup> den besseren Text, welches dadurch zu erklären ist, dass die nachträglich entdeckten Druckfehler von B für B<sup>2</sup> vermerkt wurden, oder, dass die noch vorhandene Druckvorlage von B bei der Korrektur von B<sup>2</sup> benutzt wurde. Bei der Ausgabe letzter Hand wurden diese Verbesserungen von B<sup>2</sup> nicht berücksichtigt, da C<sup>1</sup> von B abstammt.

S. 7, 17 trete B, trette B<sup>2</sup>. 7, 21 alles was AB<sup>1</sup>, alles, was B, Alles, was B<sup>2</sup>. 10, 8 Schauspielerinn B (*Druckf.*), Schauspielerinnen AB<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup>. 17, 22-24 dass er . . . Aufmerksamkeit hat auf sich ziehen können BC<sup>1</sup>, dass er . . . Aufmerksamkeit auf sich ziehen können AB<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup>. 19, 13 Sagen sie B (*Druckf.*), Sagen Sie AB<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> C<sup>1</sup>. 27, 6 O Pfui ABB<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup>, Pfui B<sup>2</sup>. 46, 19 Wo deine ABB<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup>, Wie deine B<sup>2</sup>. 54, 10 werden! BC<sup>1</sup>, werden; AB<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup>. 55, 1 wir bleiben BC<sup>1</sup>, wir blieben AB<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup>. 73, 3 Heligthum B, Heiligthum B<sup>2</sup>. verzeih' ABB<sup>1</sup>, verzeih B<sup>2</sup>.

Die übrigen Bände weisen, wie schon oben bemerkt, nur einmaligen Satz auf. Nur das Inhaltsverzeichnis des 13. Bandes ist zweimal gesetzt, doch lassen sich keine textlichen Abweichungen nachweisen. Desgleichen ist die Musikbeilage dieses Bandes zweimal gestochen, und zwar mit einigen kleinen Abweichungen: S. 1 Ghiurig - hiu - ma B, Ghiurighiuma B<sup>2</sup>. S. 2 Ca - da - ve - re B, Ca - dave - re B<sup>2</sup>. In der Gattung B<sup>2</sup> sind auch die Verszahlen grösser als in B. In einigen Exemplaren gehört Seite 1 der Musikbeilage zur Gattung B, Seite 2 dagegen zur Gattung B<sup>2</sup>: in anderen Exemplaren ist es umgekehrt. Welcher Stich tatsächlich der frühere ist, lässt sich nicht entscheiden.

W. KURRELMAYER.

## HOW SHAKESPEARE SET AND STRUCK THE SCENE FOR *JULIUS CÆSAR* IN 1599

An admiring German, travelling in England in 1599 with credentials that privileged him to see the Queen eat and to dine with the Lord Mayor also then made his respectful bow to the theatres of the English Capital.

"Every day about two o'clock in the afternoon in the city of London, two or three companies of actors in different places make it lively for one another which shall draw the best and have the biggest audience."

So wrote this German, Dr. Thomas Platter in his diary of his journey recently unearthed by Binz.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Platter himself visited two of these London theatres. Fortunately, he mentions them with particulars enough to identify one of them as Shakespeare's Globe.

On the 21st of September, he says, he "with his companions was ferried over the water to the straw-thatched house to see the Tragedy of the first Kaiser, Julius Cæsar, acted extremely well with scarcely more than fifteen persons."

Thanks to this item and to the adventurous research of Dr. Wallace who has made certain the other facts backing such inferences, we can now know that Shakespeare's noble Roman political play was written in the young maturity of his powers at thirty-five, in the flush of his successful launch into theatre ownership, and during the first year of his promising new partnership in the just-built Globe.

From *Julius Cæsar*, more notably perhaps than from any other one play of this period, may be inferred the strength of his ambition to be the master-hand in the stage managing of his new theatre. In this tragedy his skill in the technique of his own stage challenges attention. Unusual and bulky properties were used in the first three acts. He opens up his drama with a telling bit of stage business prophetic of his plot.

This stage business makes one of his special properties more than picturesque. It makes it useful. Attention is drawn to it conspicuously, and the entire action centering upon it is so shaped

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Platter's *Reisebericht* quoted by Gustav Binz, "Londoner Theater und Schauspiele im Jahre 1599," *Anglia*, xxii, 456-464.

as to cut into the heart of the political situation in Rome and bring it home to the audience.

"Certaine Commoners"—his Carpenter, Cobbler, and other mechanics of Rome—enter "over the Stage" to decorate one of Cæsar's "Images" with a ceremonial wreath and "stréw flowers" along the path Cæsar was expected to take in his forthcoming Triumphal procession. Obviously the head commoner has just time to put the crown on the statue before the two Tribunes can enter and catch him at it.

They have their suspicions. They enter hard on the heels of those strewing flowers, and come on in the same way,—“over the Stage” after them to berate them for thus honoring Cæsar and strewing flowers in his way. They rapidly catch up with the leader and ply him with questions.

The words “over the Stage.” in the first stage direction are the clew to the manner of these lively entrances. But for just these words we must go back to the stage directions of the original producer Will Shakespeare. They have been omitted from the modern text. Yet this descriptive stage direction is precisely what helps,—together with the inferences properly to be drawn from the dialogue as to the right action to go with it,—to make the manner of this first entrance plain. The head commoners—the carpenter and cobbler who “leade” their fellows “about the streets”—are meant to troop on with their companions from the place of their entrance at one side of the rear-stage, out toward the audience and then to wheel over to the opposite side along the front of the closed rear stage. Here the “Image” of Cæsar had been erected.

After the angry Tribunes had driven the herd of commoners away from the “Image,” one of the Tribunes—Flavius, turns back there. He tells the other Tribune to go down towards the capitol on the same side that the commoners had used in making their *exeunt*. “Go you downe that way towards the Capitoll, This way will I.” Obviously he makes for the opposite side where the “Image” stands.

He goes with a gleam of intention in his eye. He makes for it in order to tear off the royally banded coronet that the saucy cobbler had put on it. And he would have his comrade do the like by any other of Cæsar's images he may come across that are so decorated. The other questions their right—“May we do so? You know it is the feast of Lupercall.” Flavius has by this time reached



the place he made for. He flings his answer back over his shoulder. "It is no matter, let no Images be hung with Cæsar's Trophees." Suiting the action to the word, he snatches off the wreath. Having done this, he too turns to go off stage the same way the rest had taken. He lets Flavius know that it is his intention to follow him. "He about"—and very much as a boat comes about is descriptive of the requisite action for his course on Shakespeare's stage—"He about and drive away the Vulgar from the streets; So do you too &c." Having by this time reached the place where they all made their entrance, he has come where he could toss behind scenes the offending crown wreathed with its suggestive royal band of ribbon. His words match the gesture. "These growing Feathers pluckt from Cæsar's wing, will make him flye an ordinary pitch Who else would . . . keepe us all in servile fearfulnessse."

Casca informs us later that these two Tribunes were put to silence for "pulling Scarffes off Cæsar's Images." Shakespeare takes the trouble to put this information into Casca's talk to tell the audience what came of this action. It completes the incident just enacted and gives it its full meaning. With his usual profound shrewdness as a dramatist and his usual skill as a stage manager he picked out this little episode from his Plutarch as the right thing to start his play with. The dramatic purpose of the first Tribune in returning to the "Image," his action when against his companion's scruples he dares to snatch the crown from Cæsar's head and fling it in the dust, brings out at a stroke by that token better even than his words the intense animus then uppermost in Roman politics. One party was quite ready "to choose Cæsar for their king." The other would brook "Th' eternal Divell to keepe his state in Rome As easily as a King."

Shakespeare obviously intended his third estate to hold both parties in the balance until he was ready to let the "Commoners" dip the scales in the decision of the questions Cæsarism raised. The manner of the entrances "over the Stage" toward Cæsar's "Image" endows that bit of stage business centering on that property with a dramatic relevance not to be spared from the right production of *Julius Cæsar*.

The craft of Cassius in making the noble Brutus a catpaw in the conspiracy against Cæsar is again manœuvred by means of special stage properties and effects.

The action during the conspiracy scene is kept well up stage and in the shade of Brutus's Orchard.<sup>2</sup> Sudden flares of lightning and rolls of thunder add to the terror of Casca's fright and Cæsar's half-concealed alarm. Ben Jonson's scornful testimony as to the "roll'd drum" and the "nimble squib" that "makes afraid the gentlewomen" is authority enough for Shakespeare's mode of substantiating his repeated stage directions: "Thunder and Lightning" at the start of the scene, "Thunder still" a little later, "Thunder" again as Brutus leaves his orchard to assassinate Cæsar—an appropriately ominous mutter left out by modern editors. "Thunder and Lightning," as Cæsar, suddenly waked by the pother, bursts out of his house early next morning "in his Night-gowne."

In the gloom of the midnight simulated by such contrasts with sudden light, Cassius enters to do what he before said he was going to do "this night." But he would not be seen doing it and while throwing in a scroll at Brutus's window he is so startled by the approach of Casca across stage that he cries out "Who's there?" Nobody knows anybody in the obscurity of this stage midnight save by voice or gait. Only Cicero knew Casca at once. Shakespeare's intentionalness in such stage details may be banked on. It is clear that only Cicero was accompanied by a torch-bearer. Cicero's torch-bearer opens the scene literally to make the intended stage night visible. Cicero hails Casca, notices his breathlessness, asks him why he stares so, and Casca has the "limelight on him," so to speak, to show the audience how scared this awful night has made him. Cassius, at Brutus's window, in the midst of his stage business of throwing in his scroll, is startled by Casca's step. So are they both by Cinna until Cassius knows him by his gait. He now gives Cinna the rest of his scrolls and the stage business with them is emphasized. He is to throw one in at the same window, place one in the Prætor's "Chayre" and set up one "in Waxe upon old Brutus's statue."

To the secret effect of this skulking about of the conspirators in the dark is added the obscure picture in the background aloft, of their mysterious movements as they assemble at their rallying place—"Pompeys Porch," in the upper rear stage. In Plutarch,

<sup>2</sup> For Shakespeare's habitual use of trees on his stage, see "Hamlet as Shakespeare Staged It," in *The Drama*, Aug. and Nov., 1915.

Cassius neither writes the scrolls nor throws them in at the window. Shakespeare, our stage manager, is responsible for all this.

Brutus's "Window" is again the occasion of an effective bit of stage business seeming to be introduced for no other purpose than to make good use of it again with relation to the scrolls and the darkness.

"Enter Brutus in his Orchard." Thus the original stage direction puts it more picturesquely than the modern edited form of it. Leaving his house, represented by the proscenium door opposite to the one by which Cæsar had gone home, the audience sees Brutus come out doors and amid the darkness of the foliage look vainly for the light of any stars to tell the progress of the night. He calls his boy to light a taper in his study. The audience is warned to watch for it when Lucius goes in to kindle it. From inside the window already made noticeable by the stage business of Cassius and Cinna, the little spark of light suddenly shines out. Masterly trifle! The remote touch familiar to every mental association of a lonely watch light at night seen from outside the house is gained. Besides, by means of it what was in that scroll Cinna had just thrown in is to be made clear. The boy who found it where Cinna threw it completes its story by bearing witness that it is the very one. He is "sure it did not lye there" when he went to bed. The nimble squib running on a wire sufficed for the "exhalation whizzing in the ayre" of that tempestuous night by whose light Brutus reads aloud this scroll.

By the time the conspirators knock "within" at the Orchard gate below, and then file through under the trees, muffling their faces "even from darkness," the ominous eventfulness of this stormy night for Cæsar and for Brutus too has convinced the nerves. Joint magic of scenic effects dovetailed in with the dramatic dialogue has wrought the miracle.

Plutarch mentions Brutus's "tribunal (or chair) where he gave audience during the time he was Prætor." But by the cunning of stage producer Shakespeare's scenic economy this chair serves a double purpose. It was the public pulpit later whence both Brutus and Antony addressed the people. This is betrayed by what one of the Plebeians says of Antony: "Let him go up into the publike Chaire." That it was mounted on steps is evident. Nor only from this one passage. "Noble Antony" is repeatedly bidden to "go up" and "come downe." Earlier, when Brutus went to



this same chair announcement was made that "the Noble Brutus is ascended."

It clearly was a massive looking chair, architecturally placed upon a platform built against the rear-stage structure. Its stairway down from the upper-stage balcony and up from the lower floor afforded Cinna, when sent to lay his scroll there, a chance to climb on up to the upper-stage balcony and do just as he was bid: "All this done, Repaire to Pompeyes Porch, where you shall find us." Cassius could have come on stage before, conveniently *en route* to Brutus's "Window," from this same "Porch" where the rest "stay'd for" his return.

The "Statue of old Brutus" to which Cinna also affixed a scroll balanced the "Image" of Cæsar, standing both of them on the ground-floor level flanking the rear-stage front. A tragic antithesis!—In itself a monumental presentment of the dramatico-political clash of the plot.

As to Brutus's "Window" there is a striking vestige of evidence imbedded in the dialogue later. It comes in then for a tell-tale mention that gives away the whole arrangement.

Besides the Image, Statue, Chair, and Window on the outer stage, there were set up inside the rear-stage Cæsar's "Seate" of state, the benches the Senators occupied, and the statue of Pompey at whose foot Cæsar was struck down.

After the fall of Cæsar it was Shakespeare's stunt to get the total property lumber on outer and inner stages off. This he forthwith does with vigor and swift picturesqueness, without break in the action and in the eyes of his public. Again he does it by means of unifying his stage business with his dramatic speech and plot-action at exactly the moment of balance the third estate holds in its hands ready to dip either way,—for Brutus and anti-Cæsarism or for Antony and the surviving spirit of Julius Cæsar.

The same speech that turned the scales for Cæsar, the same emotion aroused by Antony in the Plebeians solved also Shakespeare's need as a Stage manager. The Plebeians, driven to mutiny by the creator of Antony's eloquence, at one and the same *coup*, act as his stage hands to strike the scene.

They "plucke downe Benches,"—there go the seats of the Senators! "Formes,"—there go the Chair-platform and steps! They "plucke downe Windowes,"—there goes Brutus's window! Plutarch's corresponding phrase has no "Windowes" in it. Nor any

"Benches." It runs thus: "others plucked up forms, tables and stalls about the Market-place." Shakespeare took this hint. But out of it he used only what suited his peculiar purposes. It suited them to add Windows and Benches. An odd word—"Windowes"—to put in, otherwise!

All this to make a funeral pyre for Cæsar, to turn the course of tragedy at its climax with a "ripping" scenic mob-activity, and yet also clear the way for the bare stage, which the battlefield scenes of the remaining Acts require.

CHARLOTTE PORTER.

Boston, Mass.

### DID BYRON WRITE *A FARRAGO LIBELLI*?

*The English Review* for August 1915 reprinted, from the probably unique copy in the possession of the late Bertram Dobell, *A Farrago Libelli. A Poem, Chiefly imitated from the First Satire of Juvenal. Printed for Mr. Hatchard, 1806.* This piece Dobell ascribed to Lord Byron, fourteen pages of commentary being devoted to the support of his theory. The world of letters rests under such a variety of indebtedness to Dobell that any opinion of his must be received with respect; but I think it can be shown, not that Byron did not write the satire (to prove such a negative in the absence of positive identification of the real author being impossible), but that we need other proof than Dobell advanced if we are to accept his contention.

Upon the life of no English poet has there beaten so fierce a light as upon Byron's, Shakespeare's alone excepted. *A priori*, therefore, the likelihood is small that any poem of his should lie *perdu* for a century. The chance is lessened when Byron's temperament is considered; it is hardly conceivable that he would write a satire, print it, and suppress it, without a single reference to it appearing in his letters. Dobell compares the suppression of *Fugitive Pieces* (not *Poems*, as he gives the title); but to that case Byron refers six times in his letters (I, 105, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113) and twice in his poems (I, 114, 247). Only evidence of the most unimpeachable kind could overcome the inherent improbability of Dobell's theory. Does he submit such evidence?

Much stress is laid on a long series of parallels between *A Farrago*

and *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, with an occasional echo in other poems by Byron. The total impression may convince a casual reader—the force of such an argument depending largely on the cumulative effect—but, if we examine each parallel in turn (a task rendered difficult by the curious number of misreferences that Dobell gives), the value of the argument almost entirely disappears.

There can be no sort of significance in parallel references to ballads at a time when Scott, Lewis, and others were collecting or composing many, and translations from the German were popular; nor in the quotation of a specially characteristic passage from *Thalaba*; nor in the use of the word “letchers”—sufficiently commonplace and found, if it need be remarked, in the works of Dryden and Churchill, authors studied by Byron and the writer of *A Farrago*, and in fact by all satirists of “the decline.” Scott is alluded to in both satires; but literary satire of the first decade of the last century could not well ignore *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. Hayley, too, receives notice; it would have been more remarkable if two writers had *not* agreed in singling out for condemnation the author of *The Triumphs of Temper*. Nor is praise of Pope, the master of all satirists who follow him, noteworthy. And the argument is much overworked when parallel uses of the phrase “Poetry and Prose” are regarded as evidence of identity of authorship. Dobell emphasizes the fact that in two passages, otherwise unlike, the word *him* is italicized. To this the writer of a brief notice in *The Athenaeum* of August 7 (p. 99) has replied that the italicizing is merely an endeavor to stress the demonstrative pronoun as in Latin. This is certainly correct. Both writers use and italicize the word “hell” in the sense of a gambling-house. But the term was widely used just at that time and is italicized because it is slang. Both use italics frequently. But this is merely a survival of eighteenth-century form. In both poems there are strong expressions of dislike of Scotland; a parallel vitiated as argument (even were the resemblance not exceedingly small) by Dobell’s own admission that Byron was using “a common and vulgar accusation.” The author of *A Farrago* tells how at school he declaimed a passage in praise of a statesman; with this Dobell compares Byron’s allusion to the death of Pitt in the poem *On the death of Mr. Fox*. He also notes that Byron learnt to declaim at school. So do most boys; and most are fond of choosing the virtues of



great statesmen for their subject; I have myself listened patiently to dithyrambs upon Mr. Roosevelt. Finally, the untrustworthiness of this method of argument is well illustrated by the importance that Dobell attaches to the fact that in both poems Dryden is called "great" and "careless." "Neither," he writes, "are good or appropriate epithets, and therefore they were unlikely to be used by more than one writer." On the contrary, "great" had become almost the conventional epithet to apply to Dryden. The phrase "great Dryden next" occurs in Addison's *Account of the Best Known English Poets* (line 116); Pope has: "great Dryden's friend" (*Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, line 141); Churchill has (*The Apology*, line 376):

Here let me bend, great Dryden, at thy shrine.

The epithet "careless" is precisely in accord with the received view that Dryden was "less correct" than Pope. Dryden himself calls his verse "unpolished, rugged"; Pope speaks of Dryden's copiousness (*Satires*, v, 213) with evident reference to the comparative carelessness and hence abundance of his writings. In the *Biographia Literaria* (chap. xx) Coleridge uses the very word "careless" to describe part of Dryden's work.

With all respect it must be said that the impression left by this series of parallels (I pass over several even less noteworthy) is chiefly of Dobell's predisposition to find startling and confirmatory resemblances. These are not there.

His other arguments may be summarized and commented upon briefly: (1) The punctuation of *A Farrago* is in several places clumsy; Byron punctuated badly. True; but this is a fault to be found in many a privately printed poem such as *A Farrago* appears to be. (2) At the top of the title-page is an inscription, "From the author," which Dobell says is "a good deal like the early writing of Lord Byron" and seems to bear "a perfect resemblance to that of Lady Byron, his mother." Is it unfair to see in such a judgment a desire to hit the mark at least once in two shots—a good deal like Byron's writing and perfectly resembling his mother's? Has any expert in calligraphy examined the inscription? (3) Much is made of resemblances in cadence and rhythm between *A Farrago* and *English Bards*. It needs, however, but the slightest acquaintance with the satire of the period to realize how stereotyped those cadences that Pope had established had become.

The prosody of *A Farrago* is, in a word, of the hackneyed commonplace sort regnant at the close of the so-called classic period and surviving in only too much of Byron. A similar objection meets Dobell's argument from resemblances of vocabulary; he has neglected to recall the strait limits and hide-bound conventions of the poetic vocabulary of the time, limits narrowed further by the custom of translating Latin authors who supplied many writers with identical phraseology. (4) At the bottom of the first page of *A Farrago* is a note: "Written at Twickenham, 1805." True, there is absolutely no record of Byron's ever having been to the place, but "we may be sure that he would go there," says Dobell complacently, and immediately after he speaks of Byron's visit to Twickenham as though it were an established fact. (5) He finds in Byron's letters two uses of the word "libellus" and one of the word "farrago"—not, be it said, in proximity to each other. Upon this argument I offer no comment. (6) His lack of logic is most clearly shown in an attempt to draw a parallel between *A Farrago* and "Childish Recollections" in *Hours of Idleness*. In the latter poem Byron refers to a bitter personal satire that he had written but had, in a more generous mood, suppressed. This suppressed satire, Dobell argues, was *A Farrago*. There is no personal satire in it; "what I would suggest, however, is that *A Farrago*, as originally written, may have contained the 'deadly blow' which Byron speaks of; but that on his friend's submission the young poet suppressed it, and published his satire without it." Stated baldly this argument amounts to saying that Byron speaks of having written a personal satire; *A Farrago* is not a personal satire; therefore *A Farrago* is the poem to which Byrons refers.

Dobell answers by anticipation two objections that may be advanced against the ascription of the poem to Byron: that he could not have composed and printed such a work without our having some record of the fact, and that the style is too mature for Byron in 1806. To the first he replies that if he has proved that Byron is the author, then "obviously it is useless to argue that he could not have written it." Obviously; but has he established his case? The maturity of style he accounts for by the fact that Byron was following in the footsteps of Juvenal. To me *A Farrago* seems rather the maturity of dulness than the precocious effort of genius; the painstaking effort of some forgotten classicist, not the immediate precursor of *English Bards*. Two further positive objections

to Byron's authorship may be advanced. The enduring interest of *English Bards* lies in its scores of references to the poet's contemporaries; its satire is extremely personal. *A Farrago*, on the other hand, contains hardly one such reference. Secondly, for the model of his satires Byron was more indebted to Gifford than to Pope, as has been abundantly proved by Fuess. *A Farrago* is written by a slavish imitator of Pope; to set down my marginal cross-references would be tedious; any reader can establish them for himself.

SAMUEL C. CHEW.

*Bryn Mawr College.*

### FROSINE'S MARQUISE IN *L'AVARE*

Molière's indebtedness to *La Belle Plaideuse* of Boisrobert for various incidents of *L'Avare* has been frequently pointed out. Among others Professor Moritz Levi, in his article on "The Sources of *L'Avare*," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xv, 19 ff., and again, in the introduction to his edition of *L'Avare*, (D. C. Heath & Co), has indicated the most striking points of resemblance. That the influence of the earlier play may serve to explain the *dénouement* suggested by Frosine at the close of the first scene of the fourth act does not appear to me, however, to have been sufficiently stressed.

The passage is a familiar one and need not be quoted. Frosine suggests a scheme for deceiving the miser and winning his consent to the marriage of Cléante and Mariane, by means of a pretended Marquise of Lower Brittany, whose willingness to give Harpagon all of her wealth by marriage contract would induce him to marry her and give up Mariane.

In a note to these lines in his edition, Professor Levi cites the play of Boisrobert for examples of the strange Breton names to which Frosine alludes, but not as a source of the plan itself. W. Knörich, in an article on the "Quellen des *Avare* von Molière," in the *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, VIII, 51-67, mentions the fact that this episode is treated at length in *La Belle Plaideuse* and gives quotations showing the comic effect of the use of the queer names, but even he does not lay much stress on the resemblance.



In *La Belle Plaideuse*, it is true, there is no false marquise from Brittany, but a real countess whose title and wealth is at stake in a lawsuit. In order to dazzle the eyes of the miserly father and win his consent to her marriage with his son, she assumes the title and is credited with fictitious estates by her valet. She inquires about large sums of money, which she pretends are due her, when she knows that the miser and his friend are overhearing her. The father is so attracted by the prospect of such a magnificent marriage for his son, and for his daughter, whom the brother of the supposed countess agrees to take *without a dowry*, that he gives his consent, and signs the contracts, without further investigation. He learns, too late, that the countess is the very adventuress from whom he had been trying to save his son. A favorable decision of the lawsuit is announced opportunely, and the odium of the deception is lessened by the fact that the so-called countess actually obtains her title and estate.

In view of the well-established fact that Molière knew and used the play of his predecessor, in other scenes, it is clear that he had this episode in his mind when he attributed a similar expedient to Frosine's inventive genius. This will serve to explain, tho not to justify, the insertion of this suggested *dénouement*, to which no further reference is made. It may have been in the author's thought actually to develop it, as he had done other incidents which he found in the previous play, and that he gave up the idea because it would have failed to solve the mystery of Valère's birth, have rendered unnecessary the theft of the casket, and, in other respects, have been an inadequate solution of his main plot. In this case, the contemplated ruse would have been left as a mark of Frosine's ready imagination and fertility of resources, (which Mesnard and Professor Levi suggest was its purpose) and, also, to hint at other weaknesses of a miser's nature. We may have our doubts, moreover, as to whether the stratagem would have succeeded so well with the wily Harpagon as with the more gullible Amidor of *La Belle Plaideuse*. In any case, I do not believe that Molière would have thought of this if it had not been suggested by the plot of the other play.

Several minor points which, to my mind, are the result of similar suggestions, may be mentioned, as I have not seen them referred to elsewhere.

Frosine's plea of her need of money to meet the expenses of a lawsuit, which utterly fails to touch the flinty heart of Harpagon, is the same as that successfully employed by the mother of *La Belle Plaideuse* to stimulate the generosity of her daughter's suitor.

Much of the action of Boisrobert's comedy takes place in "la foire Saint Germain," which may have suggested the allusion to the fair in *L'Avare*; tho Professor Levi believes this refers to a different fair.<sup>1</sup>

The miser of *La Belle Plaideuse*, as does Harpagon, possesses a carriage and pair which are not in the best of condition. This luxury does not seem strange in his case, as he is not made out quite so stingy as Harpagon, and, moreover, he makes, or thinks he makes, a good profit when he is tricked into selling them.

Many little difficulties which arise in the interpretation of *L'Avare* can be cleared away if we consider them in connection with his sources, and, even if we cannot defend the dramatist for bringing in extraneous incidents or details, we can at least see the explanation for them.

CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ.

University of Wisconsin.

## REVIEWS

*The German Language. Outlines of its Development.* By TOBIAS DIEKHOFF. New York, Oxford University Press, 1914. [Oxford German Series by American Scholars.]

In the present work the author gives a sketch of the development of the German language for those who have not as yet made a study of its older stages. The book is divided into two approximately equal parts,—the first devoted to phonology, word-formation and inflections; the second to syntax. After a first general chapter on language and language study, in which the basic laws of speech-change are discussed, and a resumé of the Germanic dialects and their relationships, which belongs more logically in the second chapter, Diekhoff devotes nine pages to the explanation of the organs of speech and their uses and another nine pages to a classification of

<sup>1</sup> *L'Avare*, (Heath and Co., 1908), note to page 53, l. 3.

speech sounds. Then follow a lengthy analysis of German consonant development through the sound shifts and a somewhat shorter section devoted to vowel changes. In the third chapter the author turns aside from the traditional arrangement, which assigns to word formation a place after the inflections, and gives the *Wortbildungslehre* its proper position *before* the inflections. The treatment of word formation is quite thorough, covering more than 70 pages. The discussion of the inflections is prefaced by a discussion of the origin of the present German case forms and followed by a recital of some of the changes peculiar to NHG. Fully three-fifths of the space devoted to inflections is given to the noun forms, the treatment of verb forms being exceedingly brief. The syntax discussion follows time-honored lines, proceeding from the sentence as a whole, with its problems of word-order, to a consideration of the parts of speech. Here again the noun has received somewhat disproportionate treatment, as Diekhoff permits the analysis of case forms to lead him far afield. The same may be said of the discussion of the pronoun, which covers 65 pages.

It will be seen that in arrangement and procedure Diekhoff follows in the main traditional usages. The general nature of the work does not lend itself to originality, to which, indeed, the author makes no claim. His conclusions rest squarely upon the investigations of Wundt in his *Völkerpsychologie* and upon Brugmann and Delbrück in the comparative parts. Kluge, Luick and Wilmanns are the pillars upon which the first part rests; Wilmanns, Wunderlich and Blatz give the basis for the second. Diekhoff uses his sources with discrimination in most cases, with conscientious exactness nearly everywhere. One wonders, to be sure, to find in the bibliography no work devoted specifically to phonetics. In view of his preference for the genetic system, the handbook of Sweet might at least have been named. Furthermore, the explanation of the organs of speech would have been greatly aided by even one diagram, such as is to be found in Hempl or in Vietor's *Kleine Phonetik*. The omission of Sardinian and Rhaeto-romanian from the Italic group on pp. 32 and 34 was probably an oversight. On careful examination, however, the book shows itself singularly free from small errors and omissions. The author's conscientious scholarship has been well seconded by editor and proof reader.

Aside from the careful use and arrangement of existing material, a book of this kind must meet two demands, and may go so far in



meeting them as to justify a claim to originality as valid as that of any work of research. The first is lucid statement and illuminating illustration, and the second a careful selection of material, so that there shall be no more and no less than the purpose in hand demands. As a rule Diekhoff meets the first demand fully. Each section is developed from the general to the specific with a method and consequence which call for praise, and the selection of examples is in most cases admirable. Diekhoff has not the gift of terse and pregnant statement which marks the little historical study of Behaghel, but he avoids the diffuseness of others. His preliminary discussions of the laws of language, of word formation (108 ff.),<sup>1</sup> of gender (180), of the tenses (274) and the modes (295) are models of brief, direct statement and enlightening illustration, and I should not know where to look for so clear and practical a presentation of such difficult subjects as Verner's Law (66 ff.) or ablaut (88) or the passive voice (268) or the elusive "contemplative subjunctive" (312).

On the other hand, the author yields too often to the temptation to go far afield in the discussion of minor points, and indulges here and there in hair-split distinctions and fine-drawn definitions which can only confuse the class of students for which the book is intended. Such are the discussion of the influences modifying Verner's Law (68), or that of the somewhat shadowy "quantitative gradation" (89), or of the nature of the umlaut (96 ff.), discussions interesting in themselves, but out of place in a work with such limitations as this. The last-named passage, indeed, with its recital of the various theories of the nature of mutation, is one of the few passages in the book which lack clearness. The tendency to hair-split distinctions finds its way here and there into the syntax, notably in the section on the "psychological subject and predicate" (233), where the author shows an inclination to wordiness, otherwise absent, and in the entire section on word-order (242 ff.). The last-named passage, in which Diekhoff gives an interesting resumé of the historical theories of Braune and others, and an analysis of the position of the verb in the normal and inverted order, is one of the most carefully analyzed and interesting parts of the book, but it must be condemned as being swollen quite out of proportion to its importance in a work like this. Similarly, in

<sup>1</sup> The references are to page numbers.

place of a discussion of Brugmann's and Hale's theories of mode, a simple resumé would have been better adapted to the author's purpose, while the several pages which are given to the subjunctive in indirect discourse (315 ff.) might well have been cut down by half, and a still greater saving effected in the passages on the use of the adjective inflection in NHG. (429 ff.) and the relative connectives (489). On the other hand, the treatment of the whole subject of consecution of tenses (322 ff.) is a model of brevity and clearness.

Like anyone else who attempts to give an introduction into German linguistic development "without presupposing much or any acquaintance with the older stages of the language," Diekhoff gets into trouble very early through the necessity for employing illustrations which presuppose a considerable acquaintance, not only with the early but with the earliest forms of OHG. and even of primitive Teutonic. As a matter of fact, the student who uses Diekhoff's book without at least such a knowledge of OHG. and MHG. as can be derived from Wright's primers or a look into the works of Braune and Paul is in about the same position as the learner who would try to ascend into the higher realms of physics without knowing the simpler processes of calculus, he works with only one hand. As it is, particularly in the chapter on phonology Diekhoff goes to work very carefully, but in the study of the noun suffixes, and indeed, in the whole section on word-formation the beginner will very often be puzzled. Here clearness would have been greatly aided by the addition of a list of the corresponding forms in the various stages of the language, thereby relieving the vagueness of such statements as (146), "in the older periods, when vowels in the endings were still distinct, vocalic suffixes, as *-ja*, *-an*, *-jan*, were quite common." The author might have hesitated the less in doing this since he does insert historical tables for the consonants (62-65) and the verbs (71), and for the inflectional paradigms quite regularly.

A work like this must be judged by the demands of those for whom it is intended. The difficulties of the student who attempts to use any such treatise without knowing his older dialects will be considerable. For this class the usability of the book would have been materially aided by the insertion of a historical sketch containing a brief resumé of the various periods of development of the language, with a recital of such phases as the rôle of the medieval

dialects, clerical influence in the OHG. period, Notker's labors, the rise of prose, the development of the *Städtesprachen*, *Kanzleisprachen*, etc. Such a sketch could, without damage to the unity and purpose of the work, have enabled the beginner to orient himself somewhat as to that which follows. For, though Diekhoff's work is not, in the exact sense of the word, a history of the language, it must of course constantly refer to historical development, which, however much a matter of course to advanced students, is as yet unknown country to those who privately or in the university enter for the first time upon the intensive study of German linguistic structure. Furthermore, except for a reference here and there to the dialects, Diekhoff leaves the spoken language quite out of account. It is a question whether this is not false economy even within the limits of a work of this kind, as the *Umgangssprache* has a wealth of illustrative material well-nigh indispensable for an understanding of the modes and cases.

The work must be judged, however, by what it offers rather than by what it omits. It is certainly a book for which American Germanists should be grateful. A great deal has been attempted and the results are of high value. Its careful arrangement and wealth of illustrative material will be a boon to teachers who seek something comprehensive which is not at the same time superficial. Within the limits of a single work Diekhoff has given us in practical pedagogical form the results of a wide range of German research. The spirit of exact scholarship which pervades the book is in the highest degree refreshing.

ROBERT H. FIFE, JR.

Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

*The Freshman and His College.* By FRANCIS CUMMINS LOCKWOOD. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co. Pp. vi + 156.

*College Life: Its Conditions and Problems.* Arranged and edited by MAURICE GARLAND FULTON. New York. The Macmillan Company. Pp. xxii + 524.

*The College and the Future.* Edited by RICHARD RICE, JR. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xxii + 374.

How to turn the bewildered freshman as speedily as possible into a college man is a problem which the growth of numbers and



the variety of the curriculum make increasingly difficult. Unless a specific course in orientation is provided, the responsibility falls chiefly upon instructors in freshman English. These instructors realize that in addition to teaching their students how to write decently, how to take notes, and how to find books in the college library and to read them intelligently, they must try to teach the freshman how to use the new-found liberty of the college and not to misuse or neglect its opportunities. For the latter purpose the books on college life are designed to help, serving at the same time as wholesome and pertinent reading, as specimens for study and analysis, and as sources of ideas for discussion and writing.

*The Freshman and his College* has the advantage of being a slight volume of convenient size, a consideration of importance in a book which is to be secondary to one or two others. It is devoted to matters of study and personal morals, as expounded by college presidents and teachers, rather than to vexed questions of college policy and wider issues of life and culture. The speeches are practical and interesting. Some, such as President Hyde's *Address to Freshmen* and President Eliot's *A New Definition of the Cultivated Man*, are admirable examples of lucid structure which may be exhibited in outline; and William James's chapter on *The Principle of Habit* is one of several that offer suggestions for themes.

In *College Life*, Professor Fulton has provided a much more elaborate work of the same general character. The essays and speeches are grouped under such topics as The Purpose of the College, The Curriculum, General Reading, Athletics and Recreation, and The College Man and the World's Work. The authors include, beside various college presidents, men of letters, for example: Emerson, Thoreau, Ruskin, and Stevenson; and the book is equipped with an apparatus of introduction, essay topics, and bibliography. The matter is excellent; one may, however, feel that it is so abundant as to seem forbidding and so varied that much of it must be neglected.

The most marked characteristic of Professor Rice's book, *The College and the Future*, is a carefully devised plan designed to lead the student in a logical progression from one set of problems to the next. The selections, which are less numerous than those in *College Life*, proceed from essays on learning to write, through descriptions of college life at Oxford, to the difficult problem of college athletics in America, the discussion of intellectual ideals.

and general culture, and, finally, the broadest problems of life and society. If the book is to be used with a text-book of rhetoric—and it is hardly suited to independent use—the section on learning to write might well be omitted. The essay of Professor Rice on that subject belongs to the text-book; that of Mr. Arnold Bennett may be dropped without loss to the freshmen. The part of the book devoted to athletics, on the other hand, might be expanded by the addition of an article not hostile to intercollegiate sport. A bibliography of articles and books adapted to each section is supplied in an appendix.

In general, these books are a valuable addition to the equipment of teachers of English Composition. They should have a place on the reading shelf of every freshman class. For a few months of freshman year, any one of them will be useful in the hands of the students for use in class-work.

JOHN C. FRENCH.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

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*The Phonology of the Dialect of Aurland, Norway.* By GEORGE T. FLOM, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literature, University of Illinois. Urbana, 1915. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2. Pp. 92.

Aurland is a region of the Inner Sogn in West Norway and its dialect one of the typically West Norwegian ones. While the dialects of Sogn have been characterized in a general way with reference to their most distinctive features by Larsen and Ross, complete descriptions of any of them were hitherto lacking. Nor is the present work a complete phonology, the important matter of the accent being, except for casual references, omitted. The author has wisely employed the system of phonetic notation proposed by J. Storm in 1881 and since then in general use for works on the Norwegian dialects. In the characterization of the sounds by comparison with those occurring in other languages the stressed vowels of German *Hütte* and Danish *Lykke* (p. 14) are erroneously represented as identical. The Danish sound is essentially an  $\emptyset$ , and so regarded by Danish phoneticians. The sounds occurring in the dialect are illustrated by very full lists of words, the author prom-

ising a complete Glossary later. A selection of these words only, with meanings, is given in the Index. It may be right to include in these lists loan-words in quantity, but the question is at least debatable. In the reviewer's opinion they should be rigorously excluded, or if their occasional use seem desirable, they should in all cases be labeled as loan-words and their immediate source stated. The author himself seems not always to have distinguished clearly in his own mind the loan-words, as is apparent in the otherwise interesting part entitled "Etymological Phonology" (pp. 59 ff.). Scattered through these pages, but particularly numerous on page 75 are forms supposedly illustrating linguistic changes within the dialect which were obviously taken over intact from the *Riksmåal*. Others referred to as loan-words from High German, Low German, Dutch, etc., are of course from the point of view of the dialect not loan-words from those languages, but always or nearly always from the *Riksmåal*. The process in such cases should be accurately represented by Aurland < *Riksmåal* < Danish < Low German, etc. The reference to the *Riksmåal* as "High Norwegian" (p. 5) is inappropriate and will, it is to be hoped, establish no precedent. "High Swedish" (p. 26) is no better. The texts in phonetic transcription (pp. 82 f.) are of decided interest.

Typographically such a work presents unusual difficulties and the list of *Corrigenda* (p. 8) could be considerably expanded. To note only an example or two: *gutteral* (p. 76) is unpleasant, *L. G. Geburtstag* (same page) is of course a slip; in the case of the phonetic transcription of words such errors may even be perplexing or misleading. One finds for example on pages 27 and 88 *hât'l*, but on page 79 for the same word *hätt'l*. Evidently neither is correct; the normal East Norwegian form for this word is *hass'l*, the West Norwegian *håtl*, with which last it is to be presumed the Aurland dialect corresponds. The author has in fact throughout used the phonetic sign ' employed by Storm before vocalic (i. e., actually syllable-forming) *l* and *n*, incorrectly, though his statement of its value (p. 17) is correct. The three examples there given: *hât'n*, *båd'n* and *håd'l* should evidently be expressed *hätt'n* (dissyllabic), *båd'n* and *hådl* (monosyllabic). Such forms as *håd'l* with a short *a* are by the author's own correct statement as to the length of the accented syllable (p. 18) impossible.<sup>1</sup> This incorrect use of the '

<sup>1</sup> The reviewer realizes that the decision whether these words are monosyllabic or dissyllabic is not always an easy one, and the Sogn-dialects



together with the failure to mark the length of vowels leads to an identical representation of the phonetically very different words *ād'l* ("nobility," p. 85 and elsewhere)<sup>2</sup> and *ād'l* (p. 27 and elsewhere), which should be *ād̄l* (<*all*). Not only the length of the vowels, but the position of the accent and its musical quality (monosyllabic or dissyllabic type) should in fact have found expression in the phonetic transcription.

The minor faults pointed out should not blind one to the value of this considerable contribution to Scandinavian, that is Germanic philology.

A. LE ROY ANDREWS.

*Cornell University.*

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*Die Leiden des jungen Werthers von J. W. Goethe.* Edited with notes and a critical essay by ERNST FEISE, Assistant Professor of German in the University of Wisconsin. New York, Oxford University Press, 1914. [Oxford German Series by American Scholars. General Editor, Julius Goebel.]

Of all the standard works of Goethe, his *Werther* has had to wait longest for an annotated edition which would make it easily accessible to our college students. At last, Professor Feise has undertaken this task and we gladly welcome his valuable book, which by actual test in two successive classes, has proved to be a great help in leading the students to a better understanding and deeper appreciation of this first, and in many respects, greatest novel of Goethe's.

seem to stand especially close to the dividing line. It is not impossible that he has expressed a too positive confidence in the monosyllable. The point to be emphasized is that Professor Flom has not left the matter convincingly clear, and especially that one is not prepared for the occurrence of a short syllable *hād-* either by previous knowledge of these dialects or Flom's own statements, which would lead one to expect *hād̄l* or, if the word actually is dissyllabic, *hād̄d̄l*.

<sup>2</sup>One is inclined to be sceptical about the naturalization of this loan-word in a dialect of an entirely democratic people. In no case should a loan-word from the *Riksmåål* be included in the vocabulary of a Norwegian dialect because a person speaking the dialect has been heard to use it; only general and widespread usage by the masses speaking the dialect could possibly justify its inclusion as a loan-word.

Preceded by *Der Wandrer* and *Ganymed*, the text, which is that of the *Jubiläumsausgabe*, occupies the first 170 pages, and is followed by a brief bibliography, in which the symbol G. W. for "Goethe und Werther," referred to on p. 264, is missing. The notes take up pp. 173-230, followed by three pages of Chronological Tables and, on pp. 235-295, by a 'Critical Essay.'

The text, which in the clear print of the Oxford Series is delightful reading, especially when we compare it with that in Cotta's *Wellliteratur*, formerly the most available edition, shows careful proof-reading. I notice only the following slight misprints: p. 92, 20 read *süsz*; p. 110, 13, *Tapfern*, 16, *zu-*; p. 122, 8, *dasz*; p. 134, 25 *widersprechende*. The reading p. 27, 10 *die zwei Herren Audran und ein gewisser N. N.* cannot be classed as a misprint for it appears in the *Jubiläumsausgabe* and, in fact, in all editions of *Werther*. Yet it is quite clear that it should read *die zwei Herren, Audran und ein gewisser N. N.*, for as there are only three ladies, Werther's partner, her cousin, and Lotte, there can only be three gentlemen to lead them to the ball-room, Werther, N.N., and one Audran; see also p. 28, 20 and p. 45, 9.

The notes are done with great care and are very helpful, paying attention to grammatical difficulties—which, perhaps, might have been treated more succinctly—and to questions of interpretation. Professor Feise shows a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the work and so aids the student in getting a true insight into the character of the hero. I refer for illustration to such notes as those to p. 6, 27 (Werther a pantheist, the rationalist a deist); to p. 8, 4 (Werther can only experience by penetrating men, world, and universe emotionally); to p. 11, 28 *Einschränkung*, together with note to p. 26, 8; notes to p. 96, 8 and p. 118, 5. On one general point, to be sure, I can not agree with him, viz. that Werther is a product of the *Sturm und Drang*. It was Scherer, was it not, who first pointed out the remarkable fact that what is medieval, national in Wetzlar, the old ruined castle and the Gothic cathedral, do not exist for our hero, nor does Shakespeare. Can we really imagine a product of Goethe's *Sturm und Drang* in which Gothic art, medieval ruins and Shakespeare are deliberately avoided? No! *Werther*, altho it shows certain characteristics of that movement, is preëminently a product of the *Empfindsamkeit*; and we have no reason to change Scherer's dictum: "Der

sentimentale Roman hatte ein klassisches Erzeugnis aufzuweisen; Goethes *Werther*."

The last part of the volume is taken up by the 'Critical Essay.' There is, it seems to me, in our preparation of classical texts a dangerous tendency of "over-editing." To give a history of Goethe's development up to the work which is the editor's special subject is quite legitimate in the case of a *Lebenswerk* like *Faust*, but I think I am not alone in finding it out of place in an edition of e. g. *Götz*. Similarly, the long and detailed discussion of Goethe's Leipsic, Frankfort and Strassburg days, in the 'Critical Essay' seems to me inappropriate for a college edition. The subject is well treated, I admit, but can we expect our students "to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" this dissertation? Considering the nature, attitude and mental capacity of our students, I think a brief discussion of Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*, undoubtedly in many respects the model for *Werther*, and some remarks on the international success of this wonderful novel should have been given. What will arouse more interest for the "problematical" hero, to reprint some of the sophomoric epistles of the immature Leipsic student to his sister, or to speak, for example, of Napoleon as a reader and admirer of the book, or of its spread into France, England, the United States?

The illustrations, made from souvenir postal cards, add no value to the book, with the possible exception of the *Goethebrunnen*. If we are not to have the illustrations of earliest *Werther* editions or perhaps a picture of the young Goethe, or Charlotte Buff or *Lottens Schattenriss*, we will do better with an unadorned edition.

MAX F. BLAU.

*Princeton University.*

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### CHAUCEUR AND HORACE

Eight <sup>1</sup> passages have been pointed out <sup>2</sup> in which Chaucer apparently had lines from Horace in mind. For five of these, convenient second-hand sources have already been suggested:

(1) In *The Tale of Melibeus*, ¶ 50 (*C. T. B* 2752), the sentence,

And right so as by richesches ther comen manye goodes, right so by poverte come ther manye harmes and yveles,

points to Horace, *Epistle* 1.6.37:

et genus et formam regina pecunia donat.

Skeat <sup>3</sup> notes that this line occurs in the Latin version of the story, the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* of Albertano of Brescia.<sup>4</sup> It is also quoted—along with the line which follows it in the epistle—by John of Salisbury in the *Polycraticus* 5.17 and in the *Metalogicus* 1.4.<sup>5</sup>

(2) Lines 56-58 of *The Maunciples Tale* (*C. T. H* 160-162),

But god it woot, ther may no man embrace  
As to destreyne a thing, which that nature  
Hath naturelly set in a creature,

call to mind Horace, *Epistle* 1.10.24:

Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.

"And this," according to Skeat, "is the very passage which Chaucer had in view, as it is quoted and commented on in *Le Roman de la Rose* 14221-8."<sup>6</sup> Dr. G. L. Hamilton <sup>7</sup> points out that John of Salisbury likewise quotes this line <sup>8</sup> in the *Polycraticus* 3.8.

<sup>1</sup> Not counting the references to Lollius as a writer on the Trojan War. For Horace's probable connection with Chaucer's Lollius, see K. Young in Chaucer Society Publications, 2nd ser., no. 40, Appendix C, pp. 189-195.

<sup>2</sup> See E. P. Hammond: *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, pp. 91, 92.

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Skeat: *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, v, 219.

<sup>4</sup> See edition by Thor Sundby for Chaucer Society (1873), p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> See Keller and Holder's ed. of Horace (Leipzig, 1864), ii, p. 221.

<sup>6</sup> Skeat, v, 439.

<sup>7</sup> G. L. Hamilton: *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde to Guido Delle Colonne's Historia Trojana*, pp. 143 f.

<sup>8</sup> With the omission of the first word.

(3) In lines 251, 252 of the same tale (*C. T. H* 355, 356),

Thing that is seyð, is seyð; and forth it gooth  
Though him repente, or be him leef or looth,

Chaucer appears to be echoing the thought of Horace *Epistle* 1. 18.71:

et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum.

He may have found the line, as Skeat observes,<sup>9</sup> in *Le Roman de la Rose* 16746-8, or in the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*.<sup>10</sup>

(4) In this tale again, lines 12-14 (*C. T. H* 116-118),

Certes the king of Thebes, Amphion,  
That with his singing walled that citee,  
Coude never singen half so wel as he,

remind us of Horace, *Ars Poetica* 394 f.:

dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor urbis  
saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda  
ducere quo vellet.

But the story of Amphion is such a commonplace in medieval literature that there is no special reason for thinking that Chaucer went to Horace for it. Lounsbury notes<sup>11</sup> that it is referred to more than once by Statius, and that it is given in full by Boccaccio in the *De Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*.<sup>12</sup>

(5) Lines 164-166 of the B-version of the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*,

But I ne clepe nat innocence folye,  
Ne fals pitee, for 'vertu is the mene,'  
As Etik saith, in swich maner I mene,

contain, as Professor Lowes has pointed out,<sup>13</sup> the same doctrine as is expressed in Horace *Epistle* I.18.9:

virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum.

Professor Lowes calls attention to the fact that the Latin line is paraphrased by John of Salisbury in the *Polycraticus* 8.13.<sup>14</sup>

For the following three passages, the editors of Chaucer have not pointed out, so far as I know, any ready second-hand references:

<sup>9</sup> Skeat, v, 443.

<sup>10</sup> See Thor Sundby, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> T. R. Lounsbury: *Studies in Chaucer*, ii, 262.

<sup>12</sup> Lib. v, cap. 30. For Chaucer's familiarity with this work, see Lounsbury, ii, 232 f.

<sup>13</sup> See the article on Chaucer's "Etik" in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxv, 87-89.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

- (1) Lines 22 ff. in Book ii of *Troilus and Criseyde*,

Ye knowe eek, that in forme of speche is chaunge  
 With-inne a thousand yeer, and wordes tho  
 That hadden prys, now wonder nyce and straunge  
 Us thinketh hem; and yet they spake hem so, etc.—

are apparently borrowed from Horace, *Ars Poetica* 70-72:

Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque  
 quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,  
 quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.

But since quotations from the *Ars Poetica* were so frequent in the Middle Ages,<sup>15</sup> we need not suppose that Chaucer took the verses directly from Horace. John of Salisbury quotes them twice in the *Metalogicus*,<sup>16</sup> and it is just possible that Chaucer copied them from him.<sup>17</sup>

- (2) Lines 1028-1036 of the second book of *Troilus and Criseyde*—where Chaucer refers to the harper who plays continually on one string—recall the *Ars Poetica* 355-356:<sup>18</sup>

ut citharoedus  
 Ridetur chorda qui semper oberrat eadem.

But, in all probability, the phrase "harping on one string" became proverbial at an early date, and hence this proves nothing as to Chaucer's familiarity with Horace.<sup>19</sup>

- (3) Lines 1041-1043 of the same book of *Troilus and Criseyde*,

For if a peyntour wolde peynte a pyk  
 With asses feet, and hede it as an ape  
 It cordeth nought; so nere it but a Iape,

<sup>15</sup> Skeat, II, lii f.

<sup>16</sup> *Metalogicus* 1.16 and 3.3. See J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, 2nd series, vol. 199 (Paris, 1855). Line 72 is quoted again in the same work 3.4. See Keller and Holder, *op. cit.*, ii, 336.

<sup>17</sup> To my knowledge, there are no other instances of Chaucer's borrowing from the *Metalogicus*.

<sup>18</sup> Lounsbury, II, 261.

<sup>19</sup> Skeat includes this passage from Chaucer in his *Early English Proverbs*, p. 70. In *The Proverbs, Epigrams and Miscellanies* of John Heywood, we find such expressions as "Ye harp on the string that giveth no melody." "harping on that string," "Harp no more on that string" (See edition by J. S. Farmer, London, 1906, pp. 63, 96, 184). Lounsbury, in commenting upon this passage, says (ii, 262) that it is "one of those comparisons that are too inevitable in their nature to warrant the drawing of inferences of any sort." I have not been able to find any second-hand source where Chaucer might conveniently have found Horace quoted.



are certainly very much like the opening verses of the *Ars Poetica*. "While the objects selected for comparison vary, the ideas are essentially the same."<sup>20</sup> In this case, John of Salisbury again may have been Chaucer's source, for Horace's verses are partly quoted in the *Polycraticus* 2.18:<sup>21</sup>

disiuncta coniungit, ut si humano capiti cervicem iungat equinam varias  
inducens undique plumas, ut iuxta poetam turpiter atrum desinat in piscem  
mulier formosa superne.<sup>22</sup>

HARRIET SEIBERT.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

#### SOURCES OF *In Memoriam* IN TENNYSON'S EARLY POEMS

Among the discarded poems of Tennyson's 1830 volume is a group of somewhat irregular sonnets entitled "Love."<sup>1</sup> The first nineteen lines of the group express the central conceptions of *In Memoriam* with remarkable fidelity to its spirit and phraseology. When we consider that these sonnets were written more than three years before the death of Hallam, the significance of the parallel becomes apparent.

Few of the author's discarded poems have been suppressed as effectually as these sonnets. Omitted from every authorized edition since their first appearance, they are ignored as completely in Baker's *Concordance* of 1914 as in Brightwell's of 1869. It is true that they have recently come into print again (as in Collins' *The Early Poems of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, and in the appendix to Rolfe's edition of the *Works*); but here it is only an inconspicuous appearance in small type and without comment.

As far back as 1879 it was suggested<sup>2</sup> that "it is . . . indispensable to the right understanding of *In Memoriam* that we should see what Tennyson had actually accomplished during the life-time of Hallam;" but as far as I have been able to learn, there

<sup>20</sup> Lounsbury, II, 262; Skeat, II, 472.

<sup>21</sup> John of Salisbury quotes the 4th line of this passage again in the *Polycraticus* 2.15. See Keller and Holder, *op. cit.*, II, 327, 8.

<sup>22</sup> For Chaucer's knowledge of the *Polycraticus*, see Lounsbury, II, 362-4; Hamilton, pp. 143 f.; W. W. Woollcombe in Chaucer Society Essays, 2nd ser., no. 16, pp. 295 ff. (an argument that Chaucer was not a borrower from John of Salisbury); J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 100; also see John of Salisbury in index of Skeat, vol. VI.

<sup>1</sup> The third of the group contains sixteen lines.

<sup>2</sup> Shepherd's *Tennysonian*, 2d ed., 1879, p. 26.

has been, as yet, no systematic study of the subject. Certain parallels have been noted,<sup>3</sup> chiefly in matters of phraseology, between the *Poems by Two Brothers* and *In Memoriam*, but these can hardly be supposed to have great significance. *The Two Voices* is often mentioned as a companion poem to the elegy, but its uncertain date forbids a fair comparison. It was not begun until the year of Hallam's death, and may even be considered little earlier than some parts of *In Memoriam* which it most resembles.

In addition to these, scattered lines in the volumes of 1830 and 1833 show resemblances to the later poem in single details. The immortality of love was a favorite theme of Tennyson's before he had attained his majority; witness the following lines:

Life, anguish, death, immortal love<sup>4</sup>  
And it sings a song of undying love<sup>5</sup>

The power of love over death is implied in his reference to  
her, who knew that Love can conquer Death<sup>6</sup>

The scientific spirit of inquiry, coupled with a desire to seek a higher knowledge from love, is already preluded in these lines:

thy love  
Enlighten me. Oh teach me yet  
Somewhat before the heavy clod  
Weighs on me, and the busy fret  
Of that sharpheaded worm begins  
In the gross blackness underneath.<sup>7</sup>

But far more significant than these fragments is the notable resemblance which the three sonnets bear to *In Memoriam*. The following passage expresses in a condensed form all, or nearly all, of the central conceptions of the later poem:<sup>8</sup>

# I

Thou, from the first, unborn, undying love,  
Albeit we gaze not on thy glories near,  
Before the face of God did'st breathe and move,  
Though night and pain and ruin and death reign here.  
Thou foldest, like a golden atmosphere,  
The very throne of the eternal God:  
Passing through thee the edicts of his fear  
Are mellowed into music, borne abroad  
By the loud winds, though they uprend the sea,  
Even from its central deeps: thine empery

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Recollections of the Arabian Nights*, l. 73, edition of 1830. In this and the subsequent citations, all references are to the original editions of 1830 and 1833 for the early poems, and to the authorized edition of 1911 for *In Memoriam*.

<sup>5</sup> *The Poet's Mind*, l. 33.

<sup>6</sup> *A Dream of Fair Women*, l. 297.

<sup>7</sup> *Supposed Confessions of a Secondrate Sensitive Mind Not in Unity with Itself*, l. 182 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Love*, l. 19.

Is over all: thou wilt not brook eclipse;  
 Thou goest and returnest to His lips  
 Like lightning: thou dost ever brood above  
 The silence of all hearts, unutterable Love.

## II

To know thee is all wisdom, and old age  
 Is but to know thee: dimly we behold thee  
 Athwart the veils of evil which infold thee.  
 We beat upon our aching hearts in rage;  
 We cry for thee

The similarities of diction and imagery are much less important than those of thought, but the following detailed comparisons may be suggestive:

Strong Son of God, immortal Love,  
 Whom we, that have not seen thy face<sup>9</sup>—Cf. *Love*, I, 1-2.  
 Who trusted God was love indeed  
 And love Creation's final law<sup>10</sup>—Cf. I, 4-8.  
 That mind and soul, according well,  
 May make one music as before<sup>11</sup>—Cf. I, 7-8.  
 No lapse of moons can canker Love<sup>12</sup>—Cf. I, 11.  
 in thy wisdom make me wise<sup>13</sup>—Cf. II, 1-2.  
 What hope of answer, or redress?  
 Behind the veil, behind the veil.<sup>14</sup>—Cf. II, 2-3.  
 To lull with song an aching heart<sup>15</sup>—Cf. II, 4.  
 An infant crying in the night<sup>16</sup>—Cf. II, 5.

It would seem, then, that Tennyson's conception of the divinity and immortality of love, its relation to law in life, and its importance to the individual, were much the same before Hallam's death as afterwards. Already we find him insisting that love must be taken as a matter of faith (I. 2) and of human experience (II. 13-14). Already we find him expressing his mystical doctrine of the nature of love in the terms of contemporary theology, but with a different signification.

But there is nothing in the sonnets corresponding to the choral songs scattered through *In Memoriam*, which tell of the poet's feeling toward his own art. It is especially suggestive to compare the early line "We beat upon our aching hearts in rage" with the corresponding line of the later poem, "To lull with song an aching heart." The author had not yet learned how dear to him his art would prove. When the real sorrow came into his life, he did not beat upon his heart in rage, but found relief in song.

JOHN ROBERT MOORE.

University of Wisconsin.

<sup>9</sup> *In Memoriam*, Prologue, 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, LVI, 18.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Prologue, 27-28.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVI, 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Prologue, 44.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, LVI, 27-28.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 18.



## AN APOLOGY FOR THE LIFE OF MRS. SHAMELA ANDREWS, 1741

In his *Samuel Richardson* (Eng. Men of Letters, 1902) Mr. Austin Dobson discusses the authorship of the above parody on Richardson's *Pamela*, but does not decide the question for us. The evidence that he brings forward seems to support Miss Thomson's conjecture (*Samuel Richardson*, London, 1900, p. 38) that it is not improbable that Henry Fielding wrote this pamphlet. In a recent examination of a copy in the possession of the Yale Library, I have found further evidence to support such a conjecture; and I am now tempted to state positively that *Shamela* is the work of Fielding.

There is in Fielding's prose a peculiarity of word-usage that affords a mechanical test for his style, and this is his almost invariable use of *hath*, *doth*, *whilst*, *durst*, etc., in place of the *has*, *does*, etc., which his contemporaries generally used. I have already examined the prose of a great number of his fellow writers and have found only two men who employ *hath*, *doth*, etc.—William Mason, the poet, and Joshua Brogden, Fielding's clerk. Consequently, when I find this usage in a work that on other grounds is possibly Fielding's, I feel that there is a presumption strongly in favor of his having written it. Such a test is applicable to *Shamela*, and when it is applied, it reveals an almost invariable use of *hath*, *doth*, and *whilst*. There are several exceptions—in three cases *has* is found, but in each instance the text is quoted from a contemporary. These would, consequently, seem to prove the rule; and on the basis of this evidence (Mason was too young at the time and Brogden too limited in his ability to have written the pamphlet) I feel that I have good grounds for a presumption that this parody is the work of Fielding.

Further new evidence is not lacking. Compare these passages:

*Shamela*, p. 55:

"Vice exposed in nauseous and odious Colours."

*Covent-Garden Journal*, No. 20:

"Vice in its proper odious Colours."

*Shamela*, p. 55:

"As to the Character of Parson Williams, I am sorry it is a true one. Indeed those who do not know him, will hardly believe it so; but what Scandal doth it throw on the Order to have one bad Member, unless they endeavour to screen and protect him?"

*Champion*, March 29, 1740:

"... I have already [in the issue of March 6th] condemned the custom of throwing scandal on a whole profession for the vices of some particular members." ... "But there is an error directly opposite to this ... I mean that protection which some persons would draw from their professions ..." (Henley Edition, xv, 261).

*Shamela*, p. 5:

"As for Honour to the Clergy, I am sorry to see them so solicitous about it; for if worldly Honour be meant, it is what their Predecessors in the pure and primitive Age, never had or sought. Indeed the secure Satisfaction of a good Conscience, the Approbation of the Wise and Good, . . . and the extatick Pleasure of contemplating, that their Ways are acceptable to the Great Creator of the Universe, will always attend those, who really deserve these Blessings: But for worldly Honours, they are often the Purchase of Force and Fraud, we sometimes see them in an eminent Degree possessed by Men, who are notorious for Luxury, Pride, Cruelty, Treachery . . ."

*Champion*, March 29, 1740:

"But here I would not be understood to mean [with reference to honouring the clergy] what we vulgarly call honour and dignity in a worldly sense, such as pomp or pride, or flattery, or any of this kind, to which indeed nothing can be so opposite, as will appear from examining into the qualities which are laid down as absolutely necessary to form this character, and indeed must be understood so, as they are no other than the copies of their great Master's." (Henley Edition, xv, 264.)

Certainly there is a parallelism here that strengthens my presumption; but in view of all the evidence at hand, the most that I can say is that it is very probable that this pamphlet is the work of Fielding.

GERARD E. JENSEN.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

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#### NOTES ON GÖTTINGEN AND THE *Harzreise*

Among the contemporaneous sources of information concerning student life at Göttingen during the first quarter of the last century *Der Göttinger Student*<sup>1</sup> seems hitherto to have escaped notice. With naïve but intense enthusiasm the author pictures the student life of his day, remembering always his rôle as advisor to the prospective *Fuchs*. The result is a fairly clear picture of the Göttingen to which Heine came only seven years later and which he describes with such vitriolic pen in the *Harzreise*. The comparison of the

<sup>1</sup> *Der Göttinger Student oder Bemerkungen, Rathschläge und Belehrungen über Göttingen und das Studenten-Leben auf der Georgia Augusta. mit acht Kupfertafeln. Göttingen im Vandenhoeck und Ruprechtschen Verlage, 1813* Allen angehenden Söhnen der hehren Georgia Augusta vorzugsweise gewidmet von einem abgehenden Zögling und heissem Verehrer der Musen. A copy of this work came into the hands of the writer as a gift from Dr. F. Hempel of Göttingen, great-grandson of the Hempel therein mentioned as Professor of Anatomy (p. 23). Copies are in existence at the libraries of Columbia University (Teachers' College) and Harvard University.

two works is rendered doubly interesting by the wide difference in point of view between the authors.

In the following I have cited a word or passage from the *Harzreise*, appending material from *Der Göttinger Student* in illustration or explanation. The figures in parentheses refer to the *Student*—those in brackets indicate page and line in Elster's edition of Heine, vol. 3.

*Lüder* [15, 7] This disputed name in the *Harzreise* may perhaps refer to the Lüder mentioned in the following paragraph, or it is quite within the range of possibility that Heine had a dog named after the professor in question: "Die Universität besitzt im Ganzen jetzt 40 Professoren, nemlich 34 ordentliche und 6 ausserordentliche. Die theologische Facultät nimmt davon vier; die juristische sechs; die medicinische neun; und die philosophische ein und zwanzig. Planck, Stäudlin; Waldeck, Hugo, Meister; Crell, Blumenbach, Ossiander, Himly, Langenbeck; Eichhorn, Heeren, Gauss, Reuss, Mayer, Schulze, Lüder, Hausmann;—diess sind etwa die Namen der berühmtesten und bekanntesten Männer, obgleich fast alle übrigen ihre Posten auch mit Ruhm bekleiden" (p. 37).

*ein ungebundenes Exemplar* [16, 7] Various descriptions in the *Student* fail to bear out Heine's implication here and in the accompanying paragraph regarding the roughness of student life in Göttingen:

"Abgesehen von diesen zeitlichen Störungen herrscht gewiss in Göttingen ein grosser Fleiss, ein guter Ton, ein gesittetes Betragen unter den Studenten; wenigstens im Vergleich mit vielen anderen Universitäten ist alles drey in hohem Grade vorhanden. Junge Leute, die bloss studiren, um Studenten zu seyn, gibts in der That wenige; sie werden auch nicht geduldet. Sogenannte Renommisten kennt man fast nur der Beschreibung nach, oder aus dem Anblick durchreisender oder ankommender junger Leute jener Art von anderen Universitäten; denn diejenigen, welche man in Göttingen für Renommisten hält, spielen anderer Orten nur eine mittelmässige Rolle, und können sich mit Jenen nicht messen. Man klagt vielfältig, dass der feine Ton der Vorzeit jetzt nicht mehr unter den Studenten zu finden sey, indem die Ankömmlinge anderer Universitäten rohe Sitten mitgebracht hätten. Ich halte diess einigermaßen für ungegründet, erstens: weil die alten Leute so gern von schlechteren Zeiten, verdorbenen Sitten u. s. w. reden, und zweytens, weil das Schlechtere so leicht angenommen wird, dass man in Göttingen darin schon weit mehr vorgerückt seyn müsste. Dagegen scheint mir der gute Ton in Göttingen so fest eingewurzelt zu seyn, dass er selbst auf die Ankömmlinge anderer Universitäten vorthellhaft wirkt; denn kaum haben diese die Göttinger Lebensweise kennen gelernt, und sie bequemen sich schon nach derselben, legen die mitgebrachten Manieren ab und sind nach kurzer Zeit nicht von den älteren hiesigen Studirenden zu unterscheiden" (pp. 44-45).



*Pfeifenquäste* [16, 11] This would seem to indicate that smoking pipes on the street was common in Heine's day. It is quite possible that the return of students from the war brought a rougher tone into student life in general before Heine became a student at Göttingen. At any rate the *Student* in his chapter "Von den Rechten und Pflichten der Studenten" tells again a different story: "Das Rauchen auf der Strasse und dem Wall, die Jagd in den Stadtrevier, die Ausübung der medicinischen und chirurgischen Praxis ist den Studenten verboten" (pp. 103-4). In some semi-public places however this prohibition seems not to have been enforced: "Das deutsche Haus. Hier pflegt jedoch nur Sonntags Abends Gesellschaft zu seyn, vorzüglich Tanzlustige beyderlei Geschlechts. Der Tanzsaal ist zwar gross und schön, allein er pflegt bald durch die Ausdünstungen und den Staub mit einer üblen Atmosphäre angefüllt zu seyn. Die Schönen sind aus der Classe der Wäscherinnen, Dienstmägde und Handwerkstöchter zusammen gesetzt; der Bursch geht deshalb auch, wenn er nicht tanzt, mit brennender Pfeife und bedecktem Kopfe auf dem Saale herum" (p. 123).

*Schäfer* [18, 18] The *Student* confirms Vos's conjecture that Schäfer was actually the name of the *Pedell*: "Wohnung. Wer die Auswahl eines Zimmers nicht bis zu seiner persönlichen Ueberkunft aufschieben will, auch keine studirende Freunde hat, welche dieselbe für ihn treffen können, der kann sich an den Logis-Commissair wenden; jetzt ist diess der Ober-Pedell Schäfer, ein sehr gefälliger prompter Mann, der die Aufträge gewissenhaft besorgt. Man muss ihm den Preis schreiben, und kann auch sonstige Wünsche hinzufügen" (pp. 85-86).

*Gottschalks Taschenbuch für Harzreisende* [23, 23-24] This was evidently the standard guide-book of the time and is so recognized by the *Student*. That the practice, common among students at Göttingen, of undertaking tours into the Harz received official encouragement, is indicated by the following:

"Der Harz. Wer in Göttingen studirte und nicht etwa aus der Nähe des Harzes her stammt, muss sich schämen, wenn er diese merkwürdigen norddeutschen Gebirge nicht besucht hat, da er ihnen doch so nahe war! Vorzüglich in den Pfingstferien pflegen sich Gesellschaften von Studenten zu vereinigen, oft 12 bis 20 Mann stark, und treten mit einem kleinen Tornister, worin etwas reine Wäsche, mit einer Pfeife, einer Schnabsflasche, in leichter Kleidung zu Fuss die Reise an. Der Herr Professor Hausmann pflegt jeden Sommer öffentlich eine belehrende Vorlesung für die Harzreisenden zu halten; wer diese nicht hören konnte, muss sich aus Gottschalks Werk über den Harz belehren. Binnen 8 Tagen pflegen die Reisenden zwar ermüdet, aber an Kenntnissen bereichert, an Körper und Geist gestärkt, zurückzukehren. Man bestimmt die Reisekosten gewöhnlich auf 3 Louisd'or" (pp. 130-131).

The *Göttinger Student* was finished in September, 1813, as is shown by the date of the introduction. A month later the decisive battle at Leipzig took place, and the six years which followed marked the rise and suppression of that outburst of youthful patriotism which manifested itself in the formation of the first *Allgemeine Deutsche Burschenschaft*. The few years which lie between the *Student* and Heine's Göttingen were filled with events which may well have changed the whole tenor of student life—a fact which may help to account for certain discrepancies between the two.

P. R. KOLBE.

*Municipal University of Akron.*

### BUT ME NO BUTS

The following additions to Mr. A. C. Potter's list in the *Modern Language Notes*, xxx, 160, may be cited:

- "Tinkers (quod you), tinke me no tinkes." [*Common Conditions*.]
- "Hang me no hangings." [*Horestes*, 371.]
- "Founder me no founderings." [*Respublica*, 50.]
- "Typhon me no Typhons." [Kyd, ed. Boas, p. 173.]
- "Force him no forces." [Nashe, ed. McKerrow, III, p. 99.]
- "Cucke me no cuckes." [Chapman, *An Humorous Dayes Mirth*.]
- "Planet me no planets." [*The Rebellion*, Hazlitt's Dodsley, xiv, p. 75.]
- "Parish me no parishes." [Peele, ed. Dyce, p. 29.]
- "Crown me no crowns." [*Lingua*, II, i.]
- "Cause me no causes." [Massinger, *A New Way* . . . I, iii.]
- "Virgin me no virgins." [*Ibid.*, III, ii.]
- "End me no ends." [*Ibid.*, v, i.]
- "Private me no privates." [Th. Heywood, *The English Travelier*.]
- "Lady me no ladies." [Shadwell, *Teague o' Divilly*.]
- "Dresse me no dressings." [*Late Lancashire Witches*.]
- "Boot me no boots." [Tatham, *The Rump*, I, i.]
- "Good me no goods." [Wilson, *The Cheats*, II, iii.]
- "Conscience me no conscience." [*Ibid.*, III, v.]
- "Flame me no flame." [Shirley, *The Court Secret*, I, i.]
- "Grace me no graces." [Yarington, *Two Murders* . . . , III, ii.]
- "Star me no stars." [Day, *Humour out of Breath*, I, iii.]
- "Signet me no signets." [*Ibid.*, IV, iii.]
- "Hold me no holds." [Day, *Blind Beggar* . . . , II, ii.]
- "Suspect me no suspects." [*Ibid.*]
- "Pray me no praying." [Cokain, *Trappolin Creduto Principe*, III, i.]
- "Kind me no kind." [S. Rowlands, *Greene's Ghost*, p. 29.]
- "Alter me no alters." [*Club Law*, v, iii.]
- "Fish me no fishing." [Phineas Fletcher, *Sicelides*, III, iv.]
- "Nyk me not with nay." [Towneley Plays, p. 323, l. 571.]
- "Al nykked hym wyth nay." [*Gawain and the Green Knight*, l. 706.]
- "No wold thai niek him with no nay." [*Amis and Amiloun*, l. 2176.]

Browning has:

"nuptial me no nuptials." [Cambridge ed., p. 956.]

For "plat me no platforms" my references are lacking.

*Armour Institute of Technology.*

C. B. COOPER.

CHAUCER'S *fraknes*

In my recent paper, "The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight" (*Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* xx, 161-240), I ventured to suggest (p. 167) that the *fraknes* of *K. T.* 1311 might be a euphemism for pock-marks. A confirmation of this suggestion, tho from documents of a later period, may be observed in the citations of *Pock-frecken*, *Pock-freckled*, *New Eng. Dic.* (under *Pock*): "1530 PALSGR. 256/1 Poke frekyns, *picqueterre* or *picquotterre de uerolle*. 1695 *Lond. Gaz.* No. 3134/4 Mary Scarlet, . . . thin visage, swarthy complexion, pock frecken. 1714 *Ibid.* No. 5223/4 A spare middle-siz'd Man, Poekfreckled and Ruddy Complexion."

ALBERT S. COOK.

Yale University.

## A DIALOGUE BY BOILEAU

I came recently on the following entry, under date of February, 1684, and under the classification "Miscellanies," in the "Catalogue of Books Printed and Published at London, in Hillary Term (1683/84)," contained in Arber's reprint of *The Term Catalogues*, (II, 62): "The Infernal Observator, or the Quickening Dead. In a dialogue written lately in French by Mr. Boileau, and now made English. Octavo. Sold by B. Tooke at the Ship in St. Paul's Churchyard; W. Davis in Amen Corner; and Mr. Beaulieu in Duke's Court, against St. Martin's Church." Whether this book is extant or not I do not know; I have not been able to trace it. But can anyone throw any light on the "dialogue written lately in French by Mr. Boileau"? If "Mr. Boileau" is the author of the *Art Poétique*, the dialogue may be one of three things,—a work that has not come down to us, or the *Fragment d'un Dialogue contre les Modernes qui font des vers latins*, or the *Dialogue des Morts* (the name given to the pirated editions of the work known in its authoritative form as *Les Héros de Roman*). Boileau had composed both of these prior to 1674, but it does not appear that anyone except Brossette had any knowledge of the *Fragment*; Boileau did not even write it down;<sup>1</sup> besides, the title of the English translation does not correspond with the subject-matter of the *Fragment*. As to the *Dialogue des Morts*, he composed it in 1664-65, and recited it to friends; but, as far as I know, it has always been accepted by scholars that its first (unauthorized) appearance in print was in the second volume of the collection known as *Le Retour des Pièces Choiesies, ou Bigarrures Curieuses*, published at Emmerich

<sup>1</sup> See Gidel's ed. of Boileau, III, 235, note.



in Rhenish Prussia in 1688.<sup>2</sup> Does the entry in *The Term Catalogues* suggest that there was an earlier pirated edition of this dialogue in French, unknown to scholars? Or can sufficient emphasis be placed on the word "written" in the phrase "a dialogue written lately in French" to justify the belief that this English translation was made from the French manuscript of someone who heard Boileau recite the piece and copied it down? Our only alternative is to believe that there was another Boileau, contemporary with the great one (and well enough known to the English public to need no distinguishing Christian name), who wrote at almost the same time a dialogue of which the subject-matter and title must have been singularly like those of Despréaux's work (in order to justify the title of the English translation). It would be rather piquant if Boileau's work had first attained the dignity of type in the English language.

A. F. BRUCE CLARK.

University College, Toronto.

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#### BRIEF MENTION

*Chaucer and his Poetry.* Lectures delivered in 1914 on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation in the Johns Hopkins University, by George Lyman Kittredge (Cambridge, at the Harvard University Press, 1915). The Turnbull Lectures on *Chaucer and his Poetry* are more than a notable *fait accompli*; they are also an omen. And it is the significance of Professor Kittredge's book rather than primarily the book itself with which this note is concerned.

The development of Chaucerian scholarship within the last three or four decades has been a peculiarly interesting one. For it has represented a succession of preoccupations, now with this, now with that relatively circumscribed area within the larger confines of a wide and varied field. The conquest of the kingdom, like the winning of pre-Chaucerian England itself, has come through the slow reduction of shire after shire. The emphasis in the earlier days was, as it had to be, upon problems of language and text—the indispensable foundation for any further study whatsoever. Then gradually the stress was shifted to the active quest of sources, and that in turn yielded first place to the minute scrutiny of problems of chronology. To the short-sighted observer (and there has been no speech or language where their voice has not been heard) Chaucerian scholarship seemed to be engrossed with problems—whether of language, text, sources, or chronology—fascinating in themselves, but alien to the supreme end of literary investigation, the interpre-

<sup>2</sup> See Crane's ed. of the *Héros de Roman*, Boston, 1902, p. 37.

tation and illumination of a great writer's art. The objectors have been, of course, both right and wrong. The ultimate end of Chaucerian investigation is the "appreciation" of Chaucer. But such an appreciation, to be valid or adequate, must rest upon a synthesis of the bewilderingly manifold and complex elements that enter into his life and art. Towards that synthesis all the seeming absorption in problems has been steadily tending—sometimes unconsciously, oftener with full recognition of its goal. And of late there have been abundant signs, not that the need for analysis was past, but that the time for at least a preliminary synthesis was ripe. And in the book before us the intensely special and critical scholarship of the past decades has justified itself by its result—a vital and luminous and comprehensive interpretation of Chaucer and his art.

The significance of the book, then, lies in the fact that such an interpretation, alive to its finger-tips, is what it is, not in spite of, but by reason of its saturation with the results of all the minute and special scholarship that has been lavished upon Chaucer for years past. None of this shows. The foundations are where they belong—underground; the builder's paraphernalia are back in the workshop; the scaffolding is gone. To the uninitiated reader the book is a series of delightful and illuminating *causeries*. Yet behind a lightness of touch that completely conceals the erudition, and a humor as pervasive and a vernacular as racy as Chaucer's own, stretch the so-called arid deserts of research. There are paragraphs by the dozen that mask successfully a whole battery of volumes, and an innocent-seeming sentence urbanely harbours you a brace of dissertations. The scrannel pipes of research under Mr. Kittredge's fingers discourse most eloquent music. And the signal distinction of the lectures is precisely their transmutation of the results of rigidly technical investigation into the fine flower of critical interpretation. The hour had come for such a synthesis, and the volume marks, it may be hoped, the initiation of a new stage in the progress of Chaucerian scholarship.

The plan and in large measure the treatment of the book are determined by the fact that it is a series of lectures. It makes no pretense to completeness—although it achieves the effect of completeness more nearly than many an exhaustive treatise. Professor Kittredge assumes four stages of Chaucer's poetical activity—the long recognized French, Italian, and "English" periods, and between the first and second a Period of Transition. From each of these four periods a single work is chosen as typical. The French period is represented by the *Book of the Duchess*; the Period of Transition, by the *House of Fame*; the Italian period, by the *Troilus*; and the final period, by the *Canterbury Tales*. To the *Canterbury Tales* two lectures are devoted; to each of the other poems, one; and a preliminary lecture—a vivid presentment of the modernness of the Middle Ages and the Chaucerianess of Chaucer—deals with "The Man and his Times." Throughout the discussions Mr.

Kittredge brings forth out of his treasure things new and old. Some important contributions—such as the demonstration of the existence of a Period of Transition, and the recognition of the Marriage Group among the *Canterbury Tales*—with which students of Chaucer are familiar in the lecturer's more technical writings, reappear here in a new perspective. And there are fresh contributions as well—notably the illuminating conception of "the Dreamer" in the *Book of the Duchess*, and the analysis of the characters of Troilus, Pandarus, and especially Cressida, in the *Troilus*. But the highest value of the book, be it said again, is not in this or that specific addition which it makes to the sum of our information about Chaucer. It is in its illumination of the whole field by an unsurpassed knowledge of the period, turned to account by a critical faculty which is here essentially creative. What it offers to the larger reading public needs no comment. But it is a question whether it will not exercise an even more powerful influence through its use as an indispensable companion to every College or University course in Chaucer.

J. L. L.

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*The Assumption of the Virgin: a Miracle Play from the N-Town Cycle.* Edited by W. W. Greg (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1915. 8vo., 75 pages). It is to be noticed at once that this monograph is issued as the first number of promised "Studies in the Religious Drama." The next three numbers of this series, "in preparation," are in advance entitled: "II. The Chester Antichrist Play: parallel texts of the Peniarth and Devonshire mss.; III. The Doctors Play: parallel texts from the York, Wakefield, Coventry, and Chester Cycles; IV. An Essay towards the History of the N-Town Cycle." This is an attractive group of timely subjects, giving further indication of fresh impulses in the study of the Cyclic Plays, by which former conclusions are being revised and new problems set. Such contributions as "The Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries" (*Pub. M. L. A. of A.*, xxiv, 419 f.), by F. W. Cady, and "The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric" (*Modern Philology*, v, 1 f.), by George C. Taylor, are sufficiently illustrative of what may be gained by suggesting new points of view, and by encouraging a suspension of judgment on the final inquiry of how the cycles are related to each other. As shown by his announcement, Mr. Greg is investigating the "History of the N-Town Cycle," for which preliminary studies must be undertaken. He will, therefore, welcome Mr. John K. Bonnell's admirable observations on "The Source in Art of the so-called *Prophets Play* in the Hegge Collection" (*Pub. M. L. A. of A.*, xxix, 327 f.), and he will take minute account of the comprehensive investigation of Miss Esther L. Swenson, "An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of the *Ludus Coventriae*. With



a Note on the Home of the Ludus Coventriae by Hardin Craig." (Minneapolis, Bulletin of the University of Minnesota, 1914). In the first instalment of his "Studies," which is now published, Mr. Greg deals in a new way with the problem of the forty-first play, *The Assumption of the Virgin*. The text of the play is reproduced from the ms. "as exactly as possible," and "matters of interpretation" are brought together in a chapter of critical notes. The ms. is further represented by two facsimile pages, to show that the hand of the Assumption play differs from that of the main portion of the cycle. Turning now to Mr. Greg's Introduction, he is found to urge the conviction that the scribe of the inserted play was contemporary with the main scribe, the entire ms. being rubricated at one time and by one person. The dialect is minutely examined on the basis of Max Kramer's dissertation (1892), with the result that "whatever conclusions the phonetic evidence may justify as to the cycle as a whole, will be equally valid for the Assumption play in particular." What is strikingly new in Mr. Greg's study relates to the meter of the play, which the rubricator has curiously distinguished by the use of an additional symbol, a small paragraph, at the head of lines that do not belong to the regular stanzas, but are inserted between them. These interstanzaic lines are designated intercalary, and their origin, metrical relation, and organic purpose give exercise to Mr. Greg's skill in conjecture. The play is thus discovered to be marked off by a prosodic feature that is believed to be unique. Mr. Greg's presentation of the matter will attract the eager attention of the prosodist. Finally, Mr. Greg will be thanked for supplying the text of the *De Assumptione* from the *Legenda Aurea*.

J. W. B.

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Professor Malcolm William Wallace, of University College, Toronto, has published *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge University Press; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915) which, it is safe to say, will take its place as the standard authority on the subject. The writer has gone to the original sources of information, and he has shown excellent critical judgment in the manner in which he has used his materials. The merits of the work are on the biographical side. In this connection, *inter alia*, the author discusses very fully and satisfactorily the problem of *Astrophel and Stella*—the sincerity of Sidney's passion for Stella, the history of their relations to one another, and the bearing of the sonnets on the different phases of these relations. On the other hand, the number of pages devoted to the criticism of Sidney's works from the purely literary point of view is not very great. The discovery of new biographical materials was hardly to be expected. Professor Wallace, however, has been able to add some new data to our pre-

vious knowledge of Sidney's life. He has unearthed an account-book of the poet's school-days at Shrewsbury, which sheds some light on his boyhood. He has also shown how at one time the project of a marriage between Sidney and a sister of William of Orange was seriously entertained. In the main, however, he has had to rely upon the old sources of information, and accordingly, the general outlines of Sidney's character, which is admirably summed up in the Postscript to this volume, remain the same as before. The image of Sidney—the "world's wonder," "that rare more-than-man"—as it appeared to his contemporaries, is now irrecoverable, and doubtless would be so, even if the materials for his biography were more abundant than they are. The present faithful record of his career, which was at once so brilliant and so tragic, brings us, however, nearer to a comprehension of the man than any previous biography.

J. D. B.

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Dr. Carl A. Krause has recently published in book form four lectures given at the University of Marburg in the summer of 1914 (*Über die Reformmethode in Amerika*. With Preface by Dr. Max Walter, Director of the *Musterschule*, Frankfurt a. M. Marburg, Elwert, 1914. 67 pp.). The four chapters of the book deal with the following topics: (I) A brief outline of the American educational system. Growth and development of the Reform Method. Definition of this method and its application to American conditions. Mode of procedure and presentation of subject in its initial stages, with special emphasis on German phonology. (II) Grammar. Inductive *versus* deductive teaching of grammatical principles. The pedagogical advantages of the Reform Method as evidenced and demonstrated by practical results. (III) Regents' Examinations and Course of Study. A brief outline of what is being demanded by the Board of Regents in the semester examinations in German, and a detailed description of the four-year course in German. (IV) America's contribution to the methodological literature of modern foreign-language teaching from 1875 to 1913. The book offers a concise and skilful exposition of the fundamental principles of the Reform Method (better known as the Direct Method) as applied to actual school-room problems. Being the outgrowth of the author's own practice in one of the high schools of the City of New York, it will not fail to arouse the interest of every progressive teacher of German in our secondary schools, especially since Dr. Krause is known to be one of the most energetic champions of the Direct Method in this country. A sequel to the above is Dr. Krause's "Literature of Modern Language Methodology in America for 1914," *Monatshefte f. deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik*, Vol. XVI, No. 8.

C. M. P.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOLUME XXXI

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## SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR JONSON'S PLAYS

### PART II

#### *Every Man in His Humour*

##### Dedication.

"I am none of those, that can suffer the benefits confer'd vpon my youth, to perish with my age. It is a fraile memorie, that remembers but present things." Seneca, *De Ben.*, I, xii, 2: Apud paucos post rem manet gratia, plures sunt, apud quos non diutius in animo sunt donata quam in usu. III, xvii, 3: gratum hominem semper beneficium delectat, ingratum semel. Cf. the dedication of *Poetaster*: "A thankefull man owes a courtesie euer: the vn-thankefull, but when he needes it."

##### Prologue.

Though need make many poets, etc.

So Persius, *Saturae*, Prol. 9:

Magister artis ingenique largitor  
Venter.

##### III, ii:

Master Stephen has bought from Brainworm a rapier under the impression that it was a Toledo; but it is not a Toledo.

*Bray.* No sir, I confesse it, it is none.

*Step.* Doe you confesse it? gentlemen, beare wnesse, he has confest it. By gods will, and you had not confest it—

The jest is not original with Jonson. Was it original with Sir Thomas More? See *Mori Lucubrations*, 1563, 225:



## RIDICULUM, IN MINACEM

Thrasonis uxorem bubuleus rusticus  
 Absente eo uitiauerat.  
 Domum reuersus miles ut rem comperit,  
 Armatus & ferus insilit.  
 Tandem assecutus solum in agris rusticum,  
 Heus clamat heus heus furcifer.  
 Restat bubuleus, saxaque in sinum legit.  
 Ille ense stricto clamat,  
 Tu coniugem meam attigisti carnifex?  
 Respondit imperterritus,  
 Feci. fateris, inquit? At ego omnes Deos  
 Deasque testor o scelus,  
 In pectus hunc ense tibi capulo tenus,  
 Ni fassus esses, abderem.

## III, iii.

No greater hell, then to be slaue to feare.

Seneca is constantly emphasizing the fact that fear of what may happen is the greatest of evils. See *Ep.* xcvi, 7: *Nihil est nec miserius nec stultius quam praetimere.*

*Every Man out of His Humour*

## Dedication.

"Yet, I command, it lye not in the way of your more noble, and vse-full studies to the publike. For so I shall suffer for it: But, when the gowne and cap is off, and the Lord of liberty raignes; then, to take it in your hands, perhaps may make some Bencher, tinted with humanity, reade: and not repent him."

So Martial, x, xix, 12 ff.:

Sed ne tempore non tuo disertam  
 Pulses ebria ianuam, videto:  
 Totas dat tetricae dies Minervae, . . . .  
 Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas:  
 Haec hora est tua, cum furit Lyaeus,  
 Cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli:  
 Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.

The character of Macilente.

Macilente is the embodiment of envy, not hatred, and accordingly Jonson, in the Induction between I and II, carefully distinguishes between the two emotions. It seems probable that he has here in mind Plutarch's essay, *Of Envy and Hatred* (Transl. 1870, II. 95 ff.), in which an attempt is made to analyze both feelings. "Envy and Hatred are passions so like each other that they are

often taken for the same . . . . He who is in prosperity is equally an occasion of grief to the envious and to the malicious man; therefore we look upon benevolence, which is a willing our neighbor's good, as an opposite to both envy and hatred, and fancy these two to be the same because they have a contrary purpose to that of love . . . . Hatred proceeds from an opinion that the person we hate is evil, if not generally so, at least in particular to us . . . . But envy has only one sort of object, the felicity of others. Whence it becomes infinite, and, like an evil or diseased eye, is offended with every thing that is bright. On the other hand, hatred is always determined by the subject it adheres to . . . But hatred is often just; for there are some men so much to be avoided and disliked, that we should judge those worthy to be hated themselves who do not shun and detest them . . . . Again, extreme badness makes hatred more vehement and bitter."

It will be observed that Macilente's envious disposition shows itself more and more as courtesies are done him. Fastidious Brisk carries him to Court, whereupon Macilente betrays to Deliro the fact that Brisk has no standing there. Deliro receives Macilente into his house and furnishes him with fine raiment. Thereupon Macilente seizes the opportunity to kindle discord between husband and wife, and eventually to destroy Deliro's conceit of his own happiness. This behavior is agreeable to what Plutarch says, *ibid.*, 99: "Yet the first of these removes not envy, for men will persist in this vice, though they know they are not wronged; and the two latter (the esteem or credit of a person, and the bestowing a favor) do exasperate it more . . . and when they receive a kindness from any in prosperity, it is with reluctance, as though they grudged them not only the power but the will of conferring it." Compare, for instance, what Macilente says (II, iv) when Deliro welcomes him to his house 'to sojourne euen for euer':

I thanke you, sir:  
And yet the muffled fates (had it pleas'd them)  
Might haue suppli'd me, from their owne full store,  
Without this word (I thanke you) to a foole.  
I see no reason, why that dog (call'd Chaunce)  
Should fawne vpon this fellow, more then me:  
I am a man, and I haue limmes, flesh, bloud,  
Bones, sinewes, and a soule, as well as he:  
My parts are euery way as good as his,  
If I said better? why, I did not lie.

At the end of the play, in the first folio version, Macilente, having succeeded in his various plots, says:

Now is my soule at peace.  
I am as emptie of all enuie now,  
As they of merit to be enuied at.  
My humor (like a flame) no longer lasts  
Then it hath stufte to feed it, and their folly,  
Being now rak't vp in their repentant ashes,  
Affords no ampler subiect to my spleene.  
I am so farre from malicing their states,  
That I begin to pittie 'hem. It grieues me  
To thinke they haue a being. I could wish  
They might turne wise vpon it, and be sau'd now,  
So heauen were pleas'd."

This is almost a paraphrase of what Plutarch says, *ibid.*, 98: "So, on the other side, misfortunes cause envy to cease, but take not enmity away; for men will be malicious even toward abject enemies, but none envy the distressed. However, what was said by one of our Sophists, that the envious are tenderly inclinable to pity, is true; and in this appears a great unlikeness of these passions, that hatred leaves neither the happy nor the miserable, but envy becomes languid when its object has either prosperity or adversity in excess."

It will be observed that in the second version of the play, presented at Court, Macilente is cured of his envy, not as just described, but by the sight of the Queen.

Neuer till now did object greet mine eyes  
With any light content: but in her graces,  
All my malicious powers haue lost their stings.  
Enuie is fled my soule, at sight of her,  
And she hath chac'd all black thoughts from my bosome,  
Like as the sunne doth darknesse from the world.

The thought here is not exactly the same as in the following quotation from Plutarch, p. 98, but it is very similar and the simile in the last line makes Jonson's source for the idea quite certain: "Yet envy often gives place to the splendor of a matchless prosperity. For it is not likely that any envied Alexander or Cyrus, when they arrived at the height of their conquests and became lords of all. But as the sun, where he passes highest and sends down his beams most directly, has none or very little shadow, so they who are exalted to the meridian of fortune, shining aloof over the



head of envy, have scarce any thing of their brightness eclipsed, while envy retires, being driven away by the brightness overspreading it."

While we are on the subject of envy, it may be worth remarking that this emotion has in the last few generations ceased to occupy the important literary position that it formerly held. If we may judge by the frequency with which it is spoken of and the amount of space that is devoted to an analysis and a description of it and its various forms in the older literatures, whether of the Elizabethan or the classical period, whether in the literature of England or in that of the continent, envy was considered to be one of the major passions of mankind, quite comparable in importance and interest with hate or love or ambition. Curiously enough, modern writers do not have a great deal to say about it. As a spring of human action, it has been degraded to a very low position. To some extent this degradation is due to our modern desire to cast off the shackles of literary tradition. Yet I suspect that there is more in the phenomenon than this. There has been a real change in human nature. That human nature does change can hardly be denied by anyone who considers the question and tries candidly to think it through. For better or worse, we simply are not what our ancestors were. In respect to envy, there is no doubt that it does not play the part in our lives that it formerly did, and one cause of the difference (the causes are probably numerous and complex) may be readily pointed out. Social life used to be organized on a monarchical basis. Not only was there the court of the king, but each nobleman had his own in miniature. The usual way of attaining social importance was to attach yourself to one of the larger or smaller circles centering about those whose importance was hereditary. In that circle you rose perhaps by the caprice of your patron, perhaps by your own merit, perhaps by your skill in depressing others, perhaps by flattery, perhaps by fortune. The opportunities were few, the aspirants many. "It is in kings' courts," says Lucian (Fowler's translation, iv, 5), "that these creatures are mostly found; they thrive in the atmosphere of dominion and power, where envy is rife, suspicions innumerable, and the opportunities for flattery and back-biting endless. Where hopes are higher, there envy is more intense, hatred more reckless, and jealousy more unscrupulous. They all keep close watch upon one

another, spying like duellists for a weak spot. Every one would be first, and to that end shoves and elbows his neighbour aside, and does his best to pull back or trip the man in front of him. One whose equipment is limited to goodness is very soon thrown down, dragged about, and finally thrust forth with ignominy; while he who is prepared to flatter, and can make servility plausible, is high in credit, gets first to his end, and triumphs."

The complexity of modern civilization and the corresponding complexity of modern human nature (I am not using these words without a full sense of responsibility) as conditions bearing not alone upon characterization in fiction, but also upon the choice of motives on the part of the writer and upon the relative importance which these various motives possess, afford a problem of the highest interest, and one not yet touched by systematic investigation. Tragedy is interested therein as well as comedy.

Speech to Queen Elizabeth at end of play:

O heauen, that shee (whose presence hath effected  
This change in me) may suffer most late change  
In her admir'd and happie gouernement.

This use of 'late' is distinctly a Latinism; the word is employed precisely as 'serus' is in a passage like the following from Seneca, *Ad Pol. de Consol.*, XII, 5: sera et nepotibus demum nostris dies nota sit, qua illum gens sua coelo adserat. So in Horace, *Carm.*, I, ii, 45: serus in caelum redeas. One can only be puzzled by the strange use to which this passage has been put by van Dam and Stoffel (*Anglia*, XXVI, 386-7) in their argument that Jonson was not responsible for the second ending in the Folio version of the play. Aside from the facts that such Latinisms were more or less characteristic of Jonson's style and that the lines are evidently a reminiscence of such Latin expressions as those quoted above, the passage is perfectly clear in itself. Macilente is not hoping that "a change might come over the Queen's admired and happy government," but is hoping that the change (when it takes place, as he knows it must) will occur as late as possible. He is praying for Elizabeth's long life. The meaning that van Dam and Stoffel attach to his words is, as they very properly point out, "absurd to a degree." But it is their meaning, not the author's.

*New Inn*

To the Reader.

What did they come for, then? thou wilt ask me. I will as punctually answer: To see, and to be seen.

Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, I, 99:

Spectatum veniunt; veniunt, spectentur et ipsae.

*Poetaster*

V, iii, 149-51.

*Caes.* We know it, our deare Virgil, and esteeme it  
A most dishonest practice, in that man,  
Will seeme too wittie in anothers worke.

Martial, preface to Lib. I: Absit a iocorum nostrorum simplicitate malignus interpret nec epigrammata mea scribat: improbe facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est. This passage Jonson had also in mind in his letter to Salisbury, 1605.

Last line of song at end of play.

And apes are apes, though cloth'd in scarlet.

Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, transl. repr. 1900, p. 29: "A trite proverb, That an ape will be an ape, though clad in purple"; in *Adagia*, ed. 1649, pp. 151, 192, 491, he gives various Latin and Greek instances of the use of the proverb.

*Apol. Dial.* 129-32.

and those so sparingly,  
As all the rest might haue sate still, vnquestion'd,  
Had they but had the wit, or conscience,  
To thinke well of themselues.

Martial, as above: Spero me secutum in libellis meis tale temperamentum, ut de illis queri non possit quisquis de se bene senserit.

*Apol. Dial.* 213-5.

Where, if I proue the pleasure but of one,  
So he iudicious be; He shall b'alone  
A Theatre vnto me.

It may very well be that, as Gifford says, Jonson has a passage of Cicero in mind, but it is interesting to observe that another classical author, whom Jonson apparently knew as well as he did Cicero, has developed this idea at much greater length. Lucian's



*Harmonides* is built up entirely on this thought, except that he uses the simile of a jury rather than that of a theatre of spectators.

Some borrowings from Seneca in this dialogue are noted in the article on *Cynthia's Revels* referred to below.

*Sejanus*

Chapman's *In Sejanum*, 97 ff.

Performing such a lively Euidence  
in thy Narrations, that thy Hearers still  
Thou turnest to thy Spectators; and the sense  
That thy Spectators haue of good or ill,  
Thou inject'st joyntly to thy Readers soules.

Plutarch, *Whether the Athenians were more Warlike or Learned* (Translation, 1870, v, 402): "Therefore Thucydides always drives at this perspicuity, to make the hearer (as it were) a spectator, and to inculcate the same passions and perturbations of mind into his readers as they were in who beheld the causes of those effects." My note on the meaning of Chapman's lines must be accordingly modified.

Chapman, 123 ff.

so odorous Flowers  
being held too neere the Sensor of our Sense,  
Render not pure, nor so sincere their powers,  
As being held a little distance thence;  
Because much troubled Earthy parts improve them:  
Which mixed with the odors we exhall,  
Do vitiate what we drawe in. But remooove them  
A little space, the Earthy parts do fall,  
And what is pure, and hote by his tenuitye,  
is to our powers of Savor purely borne.

Chapman would seem to be thinking of Plutarch, *Symposiacs*, Transl. 1870, III, 223: "Thus a rose smells most fragrant at a distance; but if you bring it near the nose, it is not so pure and delightful; and the reason is this,—many earthy disturbing particles are carried with the smell, and spoil the fragrancie when near, but in a longer passage those are lost, and the pure brisk odor, by reason of its subtility, reaches and acts upon the sense."

Strachey's *Upon Sejanus*.

If men will shun swolne Fortunes ruinous blastes,  
Let them use Temperance. Nothing violent lastes.

Seneca, *Troades*, 258 ff.

violenta nemo imperia continuit diu,  
moderata durant; quoque Fortuna altius  
evexit ac levavit humanas opes,  
hoc se magis suppressere felicem decet  
variosque casus tremere metuentem deos  
nimium faventes.

I, i, 90.

God-like Cato. The phrase, as noted in my edition, is no doubt from Horace, but it is still interesting to compare Jonson's note on his use of the epithet 'god-like' in *Part of the King's Entertainment*: "An attribute giuen to great persons, fitly aboue other, humanity, and in frequent vse with all the greeke Poets, especially Homer Iliad a—*δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς*. And in the same booke.—*καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον*."

I, ii, 177-8.

Of all wilde beasts, preserue me from a tyranne;  
And of all tame, a flatterer.

Plutarch, *Banquet of the Seven Wise Men*, Transl. 1870, II, 5: "Another time, in a dispute that happened in your company about the nature of beasts, you [Thales] affirmed that of wild beasts, a king, of tame, a flatterer was the worst." But in *How to Know a Flatterer from a Friend*, II, 128, this saying is attributed by Plutarch to Bias.

III, i, 87.

And may they know no riuals, but themselues.

In addition to my note on the line, cf. Seneca, *Herc. Fur.*, 83-4:

quæris Alcidaë parem?  
nemo est nisi ipse: bella iam secum gerat.

III, i, 267-9.

O Ioue, let it become me  
To boast my deedes, when he, whom they concerne,  
Shall thus forget them.

Plutarch, *How a Man may praise Himself without being envied*, Transl. 1870, II, 309: "But self-praise is not liable to disgrace or blame when it is delicately handled by way of apology to remove a calumny or accusation. Thus Pericles: But ye are angry at me, a man inferior to none, whether it be in the understanding or

interpreting of necessary things; a man who am a lover of my country, and above the meannesses of bribes. For, in speaking with this gallantry of himself, he was not only free from arrogance, vanity, and ambition, but he demonstrated the greatness and spirit of that virtue which could not be dejected itself, and even humbled and tamed the haughtiness of envy." It is perhaps questionable whether Silius handled his self-praise very delicately, but as Afer later remarks this was a common custom of his blood.

III, i, 326 ff.

All that can happen in humanitie . . .  
 . . . I'am fortified against;  
 And can looke downe vpon: they are beneath me.

Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, v, 1: Virtus . . . omnia, quae cadere in hominem possunt, subter se habet: eaque despiciens, casus contemnit humanos.

III, iii, 38.

Who nourisheth a lyon, must obey him.

For the sentiment, see Aristophanes, *Frogs*, where the idea is applied to Alcibiades by Aeschylus: "One must not rear a lion's whelp within the city: above all not rear a lion in the city; but if one rear it, one must submit to its ways" (Arist. Bohn Lib., II, 609). The translator refers also to passages in Euripides, *Troades*, 718; *Heracleidae*, 1005; Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, 193, compares 'the famous simile in the third chorus of the *Agamemnon*.'

Barnaby Rich, *Faultes*, 1606, 41 verso, says that Aristophanes "devised a tragedie, raysing Pericles from hell," in which he uttered this sentiment concerning the lion. It would seem that the good Barnaby did not get his information at first hand.

IV, iii, 73-4:

A good man should, and must  
 Sit rather downe with losse, then rise vniust.

To my note on this passage add that 'to do is worse than to suffer evil' is one of the "two famous paradoxes of Socrates" (Jowett, 3rd ed., II, 270), cf. *Gorgias*, *ibid.*, 356 ff., and see Plutarch, *How a Young Man ought to hear Poems*, Transl. 1870, II, 92. Aristotle takes the same position, *Ethics*, v, 15.



V, i, 3.

I did not liue, till now; this my first hower.

Statius, *Sylvae*, IV, ii, 12-3:

steriles transmisimus annos:

Hæc æui mihi prima dies, hæc limina vitæ.

And it is probable that in the first two lines of the scene,

Swell, swell, my ioyes: and faint not to declare

Your selues, as ample, as your causes are,

Jonson has in mind what Statius had said in the lines immediately preceding those quoted, to the effect that he cannot find words to express the joy caused him by being admitted to dine with Domitian.

Jonson refers to part of the passage from Statius in *Part of the King's Entertainment*, which it will be noticed was produced about the same time with *Sejanus*.

V, i, 21-4.

vnlesse

The gods, by mixing in the cause, would blesse

Our fortune with their conquest. That were worth

Sejanus strife, durst fates but bring it forth.

See Capaneus in Statius, *Theb.*, x, 899 ff.:

'Nullane pro trepidis,' clamabat, 'numina Thebis

Statis? ubi infandæ segnes telluris alumni,

Bacchus et Alcides? pudet instigare minores.

Tu potius venias (quis enim concurrere nobis

Dignior?' etc.

### *Volpone*

III, i, 11 ff.

almost

All the wise world is little else, in nature,

But Parasites, or Sub-parasites. And, yet,

I meane not those, that haue your bare towne-arte,

To know, who's fit to feede 'hem; haue no house,

No family, no care, and therefore mould

Tales for mens eares, to bait that sense; or get

Kitchin-inuention, and some stale receipts

To please the belly, and the groine; nor those,

With their court-dog-tricks, that can fawne, and fleere,

Make their reuennue out of legs, and faces,

Eccho my-Lord, and lick away a moath:  
 But your fine, elegant rascall, that can rise . . .  
 Present to any humour, all occasion;  
 And change a visor, swifter, then a thought.

I rather suspect that Mosca was here recalling Plutarch, *How to tell a Flatterer from a Friend*, Translation of 1870, II, 103-4: "If you would learn the character of a true subtle flatterer, who nicks his point *secundum artem*, you must not, with the vulgar, mistake those sordid smell-feasts and poor trencher-slaves for your men, who begin to prate as soon as they have washed their hands in order to dinner, as one says of them, and ere they are well warmed with a good cut of the first dish and a glass of wine, betray the narrow soul that acts them by the nauseous and fulsome buffoonery they vent at table . . . Nor must we, again, confine our notions of flatterers to those sharpening fellows who ply about rich men's tables, whom neither fire nor sword nor porter can keep from supper; nor yet to such as were those female parasites of Cyprus, who going into Syria were nick-named Steps, because they cringed so to the great ladies of that country that they mounted their chariots on their backs . . . [But] He who neither professes nor seems to flatter; who never haunts your kitchen, is never observed to watch the dial that he may nick your supper-time; who won't drink to excess, but will keep his brains about him," etc.

And p. 107: "But the flatterer . . . leads not a life properly his own, but forms and moulds it according to the various humors and caprices of those he designs to bubble, is never one and the same man, but a mere dapple or trimmer, who changes shapes with his company, like water that always turns and winds itself into the figure of the channel through which it flows." And Plutarch then goes on to develop this theme at length, still keeping in mind the more skilful type of flatterer. That one or two expressions in this speech of Mosca came from Theophrastus is noted by Gifford and by Baldwin (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xvi, 193). I think Holt's belief (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xx, 164 ff., *Notes on Ben Jonson's Volpone*) that the character of Mosca is due to English dramatic tradition might be somewhat modified by examining what Plutarch has to say on the parasite in this essay. For, as Plutarch describes him, the more skilful parasite has just that "rare genius for knavery" upon which Holt lays stress. He complies with his patron in just Mosca's fashion, and displays just the same willingness to feed his

lusts and forward his designs. Elsewhere, as I point out in the article on *Underwoods* mentioned below,<sup>2</sup> Jonson borrows from this same essay of Plutarch's, a fact which strengthens the suggestion that he had it in mind in the character of Mosca.

IV, i.

Sir Politic's project for the restraint of tinder-boxes in order to safeguard the arsenal would seem to be suggested by Aristophanes, *Acharnians*; the informer brings to light a plot to burn the arsenal with the wick of a lamp which might be fixed on the back of a cockroach, which might float with it into the arsenal, with a north-east wind (cf. Frere's translation). I have not seen Bang's article on the sources of *Volpone* in the *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*, Liège, 1908. The edition of *Volpone* in the Yale series by L. H. Holt has not yet been printed, but I take it that the editor's chief contributions to the study of sources are in the article above referred to. The edition by Wilkins, mentioned in *Camb. Hist. of Engl. Lit.*, VI, 417, I have not been able to trace.

IV, v. In Voltore's speech at the trial occurs the line,

Mischiefe doth euer end, where it begins.

Whalley very properly conjectured 'never' for 'ever,' and Gifford adopted the conjecture. If Whalley's emendation needs support, the following passage in Valerius Maximus, IX, i, 2, affords it: neque enim ullum vitium finitur ibi, ubi oritur.

WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS.

Stanford University.

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<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it should be said that the article here printed is supplemented by articles on the *Epigrams*, *Forest*, and *Underwoods* already accepted by *Modern Philology* and *Classical Philology*, and by one on *Cynthia's Revels* in the *Flügel Memorial Volume*.



VENICE 1727: SONNETS ON THE EXECUTION OF  
DOMENICO ALTHAN

The following sonnets are survivors of a class of literature, the general aspects of which, in relation to the history of Venice, have been described by Professor Medin.<sup>1</sup> But there are still one or two basic facts to recall in connection with them. As far as my observation goes, the population of Venice is divided into two parts: there are those who gossip in prose and there are those who gossip in verse. I have an impression also that the second class far outnumbers the first. But that is only an impression. I am certain only that in Venice—where everyone in his innermost life of emotion and ideals still lives under the old Republic—the spirit of Pasquino is still as vigorously alive as of yore. And to this day, if you get up early in the morning, you will see samples of this same literature pasted on all the conspicuous walls and colonnades of Venice. It is the Venetian way of apprehending things. The versified witticism is for Venetians a form of dialectics by which they spiritually annul the contradiction between their ideals, which are of the remote past, and current events, which are, alas, only too evenly abreast of the times. The vast part of this literature perishes of course. It is usually malicious. It is often obscene. Street-cleaners and policemen are specially commissioned to destroy it. It has to reckon also with the friends of the people it so commonly assails. However, the wittier specimens are sometimes copied and passed around in manuscript. If the victim of a satire is specially unpopular, his caricatures last a long time. President Wilson, last summer, was usually good for a two-day exposure. The brighter things against Giolitti promise actually to outlive the war. If Checo Bepo gets off rather easily it is for another reason. The nightly crop of satire on Austrian matters is so large that all available and desirable wall space is covered at once. And the wit of Tuesday is arrogantly pasted over the wit of Monday, and so on.

Some fragments of such verse on the execution of Count Domenico Althan, Nov. 5, 1727, were published by Molmenti in his essay entitled *Una condanna capitale*.<sup>2</sup> In adding to this collection, I

<sup>1</sup>*La storia di Venezia nella poesia*, Milano, Hoepli, 1904.

<sup>2</sup>P. G. Molmenti, *Vecchie storie*, Venezia, Ongania, 1882, pp. 137-146. To this theme Molmenti returns in *I banditi della Repubblica Veneta*.

hope to ease the Senator's mind on one point. He was somewhat concerned because his verses had here and there a foot too many. Mine on the contrary have here and there a foot too few. Taking the series as a whole, we may rest assured that the general average of Pasquino's style will not be lowered. As for Domenico Althan, we may recall that his chief title to fame is that he went to the scaffold with a sense of humor. He was duly shriven by his confessor for the murder of a successful rival in love. He then felt that his accounts were square with God, and spent his few remaining hours evening things up with his enemies in the world. When brought to the block, he adopted tactics of obstructionism, attempting to gain an indefinite respite by a speech indefinitely long. The public was much exercised by a strenuous campaign for a pardon conducted by his relatives; and by a squabble for his clothes between his executioner and the attending monks. Venetian gossip was vociferous on the merits and demerits of these latter questions. On both of them the Council of Ten had the final say. Where did Althan go when he died? Our sonnets throw more heat than light on this problem.

These poems, as they appear in the Cicogna Codex 1197 (Museo Correr, Venice), cc. 201-202, comprise three sonnets not given by Molmenti. The sonnet beginning *Popolo addio* seems to have initiated the polemic, provoking two replies in similar rhyme scheme. Since Molmenti's text for this poem is somewhat imperfect I venture to reproduce the new form of it here, along with the second sonnet printed by Molmenti, which constitutes a parallel with our first reply.

*Sopra la morte del conte Althan, 1727*

Popolo, addio! Nel gran punto di morte,  
Quando l'alma è per render conto a Dio  
Di quanto oprò, senza pensier di morte  
Disse scherzando Althan: "Popolo, addio."  
Che confidenza è questa con la morte?  
O pur qual prosonzion folle con Dio,  
Meritar su'l patibolo la morte  
E baldanzoso dir: "Popolo, addio!"

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Firenze, Bemporad, 1898, pp. 210-215, but by a misprint the events are here referred to the year 1726. See also Tassini, *Alcune delle più clamorose condanne capitali eseguite in Venezia sotto la Repubblica*, Venezia, Fontana, 1892, p. 286.

Innocenza di vita pria di morte,  
 Coscienza netta e gran timor di Dio,  
 Potria sperar misericordia in morte.

Ma render oltraggiato in vita un Dio,  
 Il prossimo ridur sin alla morte . . . !  
*Miserere* e non più "Popolo, addio!"

Credetè al pensier mio:  
 Con questa contrizion d'Althan interno,  
 Nel dir "Popolo addio" piombò all' Inferno.

*Risposta al Contrascritto*

(*Memento mei dum veneris in regnum tuum!* Luc. XXIII. *Duo ladrones qui crucifixi erant cum eo improperabant ei.* Matt. XXVII.)

Non fia stupor ch'Althan giunto alla morte,  
 Tempo che l'alma renda conto a Dio,  
 Dica, quasi scherzando con la morte,  
 Con intrepido cor: "Popolo, addio."

Confidenza non è sprezzar la morte,  
 Nè folle prosonzion sperar in Dio.  
 Anzi, chè su'l patibolo la morte  
 Pena è dell'alma per meritarsi a Dio.

Due ladri in croce bestemiavan Dio;  
 Ambedue condannati eran a morte.

Con un *memento* uno sen vola a Dio:—

Sentimenti d'Althan: "Popolo, addio."  
 "Popolo," volea dir, "il corpo à morte,  
 L'alma contrito cuor la rende a Dio."

*In Risposta al detto Sonnetto*

Dunque perchè nel gran punto di morte  
 Disse già lieto Altan: "Popolo addio?"  
 Formi sentenza di sua eterna morte,  
 Quando il giudizio sol s'aspetta a Dio?

Non prese il Conte a scherzo, no, la morte!  
 Anzi invitto s'offrì vittima a Dio  
 Per lavar le sue colpe: e in braccio a morte  
 Corse, fastoso è ver, ma unito a Dio.

Dunque un'Alma che pecca, all'hor che in morte  
 Grida pietà, non la concede Iddio?  
 E dee perir d'impenitente morte?

Peccò l'Altan contro il voler di Dio!  
 Il prossimo ridusse ancor a morte!  
 Non ha perciò misericordia Iddio?

Non si conface al tuo pensier il mio.  
 L'Altan contritto fu da un duol interno,  
 Nè per dir, "Mondo addio" piombò all'Inferno.



*Mentre fu decapitato il conte Althan a Venezia nel venerdì  
Novembre 1727*

Trema al punto di morte un Ilarione  
Che settant' anni in penitenza e pianto  
Avea servito a Dio. Di Cristo a canto  
Muore, invitato al cielo, il buon ladrone.

Althan visse una vita da fellone  
E va alla morte come fosse un santo.  
Ah! che il morir con quel superbo vanto  
D'innocente punito è prosunzione!

Doppo aver accusata la sua sorte  
Con temerario ardir, "Popolo," disse  
"Addio! Son innocente e vado a morte!"

Ah! s'altri dell' Althan in versi scrisse  
Ch'Althan morì da grand' eroe, da forte,  
Altri scriva ch'Althan morì qual visse!

*Risposta*

Gran prosunzion, gran mente fina,  
Voler interpretar di Dio i secreti!  
Materia de più occulti gabinetti  
E pensieri ghe xe che l'indovina.  
Chi al cielo, chi all'inferno Althan destina,  
Tolendo al suo morir gli ultimi detti:  
Vergognatevi! O là, a voi no aspetti  
Voler interpretar mente divina!

Vi prego a condannar il corettore,  
Sapendo aver ragion! Parlo per questo  
Acciò vi ravvediate dell'errore.

Meglio fareste, io ben ve lo protesto,  
D'interceder per lui verso il fattore,  
E non curarsi di saper il resto.

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON.

*Columbia University.*

## GRIMMELSHAUSEN AS A DIALECTOLOGER

In his *Deutscher Michel*,<sup>1</sup> Grimmelshausen makes some interesting remarks as to the relative value of various German dialects, and after some deliberation, concedes the honor of having the best to the city of Mainz: "Den Ruhm dieser Ehr (das beste und zierlichste teutsch zu reden) hat von langen Zeiten her zwar die Stadt Mayntz gehabt, welches ich ihr als meiner lieben Landsmännin von Hertzen gern gönnen möchte."

This observation of Grimmelshausen's, that the dialect of Mainz resembles in many important details that of Gelnhausen, his birth-place, has, as Kögel<sup>2</sup> states, been confirmed by modern investigation. Furthermore, his outspoken preference for the dialect of Mainz would naturally presuppose an intimate knowledge of some of the other dialects. This knowledge he must have acquired while travelling about from one part of the country to the other as soldier and freebooter. We know, *i. e.*, if we accept his *Simplicissimus* as an authentic account of his own adventures, that he spent a considerable time at Soest,<sup>3</sup> and during his stay had access to books and enjoyed intercourse with influential people of this region (Cf. *Simplicissimus*, book III, ch. xviii). In like manner, he became acquainted with the Swabian dialect.

Granted then, that Grimmelshausen was interested in the provincial speech<sup>4</sup> of the localities he visited, it remains for us to find out with what accuracy he observed and recorded the *Bauerndialekte* by means of which he tried to give his anecdotes a touch of local-color.

In the second chapter of the first book of *Simplicissimus*,<sup>5</sup> Knän, the fosterfather of Simplicius, addresses the latter in the following words:

"Bub bisz flissig, losz di Schoff nit ze wit vunnananger laffen, un spill wacker uff der Sackpiffa, dasz der Wolff nit kom, und Schada

<sup>1</sup> *Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus*, hrsg. von A. v. Keller, (Stuttg. Litt. Verein, Bd. 65) Vol. II, p. 1112.

<sup>2</sup> *Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI u. XVII Jhs.* No. 19-25, Halle, 1902, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bechtold, *Grimmelshausen u. seine Zeit*, pp. 11-16.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Scholte, *Paul u. Braunes Beiträge* XL, 296.

<sup>5</sup> *Neudrucke*, No. 19-25, p. 11.

dau, dan he ysz a sölcher veyrboinigter Schelm und Dieb, der Menscha und Vieha frisst, un wan dau awer farlässij bisst, so will eich dir da Buckel arauma." To this Simplicius replies in the same idiom: "Knäno, sag mir aa, wey der Wolff seyhet? Eich hunn noch kan Wolff gesien": "Ah dau grober Eselkopp, dau bleiwest schun su a grusser Dölpel, un waist noch neit, was der Wolff für a veyrfeussiger Schelm isz."

From Simplicissimus' own words, we know that Knän was a native of the Spessart, and may accordingly assume that the dialect which he speaks in the quoted passage is the dialect of this region, probably of Gelnhausen.

We may consider at this point the other passage illustrating this same dialect, namely the words of the Alte Meuder, Simplex's fostermother, in the *Dritte Continualio*:<sup>6</sup>

"Hast dos aufs Feeld ganga und dos Häu aufgloden du Lufft? ist dos nit a Greul, dasz ma dirs Sauffn so gor nit o gwena kon? ich unds Orschala meissen draussen in der Hitz scheir Durst sterben, und du sauffst dau as wei a Berstenbinder, dasz ders dieser a jener ausseng. Und du, Simpel, künst a wul dei Zeit besser ohwenden, wennd a weil da ham säst a machest on deem Colender, asz das da dau sitzst und gleist wei a Kachelufen. Zeig immer widder in Kreig, wenn da mein Alten su'verfeiren willt! Isz er do a weila nit a su gewest, nur dei Zeit, dosz du dou bist geits a su liederli her. Fort! packt ich rausser!" Page 335, line 4: "A sauff a weil a Wasser, du Prolhans."

Comparing these passages with the examples of the vulgar dialect of Mainz and the vicinity as found in Firmenich-Richartz,<sup>7</sup> we note the following points of agreement:

	o	for Literary	High German	a	in dos, dosz, kon, losz, schoff.
u	"	"	"	"	o in vun, su, schun, grusser.
a (aa)	"	"	"	"	ei in ham, kan.
w	"	"	"	"	b in bleiwest, Lewelang, awer.
nn	"	"	"	"	nd in wunner.
is	"	"	"	"	ist
hun	"	"	"	"	habe or haben
a	"	"	"	"	ein
asz or as	"	"	"	"	als

<sup>6</sup> *Deutsche Nationallitteratur*, hrsg. v. Kürschner, xxxiv, 334.

<sup>7</sup> *Germaniens Völkerstimmen, Sammlung der deutschen Mundarten in Dichtungen, Sagen, Märchen, Volksliedern usw.* Berlin, 1843-54, II, 51 ff.



Infinitives and past participles of strong verbs without *n*, *arauma*, *wera*, *ganga*.

Of more importance than these details, which are also found in other dialects, are the forms *eich* and *meich* for *ich* and *mich*. These forms are peculiar to this region, as is also the form *aa* or *ā* for the diphthong *au*. (Cf. *MLN*, xxxi, 77) *Au* first becomes *aa* i. e., long *ā* then shortened to *a*. Cf. *lassen* for *laufen*. Firmenich-Richartz, page 54: *eich glabs*, *glawe* (page 56) by the side of *laafe*, *geglaabt*, *überhaapt*.

The pronoun *he* for *er* is occasionally found in the vicinity of the Vogelsberg. (Cf. Firmenich-Richartz, II, 107, 'Fulda und die Umgegend') Likewise is the imperative *biss* for *sei* frequently met with, tho in nowise limited to this region. (Cf. Kehrein, *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*, I. Teil, § 385.)

The Swabian Dialect.—After his escape from the Mummelsee (book v, ch. 17), Simplicissimus unexpectedly comes upon a group of men in a nearby forest, sitting around a fire, and addresses them before they are aware of his presence. As soon as one of their number sufficiently recovers from his sudden fright, he cries out: "Wear ischt dan der Hair?" "Da hörete ich," remarks Simplex, "dass es eine Schwäbische Nation seyn müste."

In the eighth chapter of the same book, Grimmelshausen lets a peasant in the Saurbrunn speak in a similar dialect. Upon being asked whence he obtained the goat he is leading along, the peasant replies: "Gnädiger Hearr, eich darfs ouch werli neit sän." Three times in the course of the conversation does the peasant address Simplex with the words "Ja Hearr"; and once he uses the form *säit* for the third person singular of *sagen*.

The diphthong *ea* in *Hearr*, *Wearr* is markedly Swabian.<sup>8</sup> (Cf. Firmenich-Richartz, II, 434-50) Swabian is also *scht* for *st* as in *ischt* = *ist*.<sup>9</sup> Adverbs in *-li(le)* for *-lich* are the rule.<sup>10</sup> The third person singular *sait* is common. (Cf. Firmenich-Richartz, II, 438.)

Low German.—The soldiers that drove the fosterparents out of their home in the Spessart speak a Low German dialect: "Jung,

<sup>8</sup> Kauffmann, *Geschichte der schwäbischen Mundart*, Strassburg 1890, p. 58.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. § 153, c, Anm. 2, and *Anzeiger f. d. Alt.*, xxiv, 268.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. § 108, h.

kom heröfer, oder skall my de Tüfel halen, ick schiete dik, dat di de Damff thom <sup>11</sup> Hals ut gaht."

The mad ensign in thirteenth chapter of the second book replies to Simplicissimus in the following words: "Wat wolts met deesem Kerl sin, hey hett den Tüfel in Liff, hey ist beseeten, de Tüfel de kühret ut jehme."

The moor in the trough (book III, chap. 8) implores Simplex to spare his life: "Min leve Heer, ick bidde ju doer Gott, schinkt mi min Levend!"

The simple-minded inhabitants, whenever they see the *Jäger von Soest* riding thru the town, remark (chap. 12): "Min God, wat vor en prave Kerl is mi dat!"

The people in the vicinity of Soest call Simplicissimus "dat Jäjerken" (book II, chap. 29).

The principal criteria here are naturally the unshifted *t* in *schiete*, *dat*, *wat*, *thom*, *ut*, *beseeten*; the personal pronouns *ick*, *dik*, *ju*, *jehme*, *mi*, *di*; the diminutive *-ken*, and the third person singular *is*. A narrow localization of the dialect represented is impossible because of insufficient text. But there is nothing in the last three passages quoted that would prevent our accepting the author's own localization in Soest. In the first passage, the form *skall* would seem to point to the region northeast of Soest. Cf. Lasch,<sup>12</sup> § 443, who remarks that the forms with *c(k)* and *ch* are principally Eastfalian.<sup>13</sup> But the numerous exceptions to this statement preclude any absolute fixation of place. The same might almost be said of the double accusative-forms *dik* and *mi* (Tümpel, § 17), and the form *hett* (Tümpel, § 23, p. 108) for the more usual *heft*, *hefft*, *hevet*. For the form *jehme* (for *öhme* or *ehme?*), cf. Lasch, § 175, and Tümpel, § 19, page 95. Note the form *doer* for High German *durch*. (Cf. Firmenich-Richartz I, 290; Lasch, § 156.) *Gaht* (*gat*) is according to Lasch, § 448, 2 common only in western Westfalia. Cf. Firmenich-Richartz, I, 346 for the forms *hey*, *met*, *halen*. *Kühret* in the sense of *speak* is a good Low German word. (Cf. Firmenich-Richartz I, 298.) The forms *Tüfel*, *Damff*, and *Gott* are evidently High German; Low German would be *Düvel*, *Damp*, and *God*.

<sup>11</sup> In the editions A, D, G, R; the others have *zum*.

<sup>12</sup> *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik* von Agathe Lasch, Halle 1914.

<sup>13</sup> *Niederdeutsche Studien* von H. Tümpel, Bielefeld u. Leipzig 1898, p. 110.

In the twenty-third chapter of the third book of *Simplicissimus*, we again meet with a few lines in a Low German idiom. Somewhere 'im Bergischen Land,' probably in the vicinity of Gladbach northeast of Cologne, Grimmelshausen places the scene of action. A swineherd brings upon himself the wrath of his father, when he is heard swearing at the swine, "dass sie der Donner und Hagel erschlagen und *de Tüfel dartho halen skolde*. Der Bauer hörete seinem Sohn zu, lieff derowegen mit seinem Brügel aus dem Haus und schrie: Halt, du hundert tausend usw. Schelm, *ick sall di lehren sweren, de Hagel schla di dan, dat di der Tüfel int Liiff fahr, . . . Du böse Bof, ick sall di leeren floeken, de Tüfel hal di dan, ick sall di im Arse lecken, ick sall di leeren dine Mour brühen.*"

We note here again the *k* in *skolde* as above in *skall*, but also the more usual Westfalian form *sall* for the first person present indicative. The loss of the spirant in *schlā* is common in Low German. Cf. Lasch, § 351. The fusion of preposition + article *in + dat = int* is regular. Cf. Tümpel, page 125; Firmenich-Richartz I, 346. The loss of intervocalic *d* as in *Mour* for *Moder*, older *Modor*, 'Mutter,' is already observed in old texts. Cf. Lasch, § 326; Firmenich-Richartz I, 445.

This brief study, I hope, has revealed another side of Grimmelshausen's linguistic skill. The accuracy of his observation is astonishing. Rarely <sup>14</sup> in the earlier German literature do we find such attention paid to the provincial speech of various parts of Germany. This fact proves as clearly and conclusively as does Grimmelshausen's intimate knowledge of the localities and local conditions and customs he describes (Bechtold, pp. 11-16), that he was in each case an eye-witness, and not merely gleaned his knowledge from books and hearsay.

EDWARD H. SEHRT.

Delaware College.

<sup>14</sup> Some of the better known attempts to introduce the vulgar dialect prior to Grimmelshausen are: (1) Wierstraats *Chronik von Neuss*, hrsg. v. Groote (1885); cf. Braune, *Beiträge* I, 18-20; (2) the comedies of Heinrich Julius v. Braunschweig (cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss* II, 519-521): (3) a poem consisting of 91 strophes, *Stynchyn van der Krone*, published by Birlinger and Creelius in the *Mittel- u. niederdeutsche Dialektproben*. (*Altdeutsche Neujahrsblätter für 1874*) Wiesbaden 1874.



## SAINT-PIERRE AND BALZAC

Students of Balzac are cognizant of the fact that even in his best work the great French realist shows his indebtedness to many novelists who preceded him. Faguet sees in him "un Eugène Suë, un Soulié et un mauvais élève de Ballanche."<sup>1</sup> Brunetière recognizes Ducray-Duminil, Pigault-Lebrun and others as predecessors. Louis Morel in a critique of a new work, *Balzac*, by Hans Heiss, Heidelberg, enumerates a large number of authors whose influence on Balzac is apparent, noting especially Byron. M. Morel criticises the study for failure to treat adequately the novels of Balzac published before the *Comédie humaine*, from 1822-1825, "nécessaires . . . à l'intelligence de la *Comédie humaine* et dans lesquels on trouve les tendances et les procédés qui rattachent Balzac au romantisme."<sup>2</sup> André Le Breton dwells at length on the influence of Anne Radcliffe, Lewis and Maturin, particularly in the early works,<sup>3</sup> and notes also the more superficial effects of Rousseau, Mme. Cottin, Mme. de Staël, Nodier, Shakespeare and Byron.<sup>4</sup>

One literary creditor of Balzac seems to have escaped the notice of investigators. I refer to Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, whose *Paul et Virginie* Balzac quite consciously imitated in his early novel *le Vicaire des Ardennes*, 1822. M. Le Breton who has given the closest attention to the origins of Balzac, makes no mention of Saint-Pierre. Perhaps it is because he passed over the *Vicaire des Ardennes* more completely even than his words indicate. He dismisses it as an "œuvre imitée du *Moine* de Lewis et du même type que les précédentes, mais informe, mais illisible, et si scandaleuse que le gouvernement en fit arrêter la vente et détruire les exemplaires qui restaient en magasin."<sup>5</sup> In those "œuvres de jeunesse" which M. Le Breton has cited, there is nothing which is at once so clear and so extensive an imitation as the section from the *Vicaire des Ardennes*.

*Paul et Virginie* appears to have long been a favorite with Balzac. In the *Curé de Village*, 1839, he terms it "l'un des plus touchants

<sup>1</sup> Emile Faguet, *Balzac*, 1913, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Herrigs Archiv*, 133, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> André Le Breton, *Balzac l'Homme et l'Œuvre*, Chap. 2 (Paris, 1905).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

livres de la langue française." In the *Vicaire des Ardennes*, however, he does more; he incorporates the entire romance, with a few changes in names, places and details into his own novel. He uses it as an account of the early life of his hero Joseph, who presents it in journal form.

The life of Joseph and Mélanie on the island of Martinique differs only in details from that of Paul and Virginia on the Ile de France. Joseph and Mélanie are nine and five years old respectively, when they are first brought together, and their companionship on the island lasts seven years. Paul and Virginia were fifteen years old at the time of their separation. In each story, the interest lies in following the simple daily life of two children, isolated from society in a tropical garden-spot. Their mothers in the one case and their foster-mother in the other, with a few negro slaves, are almost the only other characters to appear. The settings are practically the same; tropical and primitive, with a wealth of exotic flowers, fruits and animals.

The difference in the length of the two stories is considerable. *Paul et Virginie* is a novel of about 150 pages, whereas the episode in the *Vicaire des Ardennes* covers some 22 pages, leaving in the former much more room for detail. Balzac's story is given in journal form, which again causes slight differences.

The virtual identity of characters, circumstances and setting which is evident at first glance, is of no greater significance, however, than the minor resemblances which appear upon closer scrutiny. Of these the following are the most striking:

*Paul et Virginie*, page 57,<sup>6</sup> "Quand on en rencontrait un quelque part, on était sûr que l'autre n'était pas loin." *Vicaire des Ardennes*, page 91,<sup>7</sup> "Où l'on apercevait Mélanie, on était sûr de me trouver, car nous n'allions jamais l'un sans l'autre." *P. et V.*, p. 57, *Toute leur étude était de se complaire et de s'entraider.* *V. des A.*, p. 91, "Un quart d'heure d'absence devenait un supplice pour tous deux, et notre plus chère étude fut de nous complaire l'un à l'autre."

*P. et V.*, p. 57, "Si dans ces courses, une belle fleur, un bon fruit ou un nid d'oiseau se présentaient à lui, eussent-ils été au haut d'un

<sup>6</sup> *Oeuvres complètes de Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, Vol. 6.

<sup>7</sup> H. de Balzac, *Œuvres de Jeunesse*, *Le Vicaire des Ardennes*, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1878.

arbre, il l'escaladait pour les apporter à sa sœur." *V. des A.*, pp. 90-91, "Je l'emmenais dans *mes courses*, que je proportionnais à ses forces naissantes, et *chaque belle fleur* que je rencontrais lui était offerte comme jouet; *chaque beau fruit, chaque nid d'oiseau* arrivait dans ses belles mains avant qu'elle eût le temps de le désirer."

*P. et V.*, p. 100, "Quand je t'eus prise *sur mon dos*, il me semblait que j'avais des ailes comme un oiseau . . . p. 102, Et avec son petit mouchoir blanc, elle lui *essuyait le front* et les joues, et elle lui donnait plusieurs baisers." *V. des A.*, p. 91, "*A mon dos*, je portais ma soeur jusqu'à la maison; cette jolie fille me passait ses bras autour du cou, . . . et mon coeur palpitait de joie lorsque je sentais la douce main de Mélanie qui *essuyait la sueur de mon front*."

*P. et V.*, p. 143, "La solitude ramène en partie l'homme au bonheur naturel, en éloignant de lui le malheur social." . . . words from a long disquisition on the advantages of solitude. *V. des A.*, p. 86, "Elle . . . a dit, que les hommes naissent bons, et qu'en les préservant de la civilisation on leur donne, par cette seule et simple précaution, la plus belle éducation possible."

"Nègres marrons," runaway slaves in hiding, are frequently mentioned in both narratives. *P. et V.*, p. 64, "Une *négresse maronne* se présenta" and follows the episode of the "noirs marons" who carry the children home on their shoulders. *V. des A.*, p. 87, "trahir un *nègre marron* qui venait se réfugier dans les montagnes" . . . p. 88 "Souvent je parvenais dans l'autre du *nègre marron*."

*P. et V.*, p. 67, "L'idée lui vint de *mettre le feu au pied* de ce palmiste." *V. des A.*, p. 96, "Aussitôt, sept à huit nègres *mettent le feu au pied* d'une trentaine d'arbres, qui ne tardent pas à tomber."

*P. et V.*, p. 59, "Une nourriture saine et abondante *développait rapidement les corps* de ces deux jeunes gens, et une éducation douce peignait dans leur physionomie la pureté et le contentement de leur âme. *Virginie n'avait que douze ans; déjà sa taille était plus qu'à demi formée; de grands cheveux blonds* ombrageaient sa tête; *ses yeux bleus* et ses lèvres de corail brillaient du plus tendre éclat sur la fraîcheur de son visage. *V. des A.*, p. 94, "*Nos corps* n'étant pas déformés par les habillements ridicules qu'exige le séjour des villes, *se développèrent rapidement*, et les belles proportions que la nature, livrée à elle-même, enfante sans efforts, nous donnèrent les vains



avantages de la beauté. *Mélanie atteignit douze ans. Sa jolie taille était presque formée; elle se regardait déjà dans l'eau claire des fontaines pour arranger les milliers de boucles que formaient ses beaux cheveux blonds. Ses yeux bleus souriaient toujours, et pourtant exprimaient la mélancolie.*"

*P. et V.*, p. 99, "Il n'y avait point de jour qu'ils ne se communiquassent quelques secours ou quelques lumières." *V. des A.*, p. 91, "Nous lisions ensemble ce qu'il a écrit sur la voûte des cieux, ce qu'il a tracé sur les sables de la mer," etc. Here the actual relation is not so apparent in the words. The idea of their growth, unaffected by any evil, in the most natural and primitive way, however, is emphasized in the two stories. In each case they are compared to Adam and Eve, *P. et V.*, p. 99, *V. des A.*, p. 102.

The change from childish love to the deeper passion of adolescence is treated in exactly the same way. Both *Mélanie* and *Virginie* are swayed by an awakening shyness, and each avoids her companion. *P. et V.*, p. 102, "Cependant, depuis quelque temps, *Virginie* se sentait agitée d'un mal inconnu. . . . On la voyait tout-à-coup gaie sans joie, et triste sans chagrin . . . quelquefois . . . un rouge vif colorait ses joues pâles, et ses yeux n'osaient plus s'arrêter sur les siens." *V. des A.*, p. 102, "Quelque temps après cet événement, ma soeur, qui croissait en grâce et en beauté, et dont l'esprit était au moins à la hauteur des perfections du corps, devint aussi rêveuse, et son charmant visage se couvrait parfois d'une rougeur subite . . . (she says, p. 103) *je n'ose plus te regarder qu'en secret, c'est-à-dire lorsque tu ne me vois point.*"

I have omitted a number of resemblances which are less clear than those mentioned, or more obviously unrelated. There seem to be no specific borrowings from the descriptions of natural scenery, altho they are of the same general character. Very special and frequent emphasis on the innocence and simplicity of the children is to be noted in both stories. A last mark of resemblance between them is the tragic end of the romance.

GEORGE S. BARNUM.

University of Minnesota.

## REVIEWS

*The English Essay and Essayists.* By HUGH WALKER, M. A., LL. D. London and Toronto, J. M. Dent & Sons; New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1915.

Professor Hugh Walker's *The English Essay and Essayists* is the pioneer attempt to present a complete survey of a literary type that has been most widely cultivated in England during the last three centuries. Within the twelve chapters ranging from "Anticipations of the Essay" to "Some Essayists of Yesterday," Professor Walker considers the writings of all British essayists not now living whom he deems of any consequence. As was to be expected in a first edition of such a survey, a number of writers have been omitted who unquestionably should have received consideration.<sup>1</sup> The inclusion, however, of a very considerable number of writings that cannot be classed as essays, if the term essay is to have any proper signification, indicates an inability to hold to some reasonably consistent definition of the genre. A rigid definition may be impracticable; but the writer who selects for study the essay as a type must, in his treatment at least, distinguish it amid all the varieties of miscellaneous prose. This Professor Walker has not done with any degree of consistency; apparently he feels free to treat as an essay any prose composition that interests him, provided that it is not a full and closely articulated treatise, whether or not custom has assigned to it the name of essay.

The consequence of this attitude appears most strikingly in the chapter on "Miscellaneous Essayists of the Seventeenth Century," in which are considered the essays of Felltham, Cowley, Temple, and Halifax together with such incongruous writings as Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, the *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae*, Milton's *Areopagitica*, and all Dryden's critical prose. To regard the *Areopagitica* and the various chapters of *Vulgar Errors* as essays is to ignore both form and writer's intent. Similarly, to consider the *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae* as a collection of essays is to confuse two dis-

<sup>1</sup> A review in *The Nation* for July 22, 1915, notes a number of the more important omissions, a number which might be enlarged by almost any serious student of the essay.

tinct genres and to misinterpret literary history.<sup>2</sup> Dryden's example in the cultivation of a natural, easy style was of undoubted consequence in the development of English prose, inclusive of the essay, and warrants consideration of Dryden's writings. But if all his "discourses, apologies, defenses, prefaces, dedications, and postscripts" are to be regarded as essays, then the historian of the genre must take account of the unnumbered myriads of prefaces, introductions, dedications, and so forth that appeared before Dryden's day and have appeared since. In consequence partly of this failure to distinguish the essay from other forms of prose, partly of a failure to trace accurately genetic relations, the whole work does not present an ordered account of the development of the essay as a distinct type or of the different varieties within the type.

Apparently Professor Walker's own interest is very largely in the individual essayists. Occasionally he makes a careful analysis of style and of content, such as the analysis of Bacon's later essays and of the seventeenth-century character; occasionally he is chiefly concerned with the personality of the essayists, as in the case of Steele and Addison, of Goldsmith, and of Hazlitt; but most frequently he presents only a somewhat impressionistic appreciation of a writer or of his work. In the case of the writers whom he regards as the most significant or the most attractive, his comment or analysis is accompanied by extensive excerpts, which as a rule are happily illustrative of the best, though not always the most characteristic, work of the essayists.<sup>3</sup>

As in this volume Professor Walker does not greatly concern himself with the methods and the results of research, he presents very little new material. He does, however, at times emphasize qualities that hitherto have not been brought into such high relief. He insists, for example, that Goldsmith was most remarkable as a powerful and original thinker and that Lamb's greatest quality

<sup>2</sup> On these letters and their relation to contemporary epistolography, see Georg Jürgens, "Die Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae," in *Marburger Studien zur englischen Philologie*, 1, Marburg, 1901. This study does not, however, attempt to treat fully the interest in letter-writing in England during the latter half of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> In order to illustrate Dr. Johnson's critical papers in the *Rambler* it is absurd, however, to quote a passage not from the *Rambler* but from the preface to *Shakespeare*.



was his wisdom, and he derives Hazlitt the essayist directly from Hazlitt the metaphysician and painter.

The greatest weakness of the volume as a historical study is its far from satisfactory treatment of origins and literary relations. This weakness is especially apparent in the accounts of the essay at the most critical periods—those of the beginnings of the genre in England, of the development of the periodical essay, and of the transformation of the type in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Chapter I credits Bacon with introducing the essay into England, "the name and the thing alike," through the publication of his ten brief *Essayes* in 1597. It also considers "anticipations of the essay" in England anterior to the work of Bacon, and attempts to trace the beginnings of the type along "the line which leads to the character-writing of the seventeenth century, the line of criticism, and the line of polemics." Not one of these lines led even in the direction of Bacon's essays, and only that leading to the writing of characters was of any consequence in the early history of the essay. And the *Essayes* of 1597 introduced not the thing but merely the name; they were essays only in the strictly Baconian sense of "dispersed meditations," and writings of the same character had been current in England previously.

M. Pierre Villey has shown <sup>4</sup> that the essay as it was cultivated by Montaigne was an outgrowth of the humanistic efforts to make accessible the knowledge and ideas of antiquity, particularly such as concerned moral ideas and questions of conduct. This interest produced a long line of collections of "sentences" or moral maxims, apothegms or "sentences" put into the mouths of historical personages, and illustrative "examples" culled from the historians and the moralists. At first, material of these kinds was merely grouped for convenience under general headings; later, "sentences" and "examples" were united with comment and application in a form more nearly approaching literature. This latter type of composition was called in France the *leçon morale*. When Montaigne began to write, he followed closely the established mode; the first of his *Essais* differed in no essential from the *leçons morales*. The personal, self-revelatory essays were a gradual evolution, resulting

<sup>4</sup> *Les sources et l'évolution des Essais de Montaigne*. 2 vols. Hachette et Cie., Paris, 1908. See particularly vol. II, chap. i.

in part from Montaigne's situation and temperament, in part from his interest in Plutarch's *Moralia*.

Bacon's *Essays* of 1597<sup>5</sup> belonged to the general type of compilations of "sentences."<sup>6</sup> Like these compilations, they were

<sup>5</sup> A large proportion of these *Essays* may well have been written some time before they were published. In *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Bk. VI, chap. iii (see also *The Advancement of Learning*, Bk. II, section 18) Bacon inserts groups of "sentences" which he declares he had collected in his youth. "Sentences" of exactly the same kind very largely made up most of the essays of 1597, and a number of the "sentences" contained in *De Augmentis* are imbedded in the essays of 1612 and 1625. Indeed, more than one of the later essays is but little else than the amplification of the ideas expressed in these youthful "sentences."

<sup>6</sup> On the subject of "sentences" in Europe generally and in France particularly, see Villey as above, vol. II, pp. 8 ff. Evidence is abundant as to the popularity of the same kind of composition in England. The most cursory examination of the *Hand Lists of English Printers 1501-1556* (4 parts, The Bibliographical Society, London, 1895-1913) and the *Stationers' Register* will show in the sixteenth century a very large number of printings of such works as the *Distichs of Cato* and the *Adagia* of Erasmus, the latter either complete or in selections, particularly in Taverner's English translation. The second volume of the *Stationers' Register* has the following entries of other similar compilations: Feb. 25, 1577—the *flowers of Epigrammes* collectyd by Tymothie Kendall; April 26, 1578—the *Rudimentes of Reason gathered out of the preceptes of the worthie and learned philosopher PERIANDER* by JHON PHILLIPS; Jan. 5, 1579—*Apophthegmatum ex optimis utriusque lingue scriptoribus per Conradum LYCOSTHENEM Rubeaquensem collectorem loci communes denuo aucti et recogniti: Cum Parabolis sive similitudinibus olim ex gravissimis auctoribus Collectis nunc vero per C LYCOSTHENEM in locos communes digestis*; June 7, 1580—the *nosegaie of morall philosophie*. Translated by THOMAS CREWE; Oct. 17, 1580—A booke of notes and common places with their expositions collected and gathered out of the woorkes of diverse singular writers and brought alphabetically into order by JOHN MARBECKE; Feb. 13, 1581—A *Brief Collection of all the Notable and Materiall thinges Conteyned in the historye of GUICCIARDIN*, being verie necessarie for parliament Councell, Treatises and Negociacons; Jan. 15, 1582—*Le Jardin de vertu et bonnes meurs* par J. B. gent; Nov. 28, 1583—the *welspringe of wyttie and philosophical Sentences*; Nov. 15, 1589—JUSTI LIPSI *politicorum Libri Sex*; May 29, 1590—JUSTI LIPSIJ *Centuria secunda*; July 10, 1590—*The sixe bookes of Politiques wrytten by JUSTUS LIPSIUS*, to be prynted in Englishe accordinge to the French Cope; Dec. 6, 1591—*parte prima Delle brevi Dimonstrationi et precetti vtilissimi De Diversi propositi morali politici et Ieconomici* Da PETRUCCIO UBALDINI; Nov. 18, 1594—HUGONIS PLATTI *Manuale sententias aliquot divinas et morales complectens partim e sacris patribus partim e patriarcha philosophi, etc.*

merely juxtaposed maxims or aphorisms collected under general headings, without organized composition, concrete illustration, or the slightest personal element. They differed from most of the collections in vogue chiefly in that they did not purport to be drawn from the writings of the ancients, and that they were concerned not so much with general moral subjects as with matters of practical policy. Accordingly, the *Essayes* of 1597 constituted no literary genre new to England, and neither their "general conception" nor their "form" was taken from Montaigne; to Montaigne they were indebted merely for the name.

The treatment of Bacon's later essays is also unsatisfactory in several respects. It presents no definite information as to the greatly increased number of essays in the editions of 1612 and 1625. It implies that the essays of 1612 as a body, like those of 1625, were more ordered, more fully developed, more adorned, whereas a number of the essays first published in 1612 differed in no essential particular from those of 1597, and even certain essays that first appeared in 1625 differed from those of 1597 chiefly in being more coherent. And it ascribes such changes as appeared in the form of the later essays solely to Bacon's individually changed conception of the character of the essay, a change resulting from the popularity of his earlier writings and his sense of responsibility for "having naturalized in England a new species of literature." In *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) and *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623),<sup>7</sup> Bacon makes it clear that he was familiar with both the more amplified method of composition and the aphoristic method, and that as late as 1623 he had fully as much regard for the latter method as for the former. But it is particularly in the essays of 1625 that Bacon's work comes more closely to resemble Montaigne's; it is in these later essays if anywhere that Montaigne's influence is apparent.<sup>8</sup> Some part, too,

<sup>7</sup> See *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. II, section xvii, and *De Augmentis*, Bk. VI, chap. II.

<sup>8</sup> My colleague, Professor Crane, has in preparation a paper on the development of Bacon as essayist, and it has been through him that my attention has been called to some of the particulars noted above. Thus far the one really notable study of the sources and the literary influences upon Bacon's essays and the changes apparent in the style of the essays themselves is M. Pierre Villey's "Montaigne a-t-il eu quelque influence sur François Bacon?" in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, XII (1911), 121-158.



in the naturalization of the essay in England must be allowed to Florio's translation of Montaigne, of which the first printing appeared in 1603, and to the *Essays* of Sir William Cornwallis, very popular in their day, which first appeared in 1600 and 1601 and acknowledged their great indebtedness to those of Montaigne.<sup>9</sup>

In the account of the Queen Anne essayists, Professor Walker very properly emphasizes the importance of Steele. Indeed, he declares that the periodical essay was born of Steele's brain, and he apparently regards Steele's Irish blood as the most important single influence upon the character of the type. Some of the more important literary influences he notes—the *Mercure Scandale*, the *Athenian Gazette*, Cowley's *Essays*, the *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae*; others equally significant, however, he leaves entirely out of account. For example, though in an earlier chapter he had presented an admirable account of the seventeenth-century character-writings, he nowhere hints at the very considerable influence of this form of composition upon the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* and their successors.<sup>10</sup> Nor does he mention La Bruyère's *Caractères*, despite the fact that Steele himself in the ninth number of the *Tatler* followed a declaration of intention to imitate La Bruyère by a character in his manner. In both the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* a very large proportion of the papers that treat social relations are patterned directly upon the work of La Bruyère, the imitation extending to the preference of Greek and Latin above English names for the

185-203, and XIII (1912), 21-46, 61-82. The single unfavorable criticism to be passed upon this study is that it assumes a too consistent direction of change in the character of Bacon's essays in the different editions.

<sup>9</sup> Professor Walker's whole treatment of the influence of Montaigne upon the essay in England is most inadequate. Not only does he fail to note the three reprintings of Florio's translation between 1603 and 1632, and the same number of printings of Cotton's translation between 1685 and 1700, but he merely alludes indirectly to the influence of Montaigne upon Cowley, he does not in any way connect Montaigne with Sir William Temple, and he wholly ignores the very vital influence of Montaigne upon the greater essayists of the early nineteenth century.

<sup>10</sup> See E. C. Baldwin, "The Relation of the Seventeenth Century Character to the Periodical Essay," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX (N. S. xii), 75-114. The indebtedness of the periodical essayists to the character-writers is considerably greater than Professor Baldwin makes to appear, as his article is concerned with an attempt to connect the character and the realistic novel fully as much as to show the relationship of the character and the periodical essay.

illustrative characters.<sup>11</sup> Moreover this account leaves entirely out of consideration numerous other influences that had no small share in determining both the manner and the matter of the periodical essay. Such, for example, are the mode of publication, the necessity of adapting the character of the essay to a circle of readers very different in their wide variety of tastes from the much smaller group of essay readers in the preceding century, the coffee-house club life, of which both the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* professed to be the peculiar organs, and the vigorous reaction against social license, which affected the character of the papers in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* fully as much as it was strengthened by these writings.<sup>12</sup> Finally, though Professor Walker treats the periodical essay as a distinct species, he has not attempted to make clear its distinctive characteristics; except in scattered implications he presents very little information concerning either the subjects of the essays or the form and manner of presentation. Indeed, the great weakness of the section is the absence of definite information of all kinds.

This lack of analysis, this failure to make clear even to himself the peculiar characteristics—apart from publication as separate numbers of periodicals—that mark the essays of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* type handicaps Professor Walker greatly in his account of the development of a different type of essay in the early years of the nineteenth century. It is probably responsible, at least in part, for a failure to observe the remarkable persistence of the earlier type. The merely incidental statement that Drake, whose researches extended only to 1809, noted fifty or more papers after the *Observer* (1785-1790) does not bring out the strength of the Spectatorean tradition. Essays directly in the manner of Addison or Johnson or Goldsmith, with all the machinery of their eighteenth-century models, continued to appear in considerable numbers until about the twenties, when the more individual, less socialized, less artifi-

<sup>11</sup> Professor E. C. Baldwin's "La Bruyère's Influence upon Addison" in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX (N. S. xii), 479-495, considers only the possible influence of La Bruyère upon the style of Addison and upon the individualized portraits of the members of the Spectator Club.

<sup>12</sup> On the last two points Harold Routh has written admirably in the chapter on Steele and Addison in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. IX, chap. ii.

cial writings of Lamb and Hunt and Hazlitt displaced them in favor. Nor was this eighteenth-century tradition carried on solely by amateurs and the lesser drudges. Professor Walker calls attention to some of the evidences of Leigh Hunt's relationship to the Queen Anne essayists—his kinship to them in spirit, his *Round Table* established in imitation of the *Tatler*, and, by implication, his occasional similarity of subject. He might have noted further that Hunt's earliest essays were a confessed imitation of those in the *Connoisseur* (1754-1756), that such publications of his as the *Indicator*, and the *Companion* were essentially modernized *Spectators*, and that his characters derive directly from the creations of Addison and Steele and from the seventeenth-century characters. The influence of the character-writers and of the eighteenth-century essayists upon Lamb, obvious as it is, Professor Walker has not noted at all. Lamb's first essay, "The Londoner," is patently reminiscent of the *Spectator*, as are a number of his papers in the *Reflector* (1811-1812); for example, "Hospita on Immoderate Indulgence," "Hissing at the Theatres," and "A Bachelor's Complaint of the Behavior of Married People." The influence of the eighteenth century extends even to the *Elia* essays, the similarity to Steele, for example, being manifest in "The Wedding," and Lamb himself condemning the "Vision of Horns" as "resembling the most labored papers in the *Spectator*." Very close imitations of the characters appeared in "The Good Clerk" published in the *Reflector* and in the first section of "Poor Relations" in the *Last Essays of Elia*.

Professor Walker ascribes the decay of the eighteenth-century essay to the diversion of intellects of the first order from this kind of writing to other forms of expression—the novel and a new type of essay. Whether the rise of the novel brought about the decline of the essay is at least problematic, as in the eighteenth century Fielding and Goldsmith were as distinguished in both kinds of writing as were Thackeray and Stevenson in the nineteenth. Nor is it quite reasonable to ascribe the decay of the periodical essay to the rise of a different type, for the former had been moribund for decades before the appearance of the latter. Moreover, some of the writers—such as Lamb—most influential in the establishment of the newer type had cultivated the older. The decay of the periodical essay was due to its being so fixed and conventionalized a literary genre that it offered only the narrowest opportunity for



originality and the expression of individuality. The essays of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* had largely exhausted the possibilities of the form both in matter and in manner of presentation; accordingly until the type was radically changed, except for such slight modifications in diction, emphasis, or point of view as those introduced by Johnson and Goldsmith, nothing remained but direct imitation. It was this condition that repelled genius and produced the decay of the periodical essay.

Apparently Professor Walker considers the *Gentleman's Magazine* in some way responsible for the transformation of the essay, though he does not make clear just how it effected the change. As a matter of fact, the *Gentleman's* and magazines patterned after it, such as the *European*, tended much more to preserve the old than to encourage the new; and it was in newspapers and in these magazines that the eighteenth-century variety of essay survived longest. The transformation of the essay is to be attributed very largely to a new kind of magazine—such as *Blackwood's*, the *London*, and the revived *New Monthly*—which differed from the *Gentleman's* as much in composition as in vigor.

In certain other considerable particulars the treatment of the early nineteenth-century essayists, especially Hazlitt, is confusing or defective. Simply because Hazlitt collaborated with Leigh Hunt in the *Round Table*, he is treated with Hunt as illustrating the transition from the manner of the eighteenth century, though Professor Walker enters a disclaimer against considering them of the same "school."<sup>13</sup> Moreover despite the facts that Hazlitt did not attain his characteristic manner until after the establishment of the modern magazine and that his most productive period was contemporaneous with that of Lamb, he is disposed of in Chapter VII, before the new reviews are mentioned in Chapter VIII and the new magazines in Chapter IX. Further, though neither Hazlitt nor Hunt began to write until after the opening of the nineteenth century, the survey of the work of both is followed by accounts of Paine and of Godwin, both of them eighteenth-century essayists, and the former dead years before Hazlitt had written a single essay.

<sup>13</sup> Lamb might properly have been treated with Hunt as a transitional essayist, and the mechanical connection between the two through Lamb's connection with the *Reflector* and his contributions to the *Indicator* is as close as that between Hazlitt and Hunt.

The result is a wholly distorted perspective of Hazlitt, who, of all the group that set the pattern of the new essay, was the most modern, owed least to the older models, and had the greatest influence upon later writers. Finally, any presentation of Hazlitt as essayist that leaves wholly out of account his relationship to Montaigne and to Rousseau is at least inadequate.

It must be apparent that to the student of literary history who wishes accurate information upon the development of the essay as a type, Professor Walker's work can be of little service. But the reader who is concerned only with the single essayists and is little interested in origins and relations will find the volume very attractive. The appreciations of the individual essayists are evidently derived from Professor Walker's own interested though not always analytical reading of the essays themselves, and they have, accordingly, the merit of freshness and originality. The style is delightfully readable, and there is throughout a pleasing absence of any *ex cathedra* manner. The reader of essays will find in the volume much to revive the charm of what he has enjoyed, and he will be tempted to follow Professor Walker's example and browse widely in one of the most interesting fields of English literature.

W. F. BRYAN.

*Northwestern University.*

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*Mixed Preterites in German.* By O. P. REIN, Ph. D., Assistant Professor in the University of North Carolina. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. [*Hesperia: Schriften zur germanischen Philologie*, no. 5.]

The lengthened forms of the strong preterites in German like *sahe, schuf* for *sah, schuf*, though familiar to every reader of older German literature, have until recently received scant attention from the grammarians, and only off-hand explanations of their origin, based on insufficient evidence, have been given. Professor Rein, in a recent volume of Collitz' valuable series *Hesperia*, presents the results of a scholarly and practically exhaustive study of these forms, and tries to account for their origin so far as the evidence will permit.

Leaving out of account the form *antfunda* of Heliand 2017,

which arose under peculiar circumstances, the oldest examples of strong preterites in *-e* are found in a fragment of a creed of the eleventh century: *das er geboren wart und gefangen wart, unt daz er irstarbe . . . daz er . . . ze himile fuore*. The occurrences up to the fourteenth century the author classifies as "exceptional instances"; but he has unearthed a considerable number of them, so many, in fact, that it seems strange that they have been so little noticed. It is true that there might be a difference of opinion as to the admissibility of some of the cases listed. It is, for instance, not clear why several occurrences of *zogete* are included, as M. H. G. *zogen*, O. H. G. *zogōn* must be regarded as a weak verb, quite distinct from *ziehen*. One of the difficulties with which the author naturally had to contend, was that of distinguishing between indicative and subjunctive. This, of course, is not always possible, but as the conjunction *ē* was in M. H. G. generally used with the subjunctive, it would seem to have been safer to regard strong preterites in *-e* after *ē* as subjunctives, unless the root-vowel clearly showed them to be indicatives. But there is included in the list from the *Speculum Ecclesiae*: *ē aber von sinen iungirn schiede, so getroste er si*; also *Parzival* 101.14 ff:

ahzeheniu maner durchstoehen sach  
und mit swerten zerhouwen,  
*ē* er schiede von der frouwen,

and similar cases. Most of the cases cited, however, are incontrovertably strong preterite indicative forms in *-e*, and they become more and more numerous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from which the author has carefully examined a vast mass of literature. During the sixteenth century the usage is common in all parts of Germany, but its height is reached in the seventeenth century. Stems ending in old *-h* show the greatest tendency to take the epenthetical *-e*, e. g. *sahe*, *flohe*, *geschahe*, and the grammarian Schottel apparently uses the *-e* only with such stems. But many other stems have the lengthened forms with more or less frequency, such as *kame*, *nahme*, *triebe*, *gabe*, *schriebe*, *hube*, *liefe*, *verlore*, *fuhre*, *fiele*, *zoge*, *floge*, *gienge*, *ware*, etc. During the eighteenth century the lengthened forms become less frequent, and toward the end of the century they disappear rapidly; Goethe uses them only in his early writings. After 1800 few such forms are found, and these are used chiefly by writers affecting an archaic style. The



two forms which survive longest are *sahe* and *wurde*. The former was still given in the much-respected dictionary of Adelung (1774 and 1793) and even in Campe's dictionary (1810) as the only form of the preterite of *sehen*, but it has since gone out of use; *wurde*, on the other hand, has survived and has largely driven out *ward*, though in consequence of a slight semantic difference which has sprung up between the two forms, they will probably continue side by side in higher diction.

In explanation of the origin of the lengthened forms several distinct influences have been suggested. (1) That of the weak verbs: *sahe* = *lobte*. This has been accepted by several grammarians as a sufficient explanation, and the imperatives of strong verbs in *-e* on the model of those of weak verbs have been cited as an analogous case: *siehe* = *lobe*. The strong verbs in *-t* have been mentioned as those from which this influence might more especially have proceeded: *borste*, *schalte* = *lobte*. On the basis of this explanation these forms may be called "mixed preterites." (2) The influence of the subjunctive. This could not have been strong in any case, as the subjunctive is used so much less than the indicative. (3) The influence of the present tense: *sahe* = *sehe*. This would at most apply to the first person, not to the third; but as far as Professor Rein's lists show, there is no evidence that the epenthetical *-e* was found first and more often in the first person; rather the contrary. In general, the present tense of strong verbs seems to have reacted little upon the preterite; for instance, forms like *gabt* for *gab* on the analogy of *gibt* are extremely rare. (4) In the verbs ending in a media, the desire to prevent the change to the tenuis if the media became final: *warde* for *wart*. As purpose is known to play a minimal part in the creation of linguistic forms, all that could possibly be claimed on this score is that of two existing forms *warde* and *wart* the former was preferred because it agreed with the present tense in the matter of the *d*. But it would not explain the genesis of *warde*, nor throw any light on the numerous *kame*, *verlore*, etc. Besides, German is full of sound-interchanges like *d: t*, *b: p*, etc., though the common orthography conceals them in many cases. (5) The influence of doublet forms in dialects which generally drop final *-e*. The existence of pairs of interchangeable forms like *wolt*; *wolte* would easily produce uncertainty in regard to the use of final *-e*, and

might result in its appearance in places where it formerly did not occur. This is theoretically a plausible explanation, as many similar things have occurred; we need only think of the frequent assimilation of *-nd-* into *-nn-*, which resulted in the doublet forms of the present participle *gebende*: *gebenne*, which, reacting on the infinitive *ze gebenne*, produced the form *ze gebende*.

Bearing in mind how often a linguistic phenomenon is due to a combination of circumstances rather than to any one cause, Professor Rein wisely accepts no one of these explanations to the exclusion of the others. It would be strange indeed if the same circumstances which caused the earliest sporadic appearances of the epenthetical *-e* in the eleventh century, were also responsible for its rapid spread in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in spite of the great changes that had taken place in the language in the intervening centuries. In the oldest period, as soon as the vowels of the verbal endings had all been reduced to *e*, the first and third singular of the strong preterites, having no endings at all, must have appeared as abnormal forms, and a tendency to normalize them by giving them an *-e* in accordance with other forms of similar function must have made itself felt. The application of the principle was held in check, however, by the natural conservatism of the language, especially potent in the strong verbs owing to the frequent occurrence of many of them. Later, owing to the confusion caused by the divergence of the literary language from the native speech of many writers, especially in the South, the use of the *-e* greatly increased, until the standard language had become sufficiently normalized and had become sufficiently familiar in all parts of the country, when the forms with *-e* gradually vanished, with the exception of *wurde*, which has become definitely established. Professor Rein clearly and interestingly sets forth the details of these processes.

Only the mixed preterites of the type of *sahe* are discussed; no mention is made of two other interesting types. In late M. H. G. there are occasionally found forms of the second singular preterite of weak verbs, showing the usual *-t*, but the root-vowel and the ending of a strong verb; instead of the common *du brähtest* we find *du brähte* on the model of *du wāre*, *e. g.*,

du were mir unbekant

sit du die wilden wurme brehte her in dis lant.

Wolfdietrich 792.

On the other hand in Modern Alemannian and Bavarian preterite subjunctives of strong verbs in *-t* are of frequent occurrence. Gott-helf uses *ich kämt, nähmt, rüft*, etc.; Rosegger writes: *wans na koani weiba gabad* = *wenns nur keine weiber gäbe*.

H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN.

Harvard University.

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*Essai sur l'évolution des doctrines de M. Georges Sorel*, par FREDERIC D. CHEYDLEUR. (Thèse présentée pour le doctorat.) Université de Grenoble, 1914.

In the *mouvement des idées* in France during the two pregnant decades preceding the war, Sorel was a salient and symptomatic, if not exactly a typical, figure; and, to those who do not deem it an impropriety that the historian of literature should deviate into the contemporaneous, a study of the interactions between so individual a mind and the intellectual forces at work during the period must seem an undertaking promising not a little of interest and illumination. This promise Mr. Cheydleur's volume fulfills not quite so generously as could be wished. It offers a series of faithful *précis* of certain writings of Sorel, chronologically arranged, and suitably grouped into "periods." The account given of the main outlines of Sorel's intellectual development is clear enough. But there is little analysis and cross-examination of the author's thought, and no sufficient collation of the scattered materials into a single connected exposition. Nowhere, for example, will the reader clearly or comprehensively gather what the elements in Bergson's philosophy were which Sorel made his own, and into what specific ideas of Sorel's they were transformed. Nor does the study quite cover the ground, even in its own way. After the *Réflexions sur la violence*, perhaps the most characteristic and noteworthy of Sorel's writings is *Les illusions du progrès*; for those who are chiefly interested in literary history it is the most significant of all. Of the contents of this volume Mr. Cheydleur gives no account. In spite of these limitations, however, his work is by no means without value for the student of the author or of the period.

In its actuating ideas Sorel's thought is one phase of that contemporary neo-romanticism which dislikes to acknowledge its ancestry. Fundamental in him are half a dozen of the 'notes' of the



Romantic: a taste for 'the infinite' as such—"all that is best in the modern mind," he writes, "comes from this torment of the infinite"; anti-intellectualism, a deep distrust of 'conceptual thought' and a faith in the obscurer faculties of the soul, in the subconscious, the unanalyzable, and the intuitive; consequent contempt for the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and all its works; apotheosis of the idea of 'creative' activity and genuine becoming; glorification of art, conceived as free creation and self-expression; and an indefatigable zeal in berating the *bourgeois*, the philistine, the average 'respectable' citizen. All this, of course, is familiar enough. What makes Sorel very curious and interesting is that in him, in his syndicalist period, we behold the Romanticist turned radical social reformer; that he derived from these Romantic ideas—immensely adaptable as history had already shown them to be—a new theory of revolutionary agitation and a new scheme for the reconstruction of society. The cardinal principles of this social philosophy are three. (a) The salvation of mankind cannot come through the *bourgeois intellectuels*, vulgarized and commercialized as they are, and with a superstitious faith in 'science' and in political machinery. It is to the workers, the makers, that we must look for "the birth of a virtue which the middle-class Intellectuals are incapable of understanding, a virtue which has the power to save civilization as Renan hoped it would be saved—but by the total elimination of the class to which Renan belonged." It must, therefore, be the paramount immediate concern of syndicalism to keep the working-class uncorrupted by *bourgeois* ideals and ambitions. Hence the necessity for "violence," chiefly in the form of frequent strikes, designed for the sole purpose of preventing any fusion or *rapprochement* of the two classes. (b) The end to be aimed at by the syndicalist revolution is the establishment of an order dominated, not by the ideal of justice in the distribution of material goods, but by the ideal of "production"—of production in the spirit of the artist or the inventor, who is concerned, not for reward or even for praise, but for the perfection of his work. This joy of disinterested creation must be made the daily possession of every worker, by means of an industrial organization adapted to that end. The essentials of the syndicalist millennium had, in fact, before Sorel, been exactly pictured in verse (doubtless a more appropriate medium) by so excellent a Tory Romanticist as Kipling; it is to be a time

When no one shall work for money and no one shall work for fame,  
But all for the joy of working,

and each in his separate *atelier* shall make things as he sees that they ought to be made. (c) The syndicalist agitation must be given "nobility" and indestructible vitality by means of a "myth,"—i. e., by being inspired by the vision of a single crowning act of heroic militancy, in which all may conceive themselves as participating, an act which is "indivisible," like the Bergsonian intuition, and the anticipation of which evokes in the working-class mind all its most ardent memories. It is the "myth of the general strike" which thus functions in syndicalism. Just because such a myth is not a mere calculation of the intellect, it is no part of the syndicalist's affair to inquire whether a general strike is a really practicable enterprise—to apply a cold conceptual analysis to his vision. These principles are accompanied in Sorel by a trait of decidedly less Romantic affinities—an austere and almost rigoristic moral tone and an especial concern for the purification of sexual morality. There is much in him besides his bad temper that recalls an older preacher of the Gospel of Work, whose teaching also was much more than half a variation upon Romantic themes—Carlyle.

Most of all a typical Romanticist is Sorel in the final outcome (to date, at all events) of his intellectual history. Readers of Brandes's *Romantic School in Germany* will remember the page in which he calls the roll of nearly all the conspicuous members of that school, and records the final lapse of each into conservatism, and usually into the bosom of Mother Church. Traditionalism seems the end to which the Romantic anti-intellectualism all but inevitably brings a man, as he grows old; the shadowy recollections of his early pieties prove to be the variety of the "sub-conscious" and unrationalized which triumphs over all others at the last. And it is as a "retour au traditionalisme" that Mr. Cheydleur characterizes Sorel's latest phase. In his attitude towards Catholic Christianity that return was manifestly in process even while he was the semi-official philosopher of revolutionary syndicalism; in *Les illusions du progrès*, first published in *Le Mouvement Socialiste* in 1906, he already hoped for a revival of Catholicism "sous l'action d'hommes formés à la vie spirituelle dans les instituts monastiques." In consequence of this common religious sympathy, and of a common antipathy to all that is *bourgeois* and 'republican,' Sorel has of late, Mr. Cheydleur tells us, found himself swept in some degree

into coöperation with that influential royalist and nationalist movement represented by such writers as Charles Maurras, Leon Daudet, Jules Lemaître, and Paul Bourget. Sorel's latest writings, being chiefly journalistic, are much less accessible than those of his earlier periods; and it is to be regretted that Mr. Cheydeur has not given us more full and precise details of this concluding phase of that "evolution of doctrines" which his book traces.

A. O. LOVEJOY.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

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*Seventeenth Century French Readings*, edited with notes by ALBERT SCHINZ and HELEN MAXWELL KING. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1915. 12mo., xiv + 382 pp.

Professor Schinz and Miss King have stated in the Preface the object of their book: "This book aims at providing, for the study of the French literature of the seventeenth century, a greater variety of texts than are now easily accessible." The method followed may be summarized as follows: (1) To include fewer authors, and allow more material under each name, rather than to include all the notable authors of the period; (2) To omit Corneille, Racine and Molière; (3) To include all authors of great importance of whom there exist no easily accessible editions; (4) In selecting texts, "to emphasize strongly that these are not *our* selections; . . . they are simply those sanctioned by a sort of tacit vote cast by the intellectual élite of past generations"; (5) To give "few notes—historical mainly—and with such preliminary comments only as are necessary to direct the student's thoughts along the proper lines"; (6) In arranging material, to disregard the chronological order, and to adopt the following arbitrary one: "L'École de Malherbe et les épigones du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle"; Ch. 1, L'Hôtel de Rambouillet; Ch. 2, L'Académie Française; Ch. 3, Boileau; Ch. 4, Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes; Ch. 5, La Fontaine; Ch. 6, Descartes; Ch. 7, Pascal; Ch. 8, Bossuet; Ch. 9, Fénelon; Ch. 10, Les Moralistes; Ch. 11, Trois Femmes Écrivains; (7) "To give only complete passages, but in some cases we have deemed it necessary to forego our own rule."

There can be no question of the editors' statement: "That [the seventeenth] century is indisputably the fundamental age of French



literature." Consequently their aim to provide "a greater variety of texts than are now easily accessible" is praiseworthy. There is room for another collection alongside of Warren's text-book, from which the present work differs in two respects: in giving many more authors, and in including versé as well as prose. In determining how well the editors have carried out their task, we may consider in order the points of their preface.

(1) The editors' decision "to include fewer authors, and allow more under each name," is too obviously wise to require any argument. One may ask, however, if it would not have been desirable to extend this principle by excluding a few of the writers now included, *e. g.*, Mme de Maintenon and some of the extremely minor authors of Ch. 1. (2) Equally wise was the decision to omit the dramatists—these texts are already abundantly provided and do not easily lend themselves to abridgment. (3) The editors may fairly claim to have "included all authors of *great* [italics mine] importance of whom there exist no easily accessible editions." But some of those omitted are at least as important as some of those included. The most noteworthy omissions are in the fields of memoirs and the novel. Even if "Retz . . . required too much historical knowledge of the times to be made enjoyable," Saint-Simon (not even mentioned) should by all means have been represented, for few authors of the period are more interesting to the student. The intelligent and witty Saint-Évremond, also ignored, ought certainly to be included under some heading.—Parenthetically, the important *libertin* current of thought, of which Saint-Évremond is one representative, is entirely neglected save in perhaps two lines from Théophile de Viau.—The novel is represented only by passages from the rather pallid *Princesse de Clèves* and the tiresome *Télémaque*. Selections from the *Astrée* or *Cyrus* might well have supplemented the scanty representation of the pastoral contained in the verse selections. If space allowed, passages from *Le page disgracié* or *Le roman bourgeois* would have proved interesting.—But the editor of every such collection has to steer between the Scylla of neglecting some authors and the Charybdis of producing a "scrappy" book. On the whole, our editors are to be congratulated on their choice of authors, and especially on the inclusion of certain minor writers, such as Régnier, Théophile, Vaugelas and Perrault, really essential if one would comprehend the development of the literature of the century. (4) While the editor

—and the reviewer—of an anthology must of course be largely guided in the choice of texts by the consensus of critical opinion of the past, it does not necessarily follow that one should abdicate all right to critical judgment himself. At the risk of running counter to Boileau and the “intellectual élite of past generations,” the reviewer will point out some instances in which it seems to him that the selections might have been better. Some regrettable omissions have been already noted. On the other hand, Mme de Maintenon, some of the *précieux* (abundantly represented in Crane’s *Société française au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*), part of La Fontaine (“easily accessible” in several American editions), and Boileau’s *Passage du Rhin* might well go by the board. So too some of *Télémaque*, if its place were taken by parts of the interesting *Lettre à l’Académie*. In the apportionment of space, always a delicate point, there are some observations to make. The Hôtel de Rambouillet and the *précieux* are given over one-eighth of the text. Boileau has 34 pages, more than La Rochefoucauld and La Bruyère combined. Pascal has fewer pages than Descartes, though his literary value is far greater. Perault has more than twice as many pages as La Rochefoucauld, who is probably the least adequately represented of the really important authors. He is allowed but 9 pages, and more than one-third of these are the relatively unimportant *Portrait* of himself. Even Mme de Maintenon is given much more space than he! It is difficult to see what principle guided the editors in this important point. (5) The paucity of notes and critical interpretation, while avowedly intentional, strikes the present reviewer as the most serious defect of the book. The notes are too scanty, and not a few are inaccurate. Moreover, they are unwisely put in French. Why the notes, meant to help the student, should be in French, while the Preface, meant to help teachers, should be in English, is indeed a puzzle. Among the inaccuracies in the notes are the following. P. 25, n. 1; Mme de Rambouillet was only half “Italienne.” Pp. 44 and 98; the editors accept “Somaize” without question; cf. J. Warshaw, “The Identity of Somaize,” in *M. L. N.*, Feb. and March, 1914. P. 47, fine print, l. 11; the date “1909” in connection with V. Cousin is misleading. P. 67, fine print; the “sonnet de Benserade” is a sonnet by courtesy only. P. 71, n. 3; “électeurs” were not “dignitaires diplomatiques.” P. 82, n. 2; Barbin’s shop was not “en face du Palais de Justice,” but in it. P. 99, n. 2; “Quinault, auteur de dix-sept tragédies, attaquées vio-

lemment par le critique Zoïle." What is meant by this note must be left to the imagination of the reader. P. 133, n. 1; According to Larousse, barracks in France date from the 16th century, and their use became general under Louis XIV. P. 142, n. 1; The explanation of the expression: "il ferait que sage" is not "Il ferait ce qui serait sage" but rather "Il ferait ce que ferait un sage." Cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, pp. 11-12. P. 238, fine print, l. 2; Charles I was not "condamné à mort par Cromwell," nor (*ib.*, l. 9) was Henriette d'Angleterre "extrêmement belle." P. 314, n. 2; La Bruyère passed only the last twelve years of his life, not "la plus grande partie," at Chantilly. P. 319, n. 1; The "honnête homme" of the seventeenth century can not be well defined in a few words; but "honnête" commonly connoted moral qualities or social polish rather than "culture intellectuelle." P. 320, n. 1; It is not accurate to say that Henri IV "devint roi de France en renonçant au protestantisme." P. 326, n. 1; The note entirely misses the point of La Bruyère's epigram, which is directed rather against adults than against children. P. 328, n. 1; The last part of the note is worse than useless. Think of citing *La tulipe noire* as "littérature" in connection with La Bruyère! P. 370, n. 2; This should have been given under n. 2 on p. 365. P. 92, l. 15; It should be explained that "Tholus" (Dutch "Toll-Huys," *i. e.*, "toll-house"), magnified by contemporary adulators of Louis XIV into a fortress, was really only a slightly fortified custom-house. P. 274, n. 2; The student should be told who "M. de Condom" was.—Notes on the numerous terms of mythology—Atropos, Acheron, etc.—ought not to be necessary, but unfortunately are today.

With the above exceptions, the notes are in general satisfactory. The notes on the language should be far more numerous, the more so as the book, very properly, has no vocabulary. The editors would have done well to bear in mind what M. Lanson has said of seventeenth century French: "les mots qu'on entend du premier coup, qui sont familiers à première vue, ont eu souvent des sens et des emplois qui diffèrent de leurs sens et de leurs emplois actuels par des nuances fines et presque imperceptibles." (*Conseils sur l'art d'écrire*, p. 245). These *nuances* constitute many pitfalls for the student and even for the teacher; obsolete words also cause trouble.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Among the places where the student will find no help in the notes, are the following. P. 12, l. 9, pour ce que. P. 14, l. 21, impiteux. P. 16, l. 10,



In the matter of literary criticism, the editors throw almost the entire burden upon the teacher. They give no bibliography; they even advise (p. iv, n. 1) against the use of French histories of literature. This book will be used by college students in their second or third year, when they should be mature enough to begin to utilize the excellent French manuals. Histories of French literature in English, especially Wright's *History of French Literature*, might also have well been mentioned. The editors profess to give only "such preliminary comments as are necessary to direct the student's thoughts along the proper lines." (P. iv). Even here they are not consistent. Generally there is not a word of comment. Sometimes—for instance, on Pascal—there is critical comment that is good as far as it goes. But the prefatory note on the *Pensées* does not even mention the prophecies or the fall of man, the two corner-stones of the work. Space that might be devoted to criticism is given up to unimportant gossip or "portraits," as for Mme de La Fayette and Mme de Sévigné. The critical apparatus is as a whole haphazard and jejune. The book would have been far more valuable if a pithy critique were prefixed to the selections from each author, and a brief bibliography appended. (6) In arranging their material, the editors have disregarded the simplest and most natural order, the chronological (which they say "means chaos"). It is open to question whether the plan

ressentiments. P. 46, l. 16, alcôves. P. 62, l. 23, vingt-six fois (modern "trente-six"). P. 64, l. 24, partement. P. 153, l. 11, aussi (non plus). P. 154, l. 1, hier. P. 193, l. 20, prudence (sagesse). P. 211, l. 7, s'en tirer (s'en arracher). P. 217, l. 21, morale positive. (Cf. théologie positive). P. 225, l. 21, chats fourrés. P. 225, l. 27, authentique (imposante, solennelle). P. 235, l. 25, comédie. P. 244, l. 16, Madame. P. 314, l. 18, coquins (mendiants). P. 319, l. 9, imagination (fantaisie). P. 324, l. 20, prévenu. P. 360, l. 16, médiocrité. P. 360, l. 23, rendue (convaincue). P. 371, l. 12, petite (faible). P. 371, l. 22, Sagesse. In a few cases, the explanations are not correct. P. 27, n. 2, plancher is not restricted entirely to the meaning "floor" today; cf. "sauter au plancher." P. 77, n. 1, Si = "pour-tant," not "ainsi." P. 88, n. 2, Fiction does not = "imagination." P. 143, n. 1, hoquet = "choc," not "obstacle." In a good many cases, necessary notes on constructions or forms are missing. P. 19, l. 3, dessus (prep.). P. 19, l. 17, eut sa vie expirée. P. 25, l. 14, devant (avant). P. 25, l. 16, une fois autant de (deux fois plus de). P. 27, l. 9, Luxembourg (le L.). P. 43, l. 17, devant que (avant que). P. 96, l. 1, à vous à qui. P. 171, l. 17, s'étaient pu glisser. P. 233, l. 25, ôte de blâme. P. 310, l. 6, moins (le moins). P. 313, l. 24, vale (vaille). P. 318, l. 4, soi (lui).

followed is any less chaotic. The "Révoltés contre Malherbe" precede the "Disciples de Malherbe." The selections from Boileau are given under two headings. The "Querelle des anciens et des modernes," an affair of the end of the century, is put in an early chapter. Descartes, who for every reason should be in one of the first chapters, is found only in Ch. VI, after La Fontaine, who is distinctly an author of the second half of the century. For no conceivable reason, La Bruyère precedes La Rochefoucauld, and Fénelon both of them. (7) The editors' principle of giving only complete passages, but of foregoing this rule when necessary, is undoubtedly the method most likely to avoid scrappiness on the one hand and tedium on the other. Opinions will differ as to what should be omitted. Thus, in Malherbe's *Consolation à M. du Périer*, the omission of some of the lines full of mythological allusions seems to the present reviewer good judgment, the omission of the stanza beginning "Non qu'il ne me soit grief," bad judgment. More of Régnier's admirable *Satire IX* would have been welcome. Boileau's *Art poétique* is cut too much, some of the most important passages being omitted, e.g. Chant III, ll. 1-8, 93-102, 359-372, 391-428. Descartes' *Discours* is in general well abridged, but at least two very important passages are omitted, one in the II<sup>e</sup> Partie, beginning "pour toutes les opinions que j'avais reçues," one in the III<sup>e</sup> Partie, beginning "notre volonté ne se portant." Some of the finest of Pascal's *Pensées* are not given, e.g. end of Art. I, 1; Art. IV, 7; Art. VI, 50; Art. VII, 9; the last part of Art. IX, 1; Art. XXII, 3; *ib.*, 58; Art. XXV, 17 *bis*. In the case of anything so logically planned as Bossuet's funeral orations, it would probably have been preferable to give one oration entire rather than parts of two. All things considered, however, the editors have handled well this difficult and delicate task of excision.

The book seems to have comparatively few misprints.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The following are the only important ones noted. P. 9, l. 9; comma missing at end. P. 44, l. 13; *gue*, read *que*. P. 82, l. 20 either the comma after *toujours* or all three commas were better omitted. Cf. note in Brunetière's edition, Hachette. The editors nowhere state what texts they follow. P. 258, fine print, l. 7; *Philippe V*, read *Philippe IV*. P. 259, fine print, l. 11; *Philippe VI*, read *Philippe IV*. P. 284, fine print, l. 10; *ses fastes*, read *son faste*. P. 315, l. 20; *annobli*; read *anobli* or *ennobli*. (La Bruyère wrote *annobli*, but as the editors have wisely modernized the spelling elsewhere, *annobli* should be changed). P. 334, l. 1; *frissés*; read *frisés*. P. 356, title and fine print, l. 1; *Demoiselle*; read *Mademoiselle*.

From the comments above, it is evident that the book under review falls short of perfection in some important points. It is to be regretted that Professor Schinz has not thought it worth while to devote the undoubted resources of his scholarship to producing a book that should be thoroughly good, instead of merely good. But whatever its sins of omission, the "Seventeenth Century French Readings" makes available for class use a lot of excellent material. It deserves to be widely introduced in colleges and doubtless will be.

GEORGE N. HENNING.

*George Washington University.*

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### A SENTENCE FROM AN ENGLISH NOTEBOOK OF VOLTAIRE'S

In the *English Review*, February, 1914, there appeared under the title, "An English Notebook of Voltaire," several pages of hitherto unpublished notes which Voltaire evidently jotted down, in part at least, during the early months of his stay in England, in 1726.<sup>1</sup> These notes were discovered in Petrograd and published by Fernand Caussey, a scholar well known for his interest in Voltaire, although without his name and with almost no comment. They contain material which is of interest in various connections. The English is curious but for the most part intelligible.

One entry, in particular, is significant in that it seems to touch upon a point in Voltaire's biography of which almost nothing is known and which has been considerably discussed. The sentence in question reads: "Thirty and one of july one thousand seven hundred twenty and six, I saw floating islands nyer( near) Saint Om . . ." <sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt that Saint Om . . . is Saint Omer, a town in northern France, the capital of the department of Pas-de-Calais, northwest of Lille and on the road to Calais. The town lies on the river Aa. From that point on, the river is canalized. Haut Pont, an outlying district of Saint Omer, is inhabited by people of Flemish origin who preserve the Flemish language and curious old customs. The ground cultivated by these people

<sup>1</sup> *English Review*, 1914, pp. 313 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315.



is reclaimed marshland "and the *lègres* (*i. e.* the square blocks of land) communicate with each other only by boats floated on the ditches and canals that divide them."<sup>3</sup> This fact would account for the allusion to "floating islands." Granting that Voltaire was in Saint Omer July 31, 1726, we have here an interesting contribution to our very scant knowledge regarding a secret trip he made to Paris during the first summer of his stay in England. In a letter to his friend Thiériot, dated August 12 and early included in the correspondence of Voltaire, he refers to this journey: "Je vous avouerai donc, mon cher Thiériot, que j'ai fait un petit voyage à Paris, depuis peu. Puisque je ne vous y ai point vu, vous jugerez aisément que je n'ai vu personne. Je ne cherchais qu'un seul homme, que l'instinct de sa poltronnerie a caché de moi, comme s'il avait deviné que je fusse à sa piste. Enfin la crainte d'être découvert m'a fait partir plus précipitamment que je n'étais venu."<sup>4</sup>

It will be remembered that Voltaire had been imprisoned in the Bastille in April, 1726, to prevent his meeting a nobleman with whom he had quarreled, that he had been released May 3, on condition that he should remain at least fifty leagues distant from Paris, and that he had chosen England as the place of his exile. The brief trip to Paris of which he speaks would therefore of necessity be a secret one. It is probable that, in undertaking it, he hoped to meet his enemy and avenge his honor; it is possible, too, that he wished to look after certain financial interests in Paris.<sup>5</sup>

Beyond the information contained in the letter quoted—open to question because of Voltaire's well known disregard for accuracy and his natural desire to appear to have made every effort to avenge his honor—nothing definite was known regarding this incident until the publication in 1892 and again in 1905 of several pages of an important English letter of Voltaire's which has finally been dated October 15, o. s., 1726.<sup>6</sup> In this letter, evidently addressed to Thiériot, occurs the sentence: "I (went) came again into England in the latter end of July very much dissatisfied with my secret voiage into France both unsuccessful and expensive."<sup>7</sup> Commenting on this letter, and on this sentence in particular,

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1911, *St. Omer*.

<sup>4</sup> Foulet, *Correspondance de Voltaire*, 1913, pp. 43-44.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxxv-xliv and p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

Lanson said: "Elle met hors de doute le voyage secret que fit Voltaire en France au milieu de 1726, et confirme la lettre du 12 août 1726."<sup>8</sup> In the *Revue d'histoire littéraire*, 1908, Foulet pointed out that a careful examination of the letter of August 12, usually considered by editors of Voltaire's correspondence to have been sent from England, shows that it was in all probability written in Calais. Seeking to reconcile Voltaire's statement that he "came again into England in the latter end of July" with the fact that this letter, dated August 12, was undoubtedly written in France, Foulet said: "Il est probable que, dans sa lettre anglaise à Thiériot, Voltaire, comme cela lui arrive de temps en temps, date d'après le calendrier anglais: dans le nouveau style le 31 juillet (a. s.) nous mettrait au 11 août . . . Ecrivant deux mois après, Voltaire a pu se tromper de deux ou trois jours sur la date de son retour en Angleterre."<sup>9</sup>

The entry in Voltaire's notebook, quoted above, accords with these conclusions. It appears that July 31 Voltaire was in Saint Omer on his way to Calais and that the following day, August 1, o. s., August 12, n. s., he wrote from Calais the letter to Thiériot from which we have quoted, in the course of which he was still debating as to whether he should again make the journey to London. Very soon after, he decided to do so and left France about the 13th or 14th of August, n. s., the 2nd or 3rd, o. s., according to Foulet's conjectures.<sup>10</sup> Writing to Thiériot some two months later, October 26, n. s., October 15, o. s., it is natural that Voltaire, never regardless of accuracy, should have made a mistake of a day or two, stating that he had returned to England at the end of July instead of at the beginning of August. Here he was using, as in the entry in his notebook, the old style of reckoning.

It is, perhaps, worth while to quote the sentence in the notebook which immediately follows the one we have discussed: "In june of the present yar, Mylord Duc was turn'd out, force dead, in july."<sup>11</sup> The reference is to the Duke of Bourbon, Prime Minister of Louis XV since 1723, and suggests also, placed as it is, recent contact with affairs in Paris.

Vassar College.

FLORENCE DONNELL WHITE.

<sup>8</sup> *Revue d'histoire littéraire*, 1905, p. 719.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 123.

<sup>10</sup> Foulet, *Correspondance de Voltaire*, p. 45, n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *English Review*, 1914, p. 315.

## SPENSER, SIDNEY, AND THE AREOPAGUS

Dr. Percy W. Long's article in *Anglia* (xxxviii, 173 f.) on "Spenser and Sidney" seems to be a case of excessive zeal in the uprooting of literary heresies. It may be well enough to push home the attack on the Areopagus made by Dr. Maynadier<sup>1</sup> a few years ago, but to assert roundly that "Spenser's acquaintance with Sidney, so far as evidence establishes it, never passed greatly beyond Johnson's early overtures to Chesterfield," would appear to be going a bit too far. Evidence as to the existence of the Areopagus is, of course, lamentably weak. Setting aside Spenser's remark to Harvey that Sidney and Dyer had "proclaimed in their ἀρειωπάγω a generall surceasing and silence of balde Rymers," we have no mention of such a club until quite recent times. Dr. Maynadier finds the first hint of it in Child's "Memoir of Spenser" (1855); but Child's words scarcely suggest a definitely organized club. Fox Bourne's *Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney*, which appeared in 1862, seems to have been chiefly responsible for the rise of the Areopagus legend. Fox Bourne specifically mentions the Areopagus, and calls it "a sort of club," of which "Sidney appears to have been . . . president" (p. 237). Upon this account of the Areopagus, apparently, are based all subsequent accounts. Considering that all our knowledge of the so-called Areopagus rests finally upon a remark which Spenser more than probably meant to be taken as a jest, we had better, perhaps, as Dr. Long suggests, stop talking about the Areopagus as an historic fact.

To give up the Areopagus, however, is by no means to admit that Spenser and Sidney were probably nothing more than mere acquaintances with few or no literary aims in common. The evidence is quite clear that both Spenser and Sidney were at one time taken with the idea of reforming English verse, and, from what Spenser says, apparently had in mind concerted action looking toward a propagandist movement in favor of it. Spenser is, doubtless, jesting when he tells Harvey that Sidney and Dyer have proclaimed a general silencing of "balde Rymers"; but his anxiety as to the necessity of the reformers coming to an agreement on the rules they should follow in their experiments shows that, for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, iv, 293.



time being, he took the matter quite seriously. "I would hartily wish," he writes to Harvey, "you would either send me the Rules and Precepts of Arte, which you observe in Quantities, or else followe mine, that M. Philip Sidney gave me, being the very same which M. Drant devised, but enlarged with M. Sidneys own judgement, and augmented with my Observations, that we might accorde and agree in one: leaste we overthrowe one an other, and be overthrown of the rest." Whether the reformers had any meetings for the discussion of the question, is not now known. We have Gior-dano Bruno's testimony, however, to the fact that Sidney, Dyer, and others met in 1584 in the house of Sir Fulke Greville "to discuss moral, metaphysical, mathematical, and natural speculations."<sup>2</sup> Earlier meetings to discuss the absorbing topic of "reformed" English verse are, therefore, probable enough.

As to the degree of friendship subsisting between Spenser and Sidney, we must, I think, unless we seriously impugn Spenser's reputation for truthfulness, accept it as a fact that the two men were on fairly intimate terms with each other before Spenser went to Ireland. What other meaning can we attach to Spenser's remark to Harvey that Sidney (and Dyer) had him "in some use of familiarity?" The fact that Spenser in 1579 dedicated his *Shepherd's Calendar* to Sidney, rather than to Leicester, in whose service he then was, lends color to the belief that a friendship had already sprung up between the two men. Dr. Long's suggestion that this dedication may have been a mere venture on Spenser's part, a thrusting of himself on Sidney's attention without his permission, may be met in Spenser's own words. In one of his letters to Harvey he writes: "Newe Bookes I heare of none, but only one, that writing a certaine Booke, called *The Schoole of Abuse*, and dedicating it to Maister Sidney, was for his labor scorned: if at leaste it be in the goodnesse of that nature to scorne. *Such follie is it, not to regarde aforehande the inclination and qualitie of him to whome we dedicate oure Bookes.*" Are we to suppose that Spenser himself would be likely to do what, almost in the same breath, he ridicules Gosson for doing? Dr. Long's contention that nowhere outside of the Harvey letters does Spenser definitely imply that he held converse with Sidney can scarcely be granted. The dedicatory preface to *The Ruines of Time*, which was addressed to Sidney's

<sup>2</sup> Fox Bourne, *Sir Philip Sidney*, N. Y., 1901, p. 292.

sister, very clearly implies such converse. He takes occasion, in reply to some friends who had upbraided him for allowing Sidney's name "to sleep in silence and forgetfulnesse" (Sidney had then been dead some four or five years), to emphasize his "entire love and humble affection unto that most brave knight,"—the seeds of which affection, he says, "taking roote, began in his life time some what to bud forth, and to shew themselves to him, as then in the weakenes of their first spring; and would in their riper strength (had it pleased high God till then to drawe out his daies) have spired forth fruit of more perfection." In the envoy, again, he reasserts his love for his friend:

Immortall spirite of Philisides,  
Which now art made the heavens ornament,  
That whilome wast the worldes chiefst riches,  
Give leave to him that lov'de thee to lament  
His losse.

Is it likely that Spenser would have expressed himself thus had his affection for Sidney not been real? And, granting that it was real, is there any likelihood that it would ever have come into being if Spenser had never had any opportunity for familiar converse with Sidney? The fact that Spenser waited some four or five years after Sidney's death before publishing any poetical lament for him proves nothing as to the character of his affection. It may be that he had good and sufficient reasons for not publishing before he did.

EDWARD FULTON.

*University of Illinois.*

#### NOTES ON THE ANGLO-SAXON *Andreas*

125-8. From the clumsiness of these lines as they stand in the manuscript several editors have found refuge in a parenthesis. The general sense of the passage is clear enough. The syntax would be simplified and the punctuation made somewhat more obvious by transposing lines 127, 128:

Duguð samnade,  
hæðne hildfreca      hæpum þrunge,  
bolgenmōde,      under bordhrēoðan;  
gūðsearo gullon,      gāras hrysedon.

For the intransitive use of *hrysedon*, cf. Laſamon 15946, *þe eorðe gon to rusien* = *þe eorþe gan to cwakie* of the later text; 18868 *beornes scullen rusien*; and 26917 *riseden burnen*.

301      Næbbe ic fæted gold      nē feohgestrēon,  
             welan nē wiste      nē wīra gespann,  
             landes nē locenra bēaga.

For the dependence of the genitives *landes nē locenra bēaga* on an implied noun cf. *Judith* 158, 330:

   þæt ēow is wuldorblæd  
torhtlic tōweard      and tīr gifeðe  
þāra lǣddā<sup>1</sup>      þe gō lange drugon;  
   wāgon and læddon  
tō ðære beorhtan byrig      Bethuliam  
helmas and hupseax,      hāre byrnan,  
gūðsceorp gumena      golde gefrætewod,  
mǣrra mādma      þonne mon ænig  
asecgan mæge.

Although Shipley (*The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 48) has noted and translated the passage in *Andreas*, he has not, so far as I can discover, made any comment on the two passages in *Judith*.

807-9. These lines recent editors print without punctuation. It seems better, however, to put a comma after *ēadwelan*, a verb of motion being supplied with *hēt*. Other examples are cited in Bosworth-Toller. Then *sēcan* is parallel with the verb supplied. Root's translation shows the construction: 'bade them forthwith return to blessedness, to seek a second time,' etc.

846. Wülker's facsimile shows the reading of the manuscript to be *þām*, the mark over *a* in *þā* being short and almost horizontal, quite unlike the longer slanting mark sometimes used to denote length. Perhaps the scribe made the wrong kind of mark. The reading *þā* seems preferable.

1124-5. In these and the following lines Krapp finds a striking grotesqueness: "an army is called together with all the accompaniments of battle for the purpose of devouring their single victim." Is 'army' quite the word here? Is not this interpretation too formal? Although *here samnodan* may be a technical military expression and although military phraseology, suggestions of warfare and

<sup>1</sup> Imelmann, *Beiblatt*, XIX, 7, translates, 'Euch ist ruhm verliehen für die leiden, die ihr lange ertragen.'



battle, may abound throughout the poem (see Krapp's summary and references, p. lii), I prefer a simpler interpretation which largely does away with the grotesqueness.

Now *here* and *folc* are more or less interchangeable. In *Maldon* 22 and 45 *folc* means 'army'; in the *Paris Psalter* lxxviii, 10, *þȳ lāes æfre cweðan oðre þeoda hāðene herigeas* translates *nequando dicant in gentibus*; in *Andreas* 652 and *Menologium* 5 *sīde herigeas* = *folc unmāte*; and in *Andreas* 1198 *þissum herige* refers to *folc* of 1196. In 1123 therefore *here* = *folc*, with the connotation (common of course from the use of *here* in the *Chronicle*) of horde or rabble bent on destruction and slaughter. If then we translate, 'the heathen priests gathered together a mob of citizens,' and remember that a mob is likely to shout, to be armed, and to demand a victim, we may find no incongruity in the passage.

It is possible, though perhaps far-fetched, that *for herige* in l. 1127 means not 'before the crowd or host,' as the phrase is usually taken, but 'before the temple or altar' (dat. sg. of *hearh*), the temple being not specifically mentioned but implied in *herigweardas* 1124.

1358-9. Root translates, 'have words ready devised against that wicked wretch'; Hall, 'make ready now with well-chosen words for the wicked impostor.' But 'words' here is too colorless. Though a speech follows, *habbað word gearu* means more than 'be prepared to say something'; it rather implies take 'special precautions' against the superior power implied in *æglāca*, which Krapp here defines as 'magician.' We may, then, translate, 'have a spell or charm ready against the wizard.'

Something of the same idea may be present in *wordum* 1053.

1460. I suggest that *cræfta gehygd*, 'thought of crafts,' means 'crafty thoughts.' The phrase resembles *wuldres þrēat*, 870, 'throng of glory' = 'glorious throng,' and Hamlet's 'thieves of mercy' = 'merciful thieves' (iv, 6, 19). The reference seems to be to the craft implied in *æglāca* 1359.

1605-6. *Gumcystum* must be dat. pl. of *gumcyst*, a noun; yet the sense seems to require an adjective: 'there is now great need that we earnestly listen to (heed) the excellent man.' Accordingly I propose to read *gumcystgum*, dat. pl. of *gumcystig*. In the same way Krapp, following his note in *Modern Philology*, II, 404, changes *synne* 109 to *synnige*, explaining that "The ms. has regu-

larly the unsyncopated forms of this word; the form *synne* perhaps looks back to a time when the syncopated forms were still written." The remark may be applied to *gumcystum* as a syncopated form of *gumcystgum* or *gumcystigum*.

B. S. MONROE.

Cornell University.

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### THE AUTHORSHIP OF *Gorboduc*

Dangerous as it is to decide matters of literary authorship on internal evidence, it may at times be tried, especially if the period be one where literary language, not being the possession of the many, was more likely to bear the imprint of the few.

The argument of those critics who refuse to admit the joint authorship of Norton and Sackville is weak enough, in fact it is hardly more than a negation against contemporary evidence unimpeached at the time. Basing their claim, just as Warton did, on "the force of internal evidence," none of his followers could fairly challenge the methods by which F. Koch, Miss Toulmin Smith, and Mr. H. A. Watt have tried (the men with more zeal than the woman) to support the printer's assertion (see *Gorboduc; or Ferrex and Porrex*, by H. A. Watt, Madison, Wisconsin, 1910, Chapter v and bibliography).

It may be that a minuter examination than has thus far been made would bring to light more internal evidence in favor of a, if not of the joint authorship.

Whilst re-reading the play a short time ago, some peculiarities struck me, which at first had entirely escaped my attention. The chief one is certain *tripartition* in the sense and in the sound of a number of lines. It is surprising that, so far as I know, attention should not yet have been called to this point. In a drama which Sidney praised for "clyming to the height of Seneca his stile" it would seem natural to look for traces of the well-known rhetorical *trikolon*.<sup>1</sup> I shall only quote the most convincing lines. (The quotations are from J. W. Cunliffe's *Early English Classical Tragedies*, Oxford, 1912).

- I, 1. Murders, / mischiefe, / or ciuill sword at length (62)
- I, 2. To me / and myne, / and to your natie lande (28)
- For you, / for yours, / and for our natie lande (40)
- Whose honours, / goods / and lyues are all auowed
- To serue, / to ayde, / and to defende your grace (44-45)
- For kinges, / for kingdomes, / and for common weales (48)
- And thinke it good for me, / for them, / for you (70)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, I, 289 ff.).

- Their rule, / their virtues, / and their noble deedes (96)  
 Your eye, / your counsell, / and the grave regarde (110)  
 I thinke not good for you, / for them, / for us (160)  
 Ne kinde, / ne reason, / ne good ordre beares (204)  
 This fire shall waste their loue, / their liues, / their land  
 (295)
- II, 1. In flowing wealth, / in honour / and in force (42)  
 Is armed with force / with wealth, / and kingly state (63)  
 Their landes, / their liues / and honours in your cause (113)  
 Amid your frendes, / your vassalles / and your strength (136)  
 Your fathers death, / your brothers / and your owne (166)  
 The prince, / the people, / the diuided land (213)
- II, 2. Of horse, / of armour, / and of weapon there (7)
- III, 1. This flame will wast your sonnes, / your land, / & you (41)  
 The reuerence of your honour, / age, / and state (46)  
 While yet your lyfe, / your wisdome, / and your power (115)
- Chorus III. The dead black streames of mourning, / plaints / & woe (21)

Examining the last two acts, in all fairness I can find only two, or maybe three, lines as distinctly tripartite as those quoted above:

- Ruthelesse, / vnkinde, / monster of natures worke (IV, 1, 71)  
 To ruine of the realme, / them selues / and all (IV, 2, 63)  
 These ciuil warres, / these murders / & these wrongs (V, 2, 275)

This gives three lines against twenty-two, although the last two acts are longer than the average.

Again internal evidence would seem to show a difference between the first three and the last two acts. Again the test would fail to reveal in the last part peculiarities not found in the other published work of their assumed author, there being no strikingly tripartite lines in Sackville's contributions to the *Mirroure for Magistrates*.

JOS. E. GILLET.

*University of Illinois.*

#### COLLINS AND THOMSON—A SUGGESTION

In view of the friendship between Collins and Thomson, the following passages, by way of comparison, are interesting and suggestive. The first, from the *Popular Superstitions*, relates to a "luckless swain" who was led to his death "in the dank, dark fen" by Will-O'-The-Wisp (Stanza VIII, 121-125):

For him, in vain, his anxious wife shall wait,  
 Or wander forth to meet him on his way;  
 For him, in vain, at to-fall of the day,  
 His babes shall linger at th' enclosing gate.  
 Ah, ne'er shall he return.

The second, from *Winter*, relates to a "swain disastered" who meets his death in a snowstorm (311-317):

In vain for him the officious wife prepares  
 The fire fair-blazing, and the vestment warm;



In vain his little children, peeping out  
 Into the mingling storm, demand their sire,  
 With tears of artless innocence. Alas!  
 Nor wife nor children more shall he behold,  
 Nor friends, nor sacred home.

And some of the details in connection with the death of the swains have, apparently, more than an accidental similarity.

*University of Montana.*

GEORGE R. COFFMAN.

## BRIEF MENTION

*Common Conditions*, edited by Tucker Brooke, from the copy in the Library of the Elizabethan Club of Yale University, compared with the Chatsworth copy now owned by Henry E. Huntington, Esq. (Elizabethan Club Reprints, No. 1, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1915). An unusual degree of interest will be evoked by this edition of a play that has hitherto been known only according to a copy that lacked both the beginning and the end. It can now be seen how much has been wanting, and the critics that have exercised their ingenuity in conjecturing how the play ended will not all have the satisfaction of a verified guess. But these students of the play have something in their favor left in the cryptic and inconclusive character of the conclusion of the play, for even the complete text does not indisputably settle the question whether the ending is happy or unhappy. Nor does the recovered prolog resolve the ambiguity. The characteristic eloquence of the title-page is more to the point, for it declares the play to be "drawne out of the most famous historie of *Galiarbus Duke of Arabia*," and Mr. Brooke surmises (p. xiv) that perhaps "the play's termination was condoned in the eyes of a contemporary audience by the familiarity of its avowed source." However that may be, the once "most famous historie" is now most completely unknown, not a trace of it having yet been identified.

The play was licensed to be printed in 1576, and only two copies ("of two quite separate editions"), so far as is known, have "struggled through the centuries" to the present day. The play has been subjected to inaccuracies of name and date in its career thru the play-lists. The two surviving copies differ widely in their history. One has remained complete, but inaccessible; the other has lost by the way-side "nearly thirty per cent. of its original contents," but in its incompleteness has for some time been 'known and read.' By a curious turn of Fortune's wheel, as surprising as a turn in the play, both copies have found their home in America. The incomplete copy has been known since the latter part of the eighteenth century, when Malone made a transcript of it (Bodl.

Lib. ms. Malone 32). After having passed thru several sales (1787, 1800, 1812), it was purchased in 1834 by the Duke of Devonshire and remained at Chatsworth House until 1914, when it came into the possession of H. E. Huntington, Esq., of New York. Students of the drama were for the first time supplied with a reprint of this text in 1898, by Brandl (*Quellen und Forschungen* LXXX), and it is also reprinted in Farmer's *Five Anonymous Plays* (1908). Mr. Brooke observes that Farmer's "notes contain an allusion to the complete Mostyn copy." This latter quarto of the complete text was brought to Mostyn Hall in North Wales about 1690, as is conjectured. At the Mostyn sale in 1907 it passed to Quaritch, and then from him to the Elizabethan Club of Yale University. Mr. Brooke finds that this text has the added advantage of being the older, as is shown by the textual differences between the two.

Mr. Brooke has not made the reprinting of his unique quarto an easy task. He has not been content to rely solely on the printer's art, altho the beautiful new quarto (with text in black-letter) will win for him an appropriate share of appreciative thanks; but the results of his editorial acumen and scholarly industry will overtop the gratitude of the mere book-lover. His edition is strictly critical. The readings of the incomplete quarto are carefully exhibited, and explanatory and illustrative matter of considerable variety is brought together in twenty-four pages of notes. Then follow brief but important appendices on the authorship of the play, on ms. notes found in the Yale copy, and on the incomplete quarto and Brandl's reprint. With these parts is to be mentioned the Introduction, supplying the history of the quartos, a discussion of the play's ending, and an analysis of the rôle of *Common Conditions*, the Vice, "the pivot upon which the whole action of the piece turns." The student of the old plays will turn with special eagerness to the appendix on the authorship of this piece,—a subject that is involved in uncertainties of a baffling character. Mr. Brooke traverses the investigations and judgments of scholars, but arrives at no definite conclusion in the matter. At most he holds that *Common Conditions* would properly be placed at a middle point between *Cambises* and *Clyomon and Clamydes* (in this order), if a "fundamental relation between the three plays" is to be assumed. This relationship does not, however, necessarily imply common authorship; but if *Clyomon and Clamydes* be accepted as the work of the author of *Cambises*, then Thomas Preston would have "rather the best claim" to the intermediate play. In what way these plays may be interrelated awaits closer study (cf. the reserved and discriminating judgment of Mr. Brooke in his *Tudor Drama* 236 ff., where *Cambises* is declared to be "of another style"). In vocabulary, for example, there is enough to establish an affinity but more that favors a difference in authorship. The

striking mannerism in the use of the personal pronoun as a verse-tag, a stop-gap, a *cheville* is, indeed, found in the three plays, but with a difference (in *Cambises* it is very rare; only two examples are at hand; ll. 699, 928, and perhaps 389). The ungrammatical form is sparingly used in *Clyomon* ("I mean by Juliana she," i, 22: "was stoln by catiff he," iii, 89; "by serving Venus she," vi, 7; "Although that with Clamydes he," xi, 47, and only a very few more instances); it is, of course, altogether wanting in *Cambises*; whereas in *Common Conditions* it is surprisingly frequent.

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J. W. B.

The new edition of the *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini*, edited by Adolfo Padovan (Milano: Hoepli, 1915), represents the excellent text of the critical edition by Orazio Bacci (Florence, 1901), very slightly and reasonably modernized, and is equipped with an introduction, notes and several illustrations. The introduction of 29 pages gives a rapid but useful survey of the events and manners of 16th century Italy: one gathers a vivid impression of the gaiety and corruption of the times, and also the impression that ideas were rare, and that Benvenuto, in his objective attitude toward life, in his total lack of reflection, is typical of his contemporaries; but nothing is said about him or his work. The notes, which are partly taken from previous editions, are scanty. Most of them contain indispensable historical information. Those which interpret obscure passages and words are not always happy: *gelosia* is explained on p. 7 as "amore" and on p. 375 as "timore," but in both places it seems to mean 'anxiety.' Some are misleading: *ogni cosa* is interpreted (p. 167) by "compiutamente," as if it were an adverbial expression, whereas it is opposed to the *nulla* before it in the same sentence. Similarly misleading are: p. 371, n. 1; and p. 324, n. 2. On p. 275 "però . . . io non corsi la detta cavalla" is interpreted in accordance with the *Crusca*: "non cavalciai." The context shows that Benvenuto did ride the mare: *non corsi* means 'I did not override.' Doubtful interpretations are: pp. 342, n. 2; 381, n. 1; 418, n. 1. Few as the notes are, some seem superfluous, as e. g., that which explains that *innanzi* (p. 149) means "prima." Opinions will differ as to whether this work needed to be expurgated for the sake of the young. The passages omitted are not many and are mostly short, but in one case over three of Bacci's finely printed royal octavo pages are missing. The omission on p. 376 leaves the story incomprehensible, and the omission of single words here and there seems all too nice. No school-boy is expected to read through this work, and the youth of the *liceo* will not be benefitted by avoiding an ugly epithet on p. 376 only to meet a still uglier one which has been allowed to remain on p. 392. Benvenuto's witty reply to Bandinello, which threw the whole court into convulsions of laughter, has been sacrificed. The gaps left by the



scissors have, in every case but one, been ingeniously patched up so that no sign of them is left: a furtive procedure. Expurgation of a worthy text is always regrettable at least, and this should be said without terror of the epithet *saccentuzzo* with which Professor Scherillo threatens potential critics of the expurgated *Orlando Furioso*, another book belonging to this *Biblioteca Classica Hoepli-ana*.

J. E. S.

Altho dated 1913, the fourth part of Vol. iv of the third edition of *Goedekes Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (Dresden, L. Ehlermann) has only recently come to hand. The three volumes of Goethe-bibliography—designated as parts, in order to conform to the numbering of the second edition—are thus brought to conclusion. An approximate idea of the broader scope of the new edition, limited, for the present, to Vol. iv, may be gained by comparing its 1900 pages devoted to Goethe with the 340 pages of the second edition, the corresponding volume of which appeared in 1891. The greatest and most welcome increase is in the index, which takes up 210 pages of three columns, while the older edition has less than seven. One is now enabled instantly to refer even to small and comparatively unimportant articles, either by subject-matter or under the name of the writer, and every production of Goethe, down to the smallest poem, seems also to have been included. The value of the book is thus greatly enhanced, particularly to the uninitiated, who had often to scrutinize entire pages in the former edition to find the subject of his quest. Too much praise can not be accorded Dr. Kipka, the compiler of these Goethe-volumes, for his patient and painstaking work in this matter. It would be ungenerous to cite minor errors of omission or of commission, particularly as it is impossible for the editor of such a work to verify all the statements and references of his predecessors and authorities. One error, however, deserves mention, as its course of transmission can be demonstrated: The title of the small octavo edition of the *Ausgabe letzter Hand* is given as containing the words: *Unter . . . Privilegien. Taschenausgabe. Stuttgart . . . 1827/30*. Now, while scholars do refer to this edition as *Taschenausgabe*, to differentiate it from the simultaneous edition in large octavo, I have never been able to discover a single copy with this inscription, nor have I ever seen such a copy listed in any antiquarian catalog. It is simply an error introduced by Hirzel in his *Verzeichniss*, and thence copied by the older edition of Goedeke, as well as by v. Loeper in Vols. I and II of the Weimar edition. It was also taken over by Litzmann into Vol. x, followed, however, by the qualifying clause: "Es gibt auch Exemplare dieses Formats, bei denen die Bezeichnung Taschenausgabe auf dem Titel fehlt." I venture the assertion that it is lacking in all copies.

W. K.

The new edition of Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare* (The Macmillan Co., 1916) is, as stated on the title-page, "re-written and enlarged." Indeed, if we make allowance for the fuller content of the individual page, the present volume is almost twice as large as the work in its previous form. The first requirement, of course, in such a revision is that the writer should take due account of the progress of investigation relating to his subject. This requirement Sir Sidney Lee has met in a very satisfactory manner. He has incorporated into his work the essential fruits of recent researches into the history of the Elizabethan stage, the biography of the poet, and the sources of his writings, and his book has accordingly a stronger claim than ever to be regarded as the standard authority on its subject. Naturally, the expansion has been greatest in the portion of the work which deals with the Elizabethan theatres, and theatrical companies. The last ten or fifteen years, as everyone knows, have witnessed an extraordinary activity in these matters. It is sufficient to cite the names of Wallace, Feuillerat, Chambers, and Murray, and in regard to the structure of the theatres and technical stage conditions Reynolds, Lawrence, and Albright. The author has availed himself fully of the publications of these and of other scholars and thereby enhanced very materially the value of this division of his work. The discussion of the poems also shows improvements. New and telling parallels to the conceits in the Sonnets are adduced, and the writer has still further strengthened his contention that these poems are without autobiographical significance. Moreover, he recognizes in them now the influence of Renaissance Platonism, to which George Wyndham and J. S. Harrison had directed attention. Other instructive features of Lee's chapter on the conceits in the Sonnets are in his discussion of Shakespeare's debt to Ovid in these poems and of the influence of classical conceptions of friendship on the relation of poet to patron in the sixteenth century. There are many other additions, both in matters of detail and in questions of larger importance, which it is impossible to recount here. Suffice it to say that, taking it as a whole, the work has been brought thoroughly up to date. In some points, of course, the author's views will not always meet with the approval of workers in this field. For instance, he is too unqualified in his derivation of the Elizabethan drama from the drama of the ancients, he speaks too dogmatically concerning the sources of the quarto texts. Few will agree with him in assigning so mature a play as *The Merchant of Venice* to 1594. There are also omissions in his discussion of the sources of *Winter's Tale*. But these *corrigenda* and others of a similar kind are minor flaws in a work of high authority.

Bliss Perry, *Thomas Carlyle: How to know him* (New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1915). Within small compass Professor Perry includes a graceful sketch of Carlyle's life, an account of his literary, philosophic, and social theories, and of his method of work; and a series of fairly adequate extracts from his works, illuminated by occasional criticism and comment. Within its field—that of presenting a popular yet accurate estimate of Carlyle's work—it succeeds admirably. Much had to be passed over in so brief a study; however, one omission is serious: the German background of Carlyle's work. The treatment of *Sartor* is superficial and conveys little idea of the significance of the book. Moreover one positive error, seemingly slight, is yet misleading as to the entire construction of *Sartor*. Mr. Perry says (p. 90): "The Professor's book . . . is in three parts. The first and third are devoted to various aspects of clothes-philosophy, but the second professes to be an auto-biography of Teufelsdröckh himself." But in fact *Die Kleider, ihr Werden und Wirken* is in two parts, the "historical-descriptive" and the "philosophical-speculative," dealt with respectively in books I and III of *Sartor*. Book II is founded, not on *Die Kleider*, but on the paper bags of autobiographical notes communicated to the editor by Heuschrecke. A second error is noteworthy since it post-dates by seven years the definite enunciation of the doctrine of Hero-worship. On p. 171 Mr. Perry writes: "The theory concerning the Strong Person, plainly hinted in *Chartism*, became the theme of Carlyle's next book." The inference is that the theory first appears in *Chartism* (1839). Yet it is much more than "hinted" in *Sartor*, and in the essay on *Goethe's Works* (1832) there is an important passage, purporting to come from the pen of Teufelsdröckh, on "The Greatness of Great Men," in which the theory is in essentials present.

S. C. C.

In his *French Composition* (B. H. Sanborn & Co., Boston, 1915), Mr. L. Raymond Talbot continues the effort begun in his reader, *Le Français et sa patrie*, to direct the student's attention to French manners and customs. The text-book is a well-developed series of thirty exercises taking up in order the principles of grammar, but using as material such interesting subjects as a walk in Paris, the Postal System, the Carnival, the Markets, Brittany and Normandy. Each lesson consists of twenty or more detached sentences, and two passages of connected prose, followed by the necessary notes. A vocabulary completes the book. The texts are well composed, both from the point of view of illustrating the grammatical topics indicated for study, and from that of acquainting the student with the special terms and phrases appropriate to the particular subject of the lesson. The vocabulary is fairly complete and the translations are correct, tho one might wish for a greater number of alternative terms. The book should prove useful.

M. P. B.



# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## ON THE MEANING OF 'ROMANTIC' IN EARLY GERMAN ROMANTICISM

### PART I

It is generally agreed that the word 'romantic'—which still "über die ganze Welt geht und so viel Streit und Spaltungen verursacht"<sup>1</sup>—was launched upon its tempestuous career through nineteenth century criticism and philosophy by Friedrich Schlegel. It was in the second number of the *Athenäum* (1798) that he first proclaimed the supremacy of "die romantische Poesie," and thus converted the adjective—already a *Modewort* in some of its older uses<sup>2</sup>—into the designation of an æsthetic ideal and the catchword of a philosophical movement. But why was 'romantisch' the word chosen by "the new school" as the shibboleth of their sect? The question is of primary consequence for the general history of Romanticism. To understand the central ideas, the purpose and the program of the first of the many who have been called Romanticists, it is obviously needful to understand what

<sup>1</sup> Goethe to Eckermann, March 21, 1830. Goethe's own claim to have, with Schiller, originated this use of the word, or the idea which it expressed, will be touched upon below.

<sup>2</sup> Though instances of the use of the word in the seventeenth century can be cited, it came into fashion only after the middle of the eighteenth, chiefly, at least in its application to landscape, in consequence of the vogue of the translations of Thomson's *Seasons*. An interesting contribution to the earlier history of the word in Germany has been made by J. A. Walz, "Zum Sprachgebrauch des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Zs. f. d. Wortforschung*, XII (1910), 194. Upon the pre-Schlegelian vicissitudes of 'romantisch' I hope to offer some notes on another occasion.

there was in the meaning of this notoriously multivocal word that made it seem to them the most fitting to inscribe upon their banners.

The answer to this question which for nearly half a century has been the usual one was apparently first propounded by Haym. The key to the two Schlegels' use of the expression Haym sought in a correlation of the celebrated *Fragment*<sup>3</sup> in which "die romantische Poesie" is dithyrambically defined, with Friedrich's essay on *Wilhelm Meister* in the same number of the *Athenäum*. The program of the æsthetic revolution which the young enthusiasts proposed to carry out was, Haym declares, inspired and shaped chiefly by their admiration for the models lately set by Goethe; and for Friedrich, Goethe's masterpiece was *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. His first acquaintance with this novel was to him the revelation of a new poetic *genre*, comprehending and transcending all others. Consequently Schlegel,

"immer bereit zu neuen Konstruktionen und neuen Formeln, schöpft aus dem Wilhelm Meister die Lehre, dass der echte Roman ein *non plus ultra*, eine Summe alles Poetischen sei, und er bezeichnet folgerecht dieses poetische Ideal mit dem Namen der 'romantischen' Dichtung."<sup>4</sup>

According to this explanation, therefore, 'romantisch' was to Schlegel equivalent in meaning to 'romanartig'; it at the same time involved a special reference to Goethe's novel as the archetype of all *Romane*; the adoption of it as the designation of the 'poetisches Maximum' implied the thesis of the superiority of the *Roman* over all other *genres*; and it was from the characteristics of *Meister* that the general notion of 'the Romantic,' at least as an æsthetic category, was derived.<sup>5</sup>

This account of the matter has since 1870 been repeated by many writers, and appears still to be one of the common-places of the manuals of German literature, of the encyclopædias, and even of monographs on Romanticism. Thus Thomas writes: "By a juggle of words *Romanpoesie* became *romantische Poesie*, and Schlegel proceeded to define 'romantic' as an ideal of perfection, having

<sup>3</sup> No. 116 in Minor's numbering: *Fr. Schlegel 1794-1802*, herein referred to as *Jugendschriften*.

<sup>4</sup> Haym, *Die romantische Schule*, 1870, p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> The other principal source of Romanticism Haym found in Fichte's philosophy; the movement he describes as essentially a combination of *Goethianismus* and *Fichtianismus*.

first abstracted it from the unromantic *Wilhelm Meister*.”<sup>6</sup> Similarly Porterfield in his *German Romanticism* (1914, p. 44): Fr. Schlegel “went to Jena in 1796, where he worked out the theory of Romanticism from Goethe’s ‘Wilhelm Meister.’” Other recent writers who apparently adopt Haym’s view of the importance, in the genesis of Romanticism, of the conception *Roman* and of the model presented in *Meister* are Kircher,<sup>7</sup> Scholl,<sup>8</sup> and Schiele.<sup>9</sup> Marie Joachimi summarily rejects Haym’s explanation of ‘romantic,’ but does not offer any examination of his arguments nor any inductive study of Fr. Schlegel’s use of the term.<sup>10</sup> Walzel’s admirable *Deutsche Romantik* (1908) does not discuss the question directly, though it would seem to be inferable from the general account of the origins of the Romantic ideas given in this volume and in the earlier introduction to *Goethe und die Romantik*,<sup>11</sup> that Walzel does not accept Haym’s theory. The question of the origin and original sense of the term is likewise left undiscussed in Enders’s recent work on Friedrich Schlegel (1913). It is pertinent to the theme of this paper to note also that the authors of at least two recent treatises on Romanticism expressly deny the supposition, prevalent before the publication of Haym’s monumental work, that Fr. Schlegel’s use of ‘romantisch’ is to be understood in the light of the antithesis ‘classical-romantic.’ Thus Kircher: “Es ist der grosse Irrtum, die Antithese des Klassischen und Romantischen in den Mittelpunkt der Schlegelschen Theorie zu stellen. Nie und nirgends ist sie von Fr. Schlegel ausgesprochen worden.”<sup>12</sup>

It is the purpose of the present study to attempt an *Auseinandersetzung* with the still prevalent account of the source and original meaning of the term ‘romantic’ (in its use in the *Frühromantik*) and of the sources and content of the æsthetic and philosophical ideas for which the word stood. Incidentally, the tenability of the last-quoted negations will, I trust, have a good deal of light

<sup>6</sup> *German Literature* (1909), 332.

<sup>7</sup> *Phil. der Romantik* (1906), 163.

<sup>8</sup> “Fr. Schlegel and Goethe” in *PMLA.*, xxi (1906), 128-132.

<sup>9</sup> *Schleiermacher’s Monologen* (1914), xxvii.

<sup>10</sup> *Die Weltanschauung der Romantik* (1905), 118.

<sup>11</sup> Schüddekopf-Walzel in *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, 13 (1898).

<sup>12</sup> *Phil. der Romantik*, 152. Ricarda Huch has expressed a similar view (*Blütezeit der Romantik*, 5th ed., 52).



thrown upon it. What is, for the purpose in hand, necessary first of all is a consideration of the two writings of Schlegel's upon which Haym chiefly based his interpretation.

The *Meister-Aufsatz*, by itself, has nothing whatever to say, expressly or by any clear implication,<sup>13</sup> concerning the meaning of the term "romantische Poesie." True it is that Schlegel therein speaks of Goethe's novel with ardent enthusiasm, that he finds in it many of the traits elsewhere enumerated among the characteristics of 'romantic' poetry, that he sees in it the dawn of a new day in German, and even in European, literature. All this, however, falls far short of a proof of the equation: "romantische Poesie" = "Romanpoesie" = writings possessed of the qualities of *Wilhelm Meister*. But it can not be denied that *Fragment* 116—the one beginning: "die romantische Poesie ist eine progressive Universalpoesie"—reads as if it meant by "romantische Poesie" simply "der Roman" as a *genre*. For it speaks of the type of "poetry" which it defines, as a "Form" or "Dichtart," distinct from other recognized *genres*. In the following sentence, in particular, the identification of "die romantische Poesie" with the novel seems almost explicit: "Es giebt keine Form, die so dazu gemacht wäre, den Geist des Autors vollständig auszudrücken: so dass manche Künstler, die nur auch einen Roman schreiben wollten, von ungefähr sich selbst dargestellt haben." There are also in other *Fragments* some indications of a disposition to assign an especially typical significance to the *Roman* in general, as a characteristically modern and a peculiarly adequate vehicle of self-expression; *e. g.*, *Lyc.-Fgm.* 78:

"Mancher der vortrefflichsten Romane ist ein Compendium, eine Encyclopädie des ganzen geistigen Lebens eines genialischen Individuums; Werke die das sind, selbst in ganz andrer Form, wie der Nathan, bekommen dadurch einen Anstrich vom Roman."

And in *Ath.-Fgm.* 146, Friedrich Schlegel remarks that all modern poetry "has a tinge" of the character of the *Roman*.

Yet if this be the derivation and original meaning, for the *Romantiker*, of "romantische Poesie," one is confronted with an odd and incongruous fact: namely, that none of their subsequent

<sup>13</sup> The adjective occurs three times in a colloquial but vague sense, without reference to any special type or tendency in the history of literature—and therefore without pertinency to the question dealt with in this paper.

explanations of the term betray any knowledge of this meaning, or are in the least reconcilable with it. Only two years later (1800) in the *Gespräch über die Poesie* contained in the third volume of the *Athenæum*, Fr. Schlegel puts into the mouth of one of the interlocutors of his dialogue an entirely plain account of what the word meant for him, from what it was derived, and in what authors the qualities supposed to be connoted by it were supremely exemplified:

“Ich habe ein bestimmtes Merkmal des Gegensatzes zwischen dem Antiken und dem Romantischen aufgestellt. Indessen bitte ich Sie doch, nun nicht sogleich anzunehmen, dass mir das Romantische und das Moderne völlig gleich gelte.”

There are, that is, modern poems which are not romantic, *e. g.*, *Emilia Galotti*, which is “so unaussprechlich modern und doch im geringsten nicht romantisch.” To know what is truly romantic one must turn to Shakespeare,

“in den ich das eigentliche Centrum, den Kern der romantischen Fantasie setzen möchte. Da suche und finde ich das Romantische, bey den ältern Modernen, bey Shakespeare, Cervantes, in der italiänischen Poesie, in jenem Zeitalter der Ritter, der Liebe und der Märchen, *aus welchem die Sache und das Wort selbst herstammt. Dieses ist bis jetzt das einzige was einen Gegensatz zu den klassischen Dichtungen des Alterthums abgeben kann.*”<sup>14</sup>

The dialogue also, it is true, “defines” a “Roman” (by which is meant, a *good* “Roman”) as “ein romantisches Buch”; but it by no means affirms the converse of this definition. On the contrary, “das Drama so gründlich und historisch wie es Shakespeare z. B. nimmt und behandelt, ist die wahre Grundlage des Romans.” Nor

<sup>14</sup> *Athenæum*, III, 122-3. Cf. *id.*, 121: “das Eigenthümliche der Tendenz der romantischen Dichtkunst im Gegensatz der antiken;” 79, “es gelang dem Guarini, im *Pastor fido*, den romantischen Geist und die classische Bildung zur schönsten Harmonie zu verschmelzen.” There are, it should be added, half a dozen instances of “romantisch” in the dialogue in which the word refers, not to a class of literature, but to a quality or spirit supposed to be characteristic of that class. *E. g.*, 83: “Spenser gab seinem (Shakespeare’s) neuen romantischen Schwunge Nahrung;” “diese Ausbildung hauchte allen seinen Dramen den romantischen Geist ein, . . . und sie zu einer romantischen Grundlage des modernen Dramas constituirt, die dauerhaft genug ist für ewige Zeiten;” 107: “Jedes Gedicht soll eigentlich romantisch und jedes soll didaktisch seyn.” This use is, of course, entirely in keeping with the definition cited above; the romantic spirit is a somewhat which is “eigenthümlich modern.”

is anything of the nature of a narration or "history" essential to a romantic work: "Ein Lied eben so gut romantisch sein kann als eine Geschichte."<sup>15</sup>

It is, indeed, true that one of the interlocutors in the dialogue reads an essay *Ueber den verschiedenen Styl in Goethe's früheren und späteren Werken*, in which *Wilhelm Meister* is even more highly praised than in Schlegel's essay of two years earlier. But the use of the word "romantisch" in this essay is significant. Goethe is *not* spoken of as the typical representative of romantic poetry; his greatness is regarded by the imaginary author of the essay as consisting rather in his having accomplished "the ultimate task of all poetry," namely, "die Harmonie des Classischen und des Romantischen." Everywhere in *Meister* "der antike Geist" is evident behind the modern envelope. "Die beyden künstlichsten und verstandvollsten Kunstwerke im ganzen Gebiet der romantischen Kunst" are Hamlet and Don Quixote; it is "they alone which admit of a comparison with Goethe's universality." Here Goethe seemingly outranks his great precursors; but he is at the same time placed outside the "Gebiet der romantischen Kunst." And it is important to remember that, in the course of the discussion, this enthusiastic glorification of Goethe is somewhat severely handled by the other interlocutors. Antonio complains that "die Urtheile darin etwas zu imperatorisch ausgedrückt sind. Es könnte doch seyn, dass noch Leute hinter dem Berge wohnten, die von einem und dem andern eine durchaus andre Ansicht hätten."<sup>16</sup> More-

<sup>15</sup> Schlegel's "Antonio" in his *Brief über den Roman* (*Ath.*, III, 123). In the version of the *Gespräch über die Poesie* which appears in the collected works of Schlegel, there is added, as a sort of conclusion of the whole matter, a long speech by another interlocutor, Lothario, which places the *genre* to which both the novel and the drama belong upon a lower plane than the epic, "der einer tieferen Naturquelle entspringt und . . . die Seele der Poesie ist," and ascribes the highest rank of all to lyrical poetry, especially the religious lyric (*Werke*, 1846, v, 240). Since this passage does not appear in the original *Athenæum* text, it cannot be cited as evidence for the ideas of the early Romantic school.

<sup>16</sup> In the text of the dialogue in the Collected Works this comment reads: "Es könnte doch seyn, dass in andern, uns noch entfernten Regionen der unermesslichen Kunstwelt, diese neue Kunstsonne welche Sie uns aufgestellt haben, von jenen fernen Planetenbewohnern, ganz anders angesehen würde, und ihnen in einem andern minder stark glänzenden Lichte erschiene" (v, 236).



over, most of the participants in the dialogue point out that precisely that "unification of the ancient and the modern" for which Goethe had been chiefly eulogized, is a thing intrinsically impossible of achievement. Certainly in their metrical forms, urges one speaker, ancient and modern poetry remain forever opposed; there is no *tertium quid* in which the æsthetic values of the one form and of the other can be combined. Nor, adds another speaker, can the qualities of ancient and modern diction coexist. And, observes a third, in the all-important matter of the "Behandlung der Charaktere und Leidenschaften" the methods and aims of ancient and modern poetry are "absolutely different" and uncombinable. In the former, the characters are "ideologisch gedacht, und plastisch ausgeführt, wie die alten Götterbilder"; in the moderns, on the contrary, "ist der Charakter entweder wirklich geschichtlich, oder doch so construiert, als ob er es wäre; die Ausführung hingegen ist mehr mahlerisch individuell, nach Art der sprechenden Aehnlichkeit im Porträt." Finally, Lothario plainly declares that no tragic poet can serve two masters, can be strictly classical and typically romantic at once. The reason why the subject-matter of "ancient" tragedies, or of modern imitations of them, must be mythological, not historical, is because we now demand in the case of an historical theme "die moderne Behandlungsart der Charaktere, welche dem Geist des Alterthums schlechthin widerspricht. Der Künstler würde da auf eine oder die andre Art gegen die alte Tragödie oder gegen die romantische den kürzern ziehen müssen."<sup>17</sup>

Schlegel's explanations of the meaning of 'romantisch,' as an historico-critical term, in the *Gespräch über die Poesie* are, of course, duly noted by Haym, when in the course of his treatise he comes to deal with that writing. Their incompatibility with the earlier explanation based upon *Fragment* 116 in the first volume of the *Athenæum* is recognized by him.<sup>18</sup> These explanations in

<sup>17</sup> *Ath.*, III, 186-187. It is an odd commentary upon the supposed derivation of the idea of "romantische Poesie" from *Wilhelm Meister*, that early in 1799 we find Fr. Schlegel welcoming Tieck's *Sternbalds Wanderungen* (1798) as "der erste Roman seit Cervantes, der romantisch ist, und darüber weit über Meister" (*Briefe an seinen Bruder*, 414).

<sup>18</sup> Haym had, however, in his original presentation of this explanation quite unjustifiably claimed for it the sanction of Schlegel's usage in this dialogue: "Der Schlüssel zum Verständniss liegt in erster Linie darin, dass romantische Poesie einfach für Romanpöesie gesetzt ist. . . . Der

1800 Haym is compelled to regard as a revision of Fr. Schlegel's earlier conception of "romantische Poesie." "Formerly Schlegel had, it is true, derived this conception, at least in the main, from the *Roman*; now, while the same derivation is still fundamental, he emphasizes more strongly than before the historical relations of the conception."<sup>19</sup> And by the time of A. W. Schlegel's Berlin lectures (1801-1804) the change to a "new and more difficult conception of the Romantic has become entirely explicit (*ganz herausgerückt*)."<sup>20</sup>

What I wish to show is that this supposed later sense of "romantische Poesie" is in reality the primary one; that *Ath.-Fgm.* 116, in so far it uses the term in the sense of "Romanpoesie" or merely "Roman," is a momentary and misleading aberration from an all but constant usage, before, during and after 1798; and that Haym's emphasis upon the *Roman* in general, and upon *Wilhelm Meister* in particular, as the source from which Schlegel drew the idea of 'romantic poetry,' throws the history of the genesis of Romanticism very seriously out of perspective.

Haym himself has noted that Schlegel occasionally, especially in his earliest publication, uses the word "romantisch" with reference to "das epische Rittergedicht," and also with the meaning of 'medieval and early modern poetry in general.'<sup>21</sup> Examples of

gleiche Sprachgebrauch herrscht ganz unzweifelhaft in Schlegel's späterem 'Gespräch über die Poesie.'" (*Die rom. Schule*, 252.)

<sup>19</sup> *Die rom. Schule*, 688-9.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* 803. The elder Schlegel's explanations of the term in these lectures are here duly summarized by Haym; but it is perhaps worth while to recall two of the most significant passages. In the introduction to his third series Wilhelm Schlegel declares that he hopes speedily to remove any doubt "ob es denn wirklich eine romantische, d. h. eigenthümlich moderne, nicht nach den Mustern des Alterthums gebildete Poesie gebe." And the employment of the adjective "romantisch" to express this idea is justified as follows: "Ich will hier bemerken, dass der Name *romantische Poesie* auch in dieser historischen Rücksicht treffend gewählt sey. Denn Romanisch, *Romance*, nannte man die neuen aus der Vermischung des Lateinischen mit der Sprache der Eroberer entstandnen Dialekte; daher Romane, die darin geschriebnen Dichtungen, woher denn romantisch abgeleitet ist, und ist der Charakter dieser Poesie Verschmelzung des altdeutschen mit dem späteren, d. h. christlich gewordenen Römischen, so werden auch ihre Elemente schon durch den Namen angedeutet." (*Vorlesungen über schöne Litt. u. Kunst*, ed. by Minor, 1884, III, 7 and 17.)

<sup>21</sup> Haym, 251 and note.

these uses, however, are far more numerous in all periods than Haym indicates. Some additional examples are worth citing.

On February 27, 1794, Friedrich writes to his brother that the problem of the poetry of their age seems to him to be that of "die Vereinigung des Wesentlich-Modernen mit dem Wesentlich-Antiken"; and adds by way of explanation:

"Wenn Du den Geist des Dante, vielleicht auch des Shakespear erforschest und lehrest, so wird es leichter seyn, dasjenige was ich vorhin das *Wesentlich-Moderne* nannte, und was ich vorzüglich in diesen beyden Dichtern finde, kennen zu lernen. Wie viel würde dazu auch die Geschichte der romantischen Poesie beytragen, zu der du einmal den Plan fasstest?—Die Geschichte des neuern Dramas und des Romans wäre dann vielleicht nicht so schwer."<sup>22</sup>

With the problem which here preoccupies the younger brother we are not, for the moment, concerned. Suffice it here to note that a "history of romantic poetry" would apparently (though the language is not unequivocal) deal with Shakespeare and Dante, and clearly would *not* include the more recent drama and the novel; and that the conceptions of "romantic" poetry and of "the essentially modern" are already closely united in Schlegel's mind.

In the essay *Ueber das Studium der griechischen Poesie* (1794-5) the term "romantische Poesie" constantly occurs, sometimes as a designation for the romances of chivalry, sometimes with the broader meaning already noted, of 'medieval and early modern literature.' It is perhaps in the former sense that Schlegel uses the expression when, in justification of his assertion that Shakespeare is "the most complete and most characteristic representative of the spirit of modern poetry," he writes:

"In ihm vereinigen sich die reizendsten Blüthen der Romantischen Phantasie, die gigantische Grösse der gothischen Heldenzeit, mit den feinsten Zügen moderner Geselligkeit," usw.<sup>23</sup>

The broader sense, however, appears to be intended in the passage in which Schlegel, lamenting the literary degeneracy of later ages, asks:

"Was ist die Poesie der spätern Zeit als ein Chaos aus dürftigen Fragmenten der romantischen Poesie? . . . So flickten Barbaren

<sup>22</sup> Walzel, *Fr. Schlegels Briefe an seinen Bruder*, 170. This contemplated "History of Romantic Poetry" is again referred to in a letter of Dec. 7, 1794.

<sup>23</sup> Minor, *Jugendschriften*, I, 107.



aus schönen Fragmenten einer bessern Welt Gothische Gebäude zusammen." <sup>24</sup>

In February of 1798—i. e., almost at the moment of the composition of the essay on *Meister* and the *Fragmente* in the *Athenæum*, Friedrich proposed to his brother that they should write jointly a series of "Letters on Shakespeare," which should include, among other things, "eine Charakteristik aller romantischen Komödien," "eine Theorie der romantischen Komödien, mit Vergleichung von Shakespeare's Nebenmänner, Gozzi, die Spanier, Guarini, etc."; and a "Charakteristik des romantischen Witzes, mit Rücksicht auf Ariost und Cervantes." Examples of a similar use in the *Gespräch über die Poesie* have already been cited. In the second volume of the *Athenæum* (II, 324) Schlegel, speaking of the lack of a good German translation of Don Quixote, writes: "Ein Dichter und vertrauter Freund der alten romantischen Poesie, wie Tieck muss es seyn, der diesen Mangel ersetzen will." Instances of the same general sense in writings of Fr. Schlegel after the *Athenæum* period are frequent: e. g., in the essay on Boccaccio, 1801, he speaks of "die ursprüngliche Fabel von Florio und Blanchefleure" as "eine romantische Dichtung," and comments on "die kindliche Einfalt des romantischen Märchens." <sup>25</sup> In the edition of Schlegel's collected works prepared for publication by himself he brings together, under the designation of "Beyträge zur romantischen Dichtkunst," four essays, dealing with Boccaccio, with Camoens, and other early Portuguese and Spanish and Italian

<sup>24</sup> Minor, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Other examples of 'romantisch' in the same essay are: "Die Phantasterey der romantischen Poesie"; "die moderne Ritter der romantischen Poesie"; Ariosto und "andre scherzhaft romantischen Dichter"; "der Fantasie-Zauber der romantischen Sage und Dichtung"; "jene seltsame Muse der romantischen Spiele und Rittermährchen"; "die fantastische Gestalten der romantischen Dichtkunst"; "Wieland's romantische Gedichte"; "Tasso hat sich von der romantischen Manier nicht weit entfernt"; "Versuche, die romantische Fabel oder die christliche Legende in einen idealischen schönen Mythus zu metamorphosiren." Schlegel once speaks of "das Romantische Gedicht der Griechischen und Römischen Epopoë," in a passage in which he is bringing out the similarity between the Homeric epic and the romances of chivalry. Of 'romantisch' in the sense 'romanartig' there seems, besides *Ath.-Fgm.* 116, to be only one (probable) example: *Lyc.-Fgm.* 49.

<sup>25</sup> *Werke*, 1864, VIII, 13.

poets, with "Northern Poetry" (Ossian, the Edda, the Nibelungenlied, etc.), and with Shakespeare.

Thus the adjective "romantisch," as applied to classes or bodies of literature or to individual writings was in habitual use by Fr. Schlegel throughout the seventeen-nineties, and subsequently, as an ordinary historical epithet. When, therefore, he rhapsodized over "romantische Poesie" in the best known of the *Athenæumsfragmente*, he was not coining a new term, nor even employing one unusual in his circle. If—as I do not deny—Haym's interpretation of this *Fragment* is correct, Schlegel was there using the word in a very unusual and paradoxical sense. *Romantische Poesie* as equivalent to *Romanpoesie*, or *der Roman*, is almost a *ἄραξ λεγόμενον*, incongruous even with the senses of the word in other *Athenæumsfragmente*. When Shakespeare's universality is said to be "der Mittelpunkt der romantischen Kunst," it is manifest that *romantisch* can not refer to a *genre* of which Shakespeare offers no examples. When it is declared that "aus dem romantischen Gesichtspunkt," the very *Abarten* of poetry, even the eccentric and the monstrous, have their value as aids to universality ("provided only they be original"), it seems improbable that nothing more than the 'novelistic' point of view is meant.

It is, in any case, evident that in the *Athenæum*, and thereafter, *romantisch*, as a term of literary criticism, no longer merely *denotes* either a certain class of writings or a certain period of the history of literature. The word is now all compact of æsthetic and philosophical connotations. There is now, as we have seen, not only a body of poetry which is called *romantisch*, but also *ein romantischer Gesichtspunkt*. The essential question, then, is: From what more concrete sense did this larger, philosophical meaning of the term *romantische Poesie* develop? Haym's interpretation implies that it was derived primarily from reflection upon the nature of the *Roman* as a *genre*, and above all from a generalization of the æsthetic qualities illustrated, and the æsthetic principles inculcated, in Goethe's *Roman*. This view will, in the second part of this study, be shown to be erroneous. I shall there endeavor to prove that the conception of Romantic art was virtually completely formulated by Fr. Schlegel *before* his acquaintance with *Wilhelm Meister*, and before his own conversion to the "romantic point of view"; that this conversion, moreover, was probably not due to

the influence of Goethe, but partly to other external influences and partly to the 'immanent logic' of his own earlier æsthetic principles; and that, therefore, the emphasis upon *Fgm.* 116 and upon the relation of the meaning of *romantisch* to the *Roman* and to *Meister* (for which Haym is chiefly responsible) tends to obscure the real origins both of the name, and (which is much more important) of the idea, of 'the Romantic,' in its æsthetic and philosophical signification.

A. O. LOVEJOY.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

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### SHAKESPEARE AND GRILLPARZER

Just one week after I had sent my doctor's dissertation off to be printed and while I was filled with the good bourgeois sentiment of being thrice happy at seeing my labors well begun, there arrived the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1915 containing a very interesting essay, "Grillparzers Verhältnis zu Shakespeare," by Dr. Edgar Gross. My work will not be printed, for, altho richer in illustrations, it contains very little that Dr. Gross has not stated better in his article. The spirit and the essence of both are exactly the same.

It is surprising how very similar the two dissertations are even down to the phrasing of certain ideas. For example, I pointed out the irony which lay in the fact that Grillparzer, a most subjective poet, should be expressing great surprise at the fact that men of fine taste like Voltaire or Byron did not recognize the full beauty of Shakespeare. In this connection I used a phrase which I thought of as a product of my present study of Kant; I said that Grillparzer was trying to find the "Shakespeare an sich." Gross says on page 3: "Er wollte zu der Poesie an sich gelangen." A few lines below this we read that according to his standard of "absolute poetry" Grillparzer selected his literary favorites, whose number, owing to the high demands made on them, was very small, but therefor all the more faithful companions thruout the course of his long and lonesome life. I had selected as the title of my thesis, "Grillparzer's Lifelong Friend, Shakespeare." In both dissertations Schreyvogel is mentioned as the one who opened Grillparzer's eyes to a complete understanding of Shakespeare's greatness.



Dr. Gross tells the story of this lifelong friendship as we find it told in Grillparzer's autobiography and other sources, beginning in the library of his father, where the nine-year-old boy found *Hamlet* and *King Lear*, to the time when a few months before his death the aged poet discusses with a friend *Othello*, which he had read about sixty times. Wherever and whenever opportunity offered, in Vienna, in Stuttgart on a visit to Tieck, in London, and even in Greece, Grillparzer witnessed performances and readings of Shakespeare and discussed them in his diary.

About the time when Grabbe wrote his *Shakespearomanie*, and also later, Grillparzer turned with the bitterest of satire on critics like Schlegel, Tieck, Gervinus, and others. The poet Grillparzer had a much deeper understanding for the tragedies of Shakespeare than these men of whom he said sarcastically that they pretended to read in Shakespeare's breast what he had really intended to say. Often it seems that what Grillparzer says about Shakespeare's characters is a chapter from his own life, for example, what he writes about Hamlet and Ophelia at the time of the crisis in his affair with Kathi Fröhlich. All of these short criticisms the poet wrote not for publication, but merely to clarify his own ideas. They are not written in any one volume but on any scrap of paper that he found at hand. After his death they were collected and ordered by the men who compiled his complete works. Dr. Gross gives all the essential points of Grillparzer's Shakespeare criticisms which covered a period of over fifty years.

In the chapter dealing with Shakespeare's influence on Grillparzer's works Dr. Gross makes a sharp differentiation, just as I found it to be the case, between the fragments of his youthful period and his later dramas. In the former the influence of Shakespeare is sometimes found in literal translations: "Schüttle deine blutigen Locken nicht nach mir," one of Grillparzer's kings, sketched after Macbeth, is made to exclaim. The lover and his friend in *Spartacus* have very direct prototypes in *Romeo and Juliet*, while the language employed echoes many poetical images from Shakespeare's Song of Songs of love. The nurse with her lengthy babblings, her pandering, her love for her charge, is copied directly from Shakespeare, but I miss in Gross the mention of one characteristic in which the later development of Grillparzer can be plainly seen: the moralizing of the nurse. Just as in the other fragment of this period, *Der Sommernachts Traum*, we find Grillparzer still in

the clutches of a rather "hausbackene Moral," far from the free heights of the Renaissance poet to which, however, he rises in his masterpieces, for example, in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*. The Shakespearean heroes who attract him chiefly at this period are Romeo, Percy Hotspur, Falstaff, and villain-heroes like Macbeth and Richard III. The imitation is often quite slavish. Because Percy's wife threatens, "Wilt thou have thy head broke?" the peasant girl in *Alfred der Grosse* fetches a huge club to beat the hero who is also in many other respects like Hotspur.

But all this is changed in Grillparzer's master plays. The tyro has himself become a master in the field of the world-drama. No longer do we find any direct borrowings, but the influence of Shakespeare has become spiritual. A problem, a character, a mood, or a scene offer suggestions to Grillparzer in the creation of his independent plays, but they are no longer his models. Here we can never be quite certain that we find the fruits of Shakespeare's influence, because Grillparzer is now himself a past-master, and might have come by all his splendid creations independently. Dr. Gross shows the same restraint from definite assertions in this chapter which I considered to be necessary toward presenting the true state of affairs.

The example which I considered the best in showing just how Grillparzer in his later dramas filled with a larger meaning suggestions from Shakespeare is not found in the German essay. Many critics have pointed out that Grillparzer's *Rudolf II* has many of Hamlet's characteristics. It is one of the tragic incidents in Hamlet's career of indecision that at one time he rouses himself to a sudden decisive action and kills "that wretched, rash, intruding fool Polonius." Grillparzer presents a similar situation in *Ein Bruderkwitz in Habsburg*, but by how much did he not intensify and deepen the tragic content! Rudolf II in a time out of joint finds it impossible to rise to any decisive action. He has a natural son, Don Cäsar, who while manifesting some of the same wanton characteristics which his father showed in his youth, becomes guilty of slaying a young girl. Don Cäsar in prison tears the bandage off his wrist thus committing himself to certain death, unless a physician comes to his rescue immediately. While the emperor's friend Julius intercedes for the young criminal Rudolf suddenly casts the key to the prison into the deep well in the courtyard with the words:

Er ist gerichtet,  
 Von mir, von seinem Kaiser, seinem . . . .  
 (mit zitternder, von Weinen erstickter Stimme)  
 Herrn!

What he intended to say was, "Seinem Vater." Julius says of the emperor after the latter has staggered out of the room:

O, dass er doch mit gleicher Festigkeit  
 Das Unrecht ausgetilgt in seinem Staat,  
 Als er es austilgt nun in seinem Hause.

Very good, too, are Dr. Gross' remarks about the tragic in Grillparzer's dramas. We find a development from conflicts like those found in Schiller's dramas between the individual and the moral law to great world-tragedies which transcend those of Shakespeare—only we must regret that Dr. Gross seems never to have heard of the book which deals expressly with this problem, *Grillparzer und das neue Drama*, by O. E. Lessing. Does the German feel in duty bound "Amerika tötzuschweigen"?

A. E. ZUCKER.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

### THREE CHARACTERS BY HENRY MOLLE

No one has yet attempted a detailed bibliography of English character-writings. The chief character-books are familiar enough; but scattered through the most diverse volumes of the seventeenth century are to be found specimens of character-writing that are either neglected or entirely unknown, though many of them are witty, well drawn, and throw light on the customs, manners, and thought of their times. For example, Morley has noticed that at the end of the over-long satire, *Naps on Parnassus*, 1658, are "two Satyrical Characters of a Temporizer and an Antiquary." In *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex*, 1696, are to be found "A Pedant, A Country Squire, A Bully, A Scowrer, A Beau, A Poet-aster, A Coffee-house Politician, A Vertuoso, A City Critick."

Ms. Rawl. Poet. 246 ff. 48-9, of the Bodleian Library, contains the three following characters. So far as I can ascertain, they have not been printed. They are signed Henry Molle. He was a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, who took his A. B. in 1617 and his A. M. in 1620. In 1639 he was made Public Orator, fol-



lowing R. Creyghton of Trinity, who in turn succeeded George Herbert, the poet, in that position. There is a brief mention of Molle in *King's College* by the Rev. A. Austen Leigh, London, 1899. "When after the King's death the Republic was proclaimed, and the members of the College were required to take the engagement of Oct. 12, 1649, that they would be true to the new constitution without a King or House of Lords, a considerable number of Fellows either resigned or were ejected, among them Henry Molle, the Public Orator, who lost both office and Fellowship together" (pp. 131-2).

Molle's brief sketches speak for themselves. Sturbridge Fair is interesting because that well known place of amusement was probably the original of Bunyan's Vanity Fair. (See *John Bunyan: His Life, Times and Works*, by John Brown, Boston, 1885, p. 279). At the end of these three characters is another, entitled "The Night-mare." It is nothing more or less than Shakespeare's description of Queen Mab, *Romeo and Juliet*, I, iv, 53-94. At least one reader of the play believed that Shakespeare in this famous passage was simply trying his hand at a popular form of writing.

These characters are printed with the original spelling and punctuation. The contractions, it will be noticed, have not been given except in next to the last sentence of "A Rambler" where the meaning of the abbreviation is obscure.

#### The Author of the three following Characters

Is one that is ill sighted and looks asquint on the world, and like an ape on a tradesmans stall, mocks and makes mows at all that passe by him. Nature and his Education like kind Parents have bestow'd an indifferent portion of witt on him, which like a prodigall he profusely wasts and mispends, not so much for his owne pleasure, as the pastime of some and abuse of others. He was ill Catechised in his childhood and hath not yett learn'd his duty towards his neighbour for most irreverently he derides and abuseth his betters. His ambition is the reputacion of a nimble witt, which you must needs grant him, for nimbly it skips over his owne vices and lights on the imperfections of others. His conceipt like the offspring of a fleshfly feeds on corrupt humours and finding not food sufficient abroad, returnes for farther supply at home, where it sucks out from its owne store, enough to furnish and finish the Character. Directly to define who or what he is I cannot, since his person as his name is conceald. But if we may censure him as he all others, by guesse, He is of no profession, for he quarrells with all, no Religion, since to proclaime a jest, he sticks not to profane the text.

His meditation as the sight through a glasse perspective is transported to objects far remote and observes nothing neerer him in him. He is a common barrester and quarrells with all men, and rather than want mater to worke on, he seeks knotts in a bulrush, and where he finds not, makes one. In breif, to trouble you no longer with him, His skull is the nutt shell and his braine the soapy froth in it, which blown with a puff of vaine glory sends forth these bubbles, which flying in the aire of the world make a glistening show and are admirable sport for Children, but the solid judgment esteems them as they are, Toyes, and with a blast of austere censure dissolves them into nothing and there's an end of them.

#### A Bedell

Is one that hath been a scholler, is a Master of Arts, and will be anything he may: he is heire apparent to every thing that falls and in the greater part tryes his title; he is to the Vice-chancellour as the article to the Nounne, and his office consists much in usshering him demurely and calling a Congregation with a good grace. He is a man of much action and some speech; and but of the Regent house, like the French waiters he is a cover'd servant. He looks kindly uppon all, but hath his distances of respect proportionable to degrees and condicions; the succession of Vice-chancellours is his computacion and he allwaies prefers the present. He commends smoothnes and quiett passages in the University and rejoyceth to see the fruitfullnes of his mother. The purchase of his office is Simony drawn out at length, which he executes by tradicion rather than by book. He serves in learning to the schools and like a server at table tasts none himselfe. His busines is to gett ground of other offices to lay to his owne, and he courts the heads for an interpretacion. He studyes composicions and as the University judges of learning and manners so he of revenews of commencers. His staff he layes down yearely at the Universities feet, which presently for leggs makes him an act of Resumption. He pretends to rule all and prevailes till he meets with a Vice-chancellour that knows himselfe and him so well that though he follow him, yett he will not be led by him. Breifely, He only knows profitable statutes and practiseth only what he knows.

#### A Rambler

Is a reasonable spung, that sucks not in the best liquor, but what comes next: ease and example corrupted him and being taken (like a Dequoy Duck) he serves to bring others in: His Fortitude is to beare drinke and his Justice is to pledg and bee pledged. Hee rolls from house to house like a ship without a sterne, and at every Red lattice putts in to take fresh. He confirms the Philosopher that thought moisture the beginning of things and as a creature of that he is hardly contained within his owne bounds. After some days

forraging home he comes with his load, and the next morning with yawnes, stretches, and belches, he sacrifices to yesterdayes remembrance. Drink is his bisines and sleepe his recreation. He is the list for diseases to fight in, which at last leave their owne quarrells and turne all upon him. He prefers the invention of a Tabaccho-pipe before navigacion or Printing: and thinks poorly of them that never drink but when they are dry. Of the Elements (with Pindar) he commends water, and of the combinacions, cold and moysture. The most of man that he shows is in being sociable, and he never parts without an appointment of the next meeting. He divides the Day and the night into halfes and knows not what a forenoon is made of. Quantity he regards rather than quality and dayly coines new phrases for being drunk. The heate of his liver makes bold with his complexion, and he looks so much on the face of a jug that the strength of his imaginacion workes him like it. The moysture of his lower parts furnishes his upper region with meteors which must either be spent with abstinence or composed with poenitentiall drinke and pottage. After a hott service he will repent and keepe close, but with much perplexity for feare his companions shold think him earnest and lett him alone. Without any ends of sinister respect he loves [drink?] purely for itselfe and Tobaccho as his fds fd. Breifly He is anything but himselfe and if you find him not here, go a Proctouring.

#### Sturbridge Fayre

Is a stubble feild oregrown with booths, a peaceable camp or a towne sticht up; a place where men thinke they are couzened and are not deceiv'd. The Londoners bring downe theire sick commodities to take the ayre, and the Countrey tradesmen to sweare and utter their wares with creditt: the heavyest wares go lightest off and the Pedler and Tobaccho man are the last that are borne. It is a resort of divers humours accustomed to flow to such a place at such a season which the heate of a few daies commerce spends and disperses. The schollers make it their suburbs, and though they buy but superfluities yet they thinke their journey necessary. The countrey Gentleman makes his provision in his best cloaths, and hath brought his wife with him to save her longing. Cold meate and hot drink are in fashion and the greatest affront to the fayre is foule weather. The buyers and sellers like Gamesters worke one upon the other and the Victualer like the box takes on both sides. The Northern man maintaines his Prerogative of being lowest and his speech is as broad as his cloath. The tradesmen like Poenitentiareyes live in sackcloath, and keep their families in booths, as the Hollanders doe in ships. At last, like an enchanted Castle, it is resolved into dust and oyster shells and the corruption of this one faire, is the generation of divers others.



## CYNEWULF'S *CHRIST* 678-679

It must have occurred to every attentive reader of Cynewulf's *Christ* that the poet indulged in an odd freak of fancy when he mentioned the power of tree-climbing in his enumeration of the God-given attributes of mankind. I, at least have never been reconciled to the eccentricity. Otherwise, the passage (659-685), which parallels *The Gifts of Men* (also in the Exeter Book), has adequate dignity and considerable poetic charm.

To one is given eloquence of speech and song; to another the power of harping; to another the interpretation of divine law; to another knowledge of the stars; to another writing; and to still another success in war. Another, again, is a bold sailor. Then occurs the passage to which I have reference, and after it the mention of the man who can forge weapons and of him who has been a traveller. In all this there is nothing trivial or grotesque. In short compass we have a review of the chief activities of mankind. Why should tree-climbing be placed among them?

Verses 678b-679a read:

Sum mæg hēanne bēam  
stǣlgne gestīgan.

Grein translated:

Mancher mag hohe Bäume  
steile besteigen.

Gollancz has:

One can ascend  
the lofty tree and steep.

Brooke's rendering is:

One the soaring tree  
Can, though steep, ascend.

Some such translation there must be of the text as it stands. Kennedy's interpretation: <sup>1</sup> "And one ascendeth up the steep, high cross," would be plausible, if the whole passage were not concerned with the natural endowments and occupations of man. Since it is, any reference to the cross, with or without the intention of alluding to the crucifixion of Christ, does not fit into the context.

The difficulty is one of sense, and in a lesser degree of style. The verb *gestīgan* cannot mean anything else than *ascend* or *climb*, as

<sup>1</sup> *The Poems of Cynewulf*, 1910, p. 173.

is assured by an examination of all the passages where it occurs; yet the feat of tree-climbing (usually taken, I believe, as representing what we modern Americans call "athletics") seems oddly out of place among the capabilities listed above. Moreover, the position of the adjective *stælgne* is odd. Its parallelism in meaning with *hēanne* of the previous line is not developed as it stands. Instead, there is an uncomfortable syntactical arrangement not common with *Cynewulf*. As a predicate adjective it would be excellently placed at the beginning of the line, but as an attributive modifier of *bēam* it is out of harmony.

For the sake, then, of both sense and style emendation of the text seems desirable, even though tampering with manuscript readings ought to be resorted to as infrequently as possible. This seems to me a case where a change is necessary. The change I suggest is very slight. Instead of *gestigan* I would read *gestiepan*, involving a change of only two letters. The verb occurs twice in Old English poetry: once in *Exodus* 297, where it has its proper meaning of "raise, erect," and once in *Beowulf* 2393, where it is used in a metaphorical sense. The uncompounded *stiepan* is half a dozen times recorded, and *onstiepan* once. The passage in *Exodus* gives the meaning that I believe to be the correct one for *Christ* 679. It is a question of building. That the suggested reading is slightly *durior* does not make it less plausible.

For sense the reading is certainly preferable to that of the traditional text.

One the high tree  
Can raise aloft.

That is, such a man is a builder, a joiner, a carpenter—whatever the skilled artisan who raised mead-halls may have been termed. The sailor is mentioned just before him and the armorer immediately after him. A necessary occupation is thus celebrated in its proper place. Surely such an interpretation of the passage is more sensible than to regard it as an allusion to sport.

It is worth while noting that there are two references to building in *The Gifts of Men*. The first (44-48) seems to have reference, like the passage discussed above, to the grand style of construction, while the second (75-76) speaks in more general terms of the craft. Both help to confirm my view that house-building rather than tree-climbing was regarded by our vigorous ancestors as a true gift of God.

GORDON HALL GEROULD.

*Princeton University.*

## A NOTE ON FLAUBERT'S *NOVEMBRE*

In a letter to Louise Colet classed second in the series of 1853,<sup>1</sup> Flaubert makes mention of a young guest expected at Croisset upon the following day. He writes of him as follows: "Quant à lui il m'a paru être un assez intelligent garçon, mais sans *âpreté*, sans cette suite dans les idées qui seule mène à un but; il donne dans les théories, les symbolismes, Micheletteries, Quinetteries (j'y ai été aussi, je les connais)." <sup>2</sup>

Quinetteries! Flaubert, in the throes of tremendous struggles over the writing of *Madame Bovary*, might well allude to the enthusiasms of his early romanticism in half-mocking fashion as *Quinetteries*. The reference to Quinet, as to a youthful folly long since outgrown, is none the less significant. It is Flaubert's own acknowledgement of a literary influence perceptible in several of his *Œuvres de Jeunesse*: that of Quinet's *Ahasvérus* (1833).

As to Flaubert's acquaintance with the book, Maxime Du Camp says: "Il les savait par cœur [*René* and *Ahasvérus*], les récitait, en était imprégné jusqu' à les reproduire sans même le soupçonner."<sup>3</sup> Descharmes notes the similarity between *Ahasvérus* and *Smarh*.<sup>4</sup> A. Coleman, in a more recent study of Flaubert, also testifies to the influence of *Ahasvérus* upon *Smarh*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Conard Edition. All references to Flaubert's works are to the Conard Edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Corr.*, II, pp. 200-201.

<sup>3</sup> *Souvenirs Littéraires*, I, p. 168. (P. 313).

<sup>4</sup> Descharmes, *Flaubert: Sa Vie, son Caractère et ses Idées avant 1857*, pp. 115 f. P. 117: "La similitude est surtout frappante quand on rapproche d'*Ahasvérus* un opuscule écrit par lui au printemps de 1839. Entraîné par l'exemple d'un livre qui avait eu son heure de vogue, il a voulu dans *Smarh* retracer, lui aussi, sous l'aspect d'un symbole général, l'épopée de la misère humaine, comme avait fait Edgar Quinet. La donnée des deux ouvrages est identique." (v. *Ibid.*, p. 458, l. 1.)

Had Descharmes access to the ms. of *Smarh*, or had he read only the fragments of the work incorporated in *Par les Champs et par les Grèves?* V. Descharmes, *ib.*, p. iv, n. (1), and p. 117, n. (1). If only portions of *Smarh* were accessible to him, the testimony of Descharmes would be all the stronger.

<sup>5</sup> Elliott Monographs. A. Coleman, *Flaubert's Literary Development in*



*Smarh* was written between the end of 1838, and April 1839.<sup>6</sup>

*Novembre* was finished in 1842.<sup>7</sup>

Touching upon the name *Novembre*, Mr. Coleman suggests "that Flaubert might well have had in mind, when choosing the title and writing the opening paragraphs of his prose poem,<sup>8</sup> another *Novembre*, that of *Les Orientales*, and especially two of its stanzas:

'Quand l'automne, abrégeant les jours qu'elle dévore,  
Eteint leurs soirs de flamme et glace leur aurore,  
Quand novembre de brume inonde le ciel bleu,  
Que le bois tourbillonne et qu'il neige des feuilles,  
O ma muse! en mon âme alors tu te recueilles,  
Comme un enfant transi qui s'approche du feu.

Puis tu prends mes deux mains dans tes mains diaphanes,  
Et nous nous asseyons, et, loin des yeux profanes,  
Entre mes souvenirs je t'offre les plus doux,  
Mon jeune âge, et ses jeux, et l'école mutine,  
Et les serments sans fin de la vierge enfantine,  
Aujourd'hui mère heureuse aux bras d'un autre époux'."

He adds, however: "It would be inadvisable to take the comparison too literally or to attempt to point out any sustained parallel between these lines and *Novembre*. It might well be argued that Flaubert named his poems<sup>9</sup> independently; that as autumn is autumn, whether in Flaubert or Hugo, the theme itself inevitably suggest (*sic*) a certain landscape and a certain melancholy and a regretful looking backward at the spring and summer of life."<sup>10</sup>

If a literary source of inspiration is to be considered, however, what could be more convincing than to find such a source in *Ahasvérus*? In fact, in *Ahasvérus* is found a passage which might so well have suggested both the title and opening paragraphs of *Novembre*, as to make the parallel with *Les Orientales* seem far-fetched, if not actually unnecessary.

the light of his *Mémoires d'un Fou*, *Novembre*, and *Education Sentimentale* (Version of 1845), p. 21; p. 97, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Corr.*, I, p. 38; *ib.*, p. 46; *O. de J.*, II, p. 120; Coleman, *ib.*, p. 31, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Coleman, *ib.*, p. 22, and n. 1; *Corr.*, I, p. 181; *Corr.*, II, p. 393; *O. de J.*, II, p. 162, p. 256.

<sup>8</sup> The use of the word *poem* may be questioned.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Coleman, *ib.*, p. 30.

"Plus loin! avançons!  
Quand le monde est passé, il reste  
encore dans son verre un goût amer;  
quand il est tu, on entend après lui  
frissonner à sa place un mot qui  
s'appelle Désespoir. De sa branche  
sont tombés ses noms, ses jours de  
fête, ses calomnies, ses fleurs san-  
glantes; comme feuilles mortes en  
novembre, mes pas les balayent. A  
mon tour, quand viendra ma saison  
de novembre?"—Quinet, *Ahasvérus*,  
p. 308.

"J'aime l'automne, cette triste  
saison va bien aux souvenirs. Quand  
les arbres n'ont plus de feuilles,  
quand le ciel conserve encore au  
crépuscule la teinte rousse qui dore  
l'herbe fanée, il est doux de regarder  
s'éteindre tout ce qui naguère brû-  
lait en vous.

"Je viens de rentrer de ma pro-  
menade dans les prairies vides, au  
bord des fossés froids où les saules  
se mirent; le vent faisait siffler  
leurs branches dépouillées, quel-  
quefois il se taisait, et puis re-  
commençait tout à coup; alors les  
petites feuilles qui restent attachées  
aux broussailles tremblaient de  
nouveau, l'herbe frissonnait en se  
penchant sur terre, tout semblait  
devenir plus pâle et plus glacé; à  
l'horizon le disque du soleil se per-  
dait dans la couleur blanche du ciel,  
et le pénétrait alentour d'un peu de  
vie expirante. J'avais froid et pres-  
que peur.

"Ma vie entière s'est placée de-  
vant moi comme un fantôme, et  
l'amer parfum des jours qui ne sont  
plus m'est revenu avec l'odeur de  
l'herbe séchée et des bois morts; mes  
pauvres années ont repassé devant  
moi, comme emportées par l'hiver  
dans une tourmente lamentable;  
quelque chose de terrible les roulait  
dans mon souvenir, avec plus de  
furie que la brise ne faisait courir  
les feuilles dans les sentiers paï-  
sibles; une ironie étrange les frôlait  
et les retournait pour mon spectacle,  
et puis toutes s'envolaient ensemble  
et se perdaient dans un ciel morne.

"Elle est triste, la saison où  
nous sommes."—*O. de J.*, II, *Novem-  
bre*, pp. 162-163.

Flaubert's familiarity with *Ahasvérus*, and the marked influence  
of *Ahasvérus* upon *Smarh* are, by the testimony given above, estab-

lished beyond reasonable doubt. Flaubert, engaged upon *Novembre* in 1842, can not completely have forgotten the book which so strongly determined his work between 1838 and 1839. Therefore, nothing seems more probable than that the passage quoted from Quinet should have furnished a suggestion for Flaubert's next step.

ALICE P. F. HUBBARD.

*Bryn Mawr College.*

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### REVIEWS

*Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*, von AGATHE LASCH. Halle, Niemeyer, 1914. (Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte IX.)

The last twenty years have seen the gradual entrance of women into the field of philology, a domain which had hitherto been almost exclusively cultivated by men. A number of able dissertations and other smaller contributions have appeared from the pens of women, but as far as I know, this grammar of Middle Low German is the most pretentious piece of philological work attempted by a woman. Moreover, the attempt was of special difficulty, as the Low German field has been rather neglected, when compared with the attention paid to Gothic, Old High and Middle High German. Very little has been done in the way of investigation of the use of individual chancelleries and of their relations to each other. What grammars there were, such as K. Nерger's *Grammatik des mecklenburgischen Dialektes älterer und neuerer Zeit*, 1869, and Lübben's *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*, 1882, were antiquated and superficial. Lübben's work especially was invalidated by his refusal to recognize the presence of the umlauts of *o* and *u*. Miss Lasch prepared herself for her larger work by a study of the *Schriftsprache in Berlin bis zur Mitte des 16. Jh.*, 1910. In the present work, although laboring under peculiar difficulties, being able to investigate *an Ort und Stelle* only in her summer vacations, she has produced a grammar which takes its place worthily at the side of the other grammars of the series. The word *kurz* in the title of the series is somewhat of a misnomer when applied to such grammars as Braune's *Ahd. Grammatik*



which is invaluable for its wealth of detail. So this work of Lasch of nearly 300 pages, 190 of which are devoted to the phonology, with its valuable system of cross references, is comprehensive rather than brief.

The author has wisely based her work on the *Urkunden*, letters and other prose texts of the period, especially on those connected with the chancelleries, as being less subject to High German influence than verse was, as shown by Roethe in his *Reimvorreden*. She has cleverly disarmed criticism by calling attention to the fact, that owing to the lack of preliminary investigations (*Vorarbeiten*) her work must be considered merely an *Anregung für weiteres Schaffen*. Nevertheless the author has not contented herself with writing a merely descriptive grammar, the easiest and safest thing to do under the circumstances, but has had the courage to treat the speech phenomena in most cases historically and to venture explanations of the causes of the many sound changes. One feels on almost every page that she has had to make these decisions by herself on the basis of the material collected, with little or no help from others. Under such conditions it is but natural that here and there one may differ from the author, believe that her conclusions are false or at least too hasty, or that her presentation is unclear. Behaghel in his review (*Litbl.* 1915, 76-82) has called attention to a number of such cases. The following have occurred to me in reading through the work:

On p. 51 in speaking of the lengthening of a vowel before *r* + *n* or *d*, Lasch remarks that the introduction of an *e* between *r* and *n*, e. g. in *koren*, proves this. There is no doubt, of course, that the vowels were lengthened in such cases, as shown by such spellings as *peerde*, *geern*, etc., but I fail to see how the introduction of *e* between the consonants proves this, at least it does not in other dialects. Thus it is frequent in older Upper German owing to the reluctance to pronounce such consonants together, but there is no indication that the vowel in such cases is lengthened, cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* p. 61.

§ 79 we read: '*har* < *her* in älteren texten ist vortonige entwicklung; vgl. *antwer* usw. § 221, III.' These two phenomena can not, however, be compared, as in *antwer*, as Lasch herself points out, we have the retention of original *a*, but in *har* *a* is developed from *e* before *r*.

In § 83 Lasch explains the forms *derf* and *der* as due partly to enclisis or proclisis, partly to the influence of *r*, especially of *r* + cons. This latter development is, however, rare, as L. herself confesses, § 77. Generally the reverse is the case. As to its being a weakening due to the lack of emphasis this is even more doubtful. No other preterite-present verbs show such weakenings and in general these verbs are too important in meaning to be unstressed. To my mind a much simpler explanation would be to consider *derf* and *der* as due to analogy with the plural forms *derven* and *derren* which occur as variants of *dörven* and *dörren*, cf. § 442. On the other hand, the adverb *der* given in Anm. 1 as a weakening of *dar* is correctly explained. It occurs already in O. S. (Holt-hausen § 125) and is frequent in M. H. G.

§ 96 we read: 'auffallend sind einige male die schreibungen *au* vor *ld*.' To judge by the remarks that follow, L. does not seem to recognize this wide-spread change of *a* to *au* before *ld* which is common in Scotch (*auld*, etc.) and in Dutch (*out* 'old,' *houden* 'hold,' etc., cf. Franck, *Mndl. Gr.* § 50). It is also found in Silesian texts of the 14th and 15th centuries, probably through the influence of the Dutch colonization (Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* § 37).

§ 121. In his review Behaghel considers the following statement difficult to understand: 'Einsilbige wörter vom typus *êt* 'eid' scheinen vielfach unter dem ton gedehnt zu sein. Mit auffallend häufigem *eit* (mit *ei*) vgl. bei Oldecop *ehit* 'eid.' I suppose Lasch means that the spelling *ehit* would indicate that the *ê* was drawled and changed to a long diphthong *êi*. To my mind, however, the frequent occurrence of *eit* makes it natural to suspect H. G. influence which is undoubtedly the cause for the appearance of *heit* in syllables with secondary stress instead of the usual *hêt*. Behaghel is right in considering Lasch's remark on this in § 122 incorrect. That *ei* and *ê* should occasionally occur side by side as given in § 123 need not surprise us. The difference between *ê* and *ei* was so slight in the older language that they are frequently confused in H. G. dialects where no L. G. influence is possible (cf. Braune § 44 anm. 4). L. herself says, § 23: die scheidung von *ê*, *ei* ist mnd. orthographisch nicht deutlich. In some cases in M. L. G. the *i* might be explained as in § 22 as *ein nachgeschriebener vokal*.

In § 166 we miss an explanation of the wide-spread appearance

of *ou* for *ô* in older texts. Lübben explains it as due to a drawing pronunciation (*breite, gezogene Aussprache*) and not to the influence of H. G. We have here undoubtedly the first orthographical evidences of the development of *ô* to *ou* or *au* which also characterizes English and occurs in three out of the four main divisions of the modern L. G. dialects (Cf. Grimme, *Plattdeutsche Mundarten*, § 59).

§ 172 we read: 'Die bedingungen unter denen *wi- > u* wurde, sind noch nicht sicher erkannt. Wahrscheinlich vor ursprünglich folgendem dunklem vokal, etc.' To my mind the change does not depend principally on the vowel or consonant that follows, but upon the preceding *w*, which everywhere tends to labialize a following palatal vowel, as in H. G. (*würde < wurde, zwölf < zwelf*). H. G. always retains the *w*, but many languages drop it as soon as the vowel has assumed the *w*-quality. This is especially the case when *w* is medial after consonant. In the words for 'sister' this is true of practically all the Germanic languages except H. G. (M. E. *suster < sweostor*; Dutch *zuster*; Danish *søster*; Swedish *syster*; Icel. *systir*; Rip. *söster*. Swedish shows the same phenomenon in *tolf* 'twelve'). That the change in *süster* is more consistent and general than in *tüschen*, is probably due to the fact that it had no related word at its side to exert a corrective influence. In *tüschen* for *twischen* the word for 'two' with which it was felt to be connected either helped to retain the *w* or to reinstate it after it had already been lost, as in the case of the form *twüschen*. The labialization of *i* to *ü* was probably aided by the *sch* of the word, which has a rounded pronunciation in German dialects (Viëtor, *Phonetik* p. 184). The form *schöpen* for *schepen* admits of the same explanation, aided by the labial character of *p*. The consonant *s* itself may have had a labializing effect in L. G. as in M. L. Fr. (Cf. Franck, *Mln. Gr.* § 55) and the forms *sös, söstich* and *söder < seder* may be accounted for in that way.

In § 227 the *ss* of the pronoun *desse, düsse* is explained as the assimilation of the dative cases, O. S. *thesemu* and *thesaro* becoming respectively *desme* and *desre*, from which the stem *dess-* is then derived. This theory is ingenious, but I can recall no case in which *sm* or *sr* assimilate to *ss*. On the contrary *sm* becomes *mm* by assimilation, as in Gothic *þamma* when compared with Sanscrit *tasmai*; *sr* becomes *rr*, as in M. H. G. dat. fem. *dirre*. If, as gen-



erally assumed, the pronoun *desse* is composed of *þe* + *se*, then the *ss* form is probably due to the influence of the gen. sing. masc. or neuter with internal inflection, i. e. *þes* + *se*. This form does not occur, it is true, in O. S., as far as the literary monuments go, but might have existed, just as it did in O. H. G. *desse*. Cf. Kluge, *Urg.* p. 212; Braune, *Ahd. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> p. 240.

§ 231. How does L. know that metathesis is dependent on the development of a secondary vowel? Sievers in his *Phonetik*, § 771, says nothing of such a cause, but speaks merely of a 'Vertauschung der Reihenfolge (wie *bersten* aus *brestan*)'; nor is any such reason given either by Franck, *Mnl. Gr.* § 105 or by Wilmanns, *Gr.* I, § 159 in their treatments of metathesis. As is well known it is common both in English and Dutch where the development of secondary vowels is rare.

In § 232 it would be better for the sake of clearness to separate Primitive Germanic consonant gemination from the West Germanic, as Braune has done, *Ahd. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> § 95 seq. Especially confusing to the beginner is the placing of the examples of P. G. gemination after those of W. G., whereas in the text above the processes are mentioned in their chronological order.

In § 261 L. treats one of the most difficult and puzzling problems of L. G. philology, the disappearance of the nasals *m*, *n* before the spirants *f*, *þ*, *s*. Especially difficult is the question of the disappearance of *n* before *þ*, as the modern dialects are not in accord with the O. S., or at any rate with the dialect of the *Heliand*, in this particular. Such forms as O. S. *ôðar* stand in sharp opposition to M. L. G. *ander* and to the various modern forms with *n*, but agree rather with the Anglo-Frisian branch. Various explanations have been suggested. Collitz, (*Pub. M. L. A.* XVI, 131; *Wald. Wb.* p. 70 seq.) considers the O. S. forms to show the influence of a Frisian literary dialect. Bremer, (*Pauls Grdr.*<sup>2</sup> I, 866,) thinks the distinction a social one, that a few prominent families spread the Anglo-Frisian dialect over all the Saxon lands. Mutschmann, (*Beitr.* XXXII, 544 seq.), believes that *n* was first dropped everywhere before *þ*, but that when *þ* became *d*, that *n* was reinstated. I agree with Lasch on this point that it is better to assume that the forms with and without the nasal existed side by side. The nasal form must have always existed among the people and have been spoken by them. Temporarily it was crowded out of the lit-

erature in the O. S. period under the influence of a literary or social norm, to reappear again in M. L. G. after this influence had waned, just as the dual forms of the personal pronoun were preserved for hundreds of years among the people of Bavaria without a trace of them being seen in the literature.

In the case of *n* before *s* the development seems to have been more consistent, altho *n* forms appear here too. In the dialects of the old Saxon land the *n* seems to have been universally lost before *s*; where it appears it is probably due to foreign influence, either Low Franconian or High German, in both of which *n* was retained. The *s/n* line, as Wrede remarks (*Anz.* 18,405), is 'ein herkömmlisches unterscheidungsmerkmal zwischen nd. und md.' On page 406 he further states that the line marks a fundamental difference between the dialects of the old *Stammland* and those of the younger colonial lands in the east. To my mind these two circumstances give the key to the situation and indicate that the retention of *n* is due to outside influence. Lasch seems to think that *n* was regularly retained in the plural of the word for 'goose,' but lost in the singular, to judge by her remark: 'das zu erwartende *gense* ist noch oft erhalten: Prignitz sg. *gôs*, pl. *gäns*.' Under the declension of the feminine *i*-stems, however, she says nothing of a change in the plural. Without having been able to investigate the matter in detail, it seems to me in view of the modern forms (Grimme § 127 gives no instance of a sing. or plur. with *n* and Wrede makes no distinction between sing. and plur.) extremely doubtful that *n* was retained in the plural as opposed to the sing. That *n* should appear in the colonial lands, as in Prignitz, is but natural, as they stood under the influence of the Dutch. Where, however, the country was settled by people of Saxon origin, as in Mecklenburg, the word appears without *n*, as L. shows. As to *uns*, *unser*: *ûs*, *ûser*, the fact that the literary form exhibits *n*, while the one without *n* is the colloquial word (*Sprechform*), seems again to point to foreign influence. In Brandenburg and in Westphalia, where Dutch influence was strong, we learn from Lasch that in the one case *uns* was the regular form, in the other it predominated. It is to be regretted that L. with the wealth of material she has collected did not investigate the matter thoroughly with the idea of throwing more light upon the word, which, as Collitz (*Wald. Wb.* p. 61) says: 'noch sehr der Aufhellung bedarf.' We hope that she will take the question under consideration.

In § 298 Anm. we read: 'Mnd. inlautend *v* zeigt heute sehr verschiedene entwicklung: teils ist es labiodentaler spirant, teils entwickelt es sich zum verschlusslaut *b*, teils ist es ganz geschwunden.' For those who are not as familiar with the modern L. G. as the author, it would be well to give examples of these various developments of *v*, especially as in § 290 Anm. 2 the appearance of *b* for *v* in early texts is considered to be due to H. G. influence, and Grimme, § 104, states that *v* remains in modern L. G. when medial as *w*, except before *m*.

In § 308 the remark: 'In weitem umfange ist die öffnung des dentalen verschlusses nach einem auslautenden dental schriftlich fixiert' would be clearer if the word *nasal* were introduced, as it is the question not of any dental closure, but only of the dental nasal. Not until the reader glances at the examples does he see what is really meant. Similarly the sentence: 'Interkonsonantischer dental fällt zuweilen' would be improved by the addition of the word *aus*, as this phenomenon is usually termed *ausfall*. In the same paragraph two sentences seem to contradict each other, unless I have failed to catch the drift: 'Besonders oft ist *t* nach *ch* und *f* ausgefallen' and 'Inlautend wie auslautend scheint die nachbarschaft eines dentalen den ausfall zu begünstigen.' If a dental favors the syncope of *t*, then one is surprised to learn that it takes place so frequently after *ch* and *f*. It seems to me that we have to do here with two entirely different phenomena. In the case of *is* for *ist* and *sin* for *sint* we have the same reluctance to end a dental spirant with a dental stop when the word is unstressed that we have in English and Dutch and which has made *is* the standard form in these two languages, whereas in H. G. with its crisper and sharper enunciation the *t* has been retained in *ist*. For the same reason *t* is dropped in the unstressed word *sint*, just as in Danish *d* is not pronounced in such compound numerals as *tresindstye*, although it is still written. On the other hand, in the case of *t* disappearing after *ch* or *f*, it is the difficult consonant combination caused by the difference of articulation which produces the syncope of *t*. This is the only condition involved, as Moser points out (*Einführung in die frühnhd. Schriftdialekte* § 115: 'nach schwerer Konsonanz.'). It is found in all dialects, cf. *mark* for *markt*; *achzig* for *achtzig*; *willpraete* for *wiltpraete*; *Hauptmann* for *Hauptmann*, etc. Lübben, p. 47, remarks: 'Es muss der nhd. Zunge schon früh wie heute schwer gefallen sein, das *t* nach *ch*



ordentlich zu Gehör zu bringen.' In the same paragraph and in § 230 Lasch calls the disappearance of *t* in *beste* < *betste*, *leste* < *letste* a kind of dissimilation. Again I must differ, for to my mind it is not dissimilation but rather assimilation which causes the *t* to disappear. Holthausen, § 239, speaks merely of the *Schwund des t*, but both Paul, *Mhd. Gr.* § 71, 2 and Wilmanns, *Deutsche Gr.* I. § 161 treat of it as assimilation.

In § 337 we read: '*k* > *ch* nach *i* in unbetonter stellung: *-ik* > *-ich* in der silbe *-lik*, etc.' It seems to me that it may be fairly well doubted, whether this is a regular sound change, as Lasch seems to think. Lübben, p. 57, states that the ending is regularly *-lik*, but that it is occasionally written *-lich* by false analogy with the ending *-ich* (mhd. *-ic*), which in turn by false analogy appears as *-ik*. That we have to do here with a confusion of the two suffixes *-lik* and *-ig* is shown by the fact that in the longer form *-liken* the *k* is often written *g* (*-ligen*), since *k* does not otherwise appear as *g* between vowels (cf. Lasch § 335). If the change were a regular one, then we should expect to find it in the pronoun *ik*, as this is frequently unstressed. Lasch, however, does not consider such forms as *ich*, *ech*, to be L. G. If that is the case with *ich*, then it is also likely to be true of *sich* for *sik*. Grimme § 108 states that the suffix appears as *-lik* in the Assinghausen and Ostbevern groups of dialects, but *-lich* in the Stavenhagen group and *-li* (< *-lich*) in the Heide group. Again, however, the confusion in the latter case is shown by the fact that medially it appears as *-lig*. A confusion with the suffix *-ig* would of course account for *ch*, as *g* is always written *ch* when final. There is still, however, another possible interpretation of the *ch*, which L. herself suggests in connection with the pronoun *ich*, namely, that *ch* might stand here for *kh*, i. e. an aspirated *k*. In § 336 she calls attention to the fact that *k* when final often appears as *ch* = *c* (*volch*, *dinch*). She then continues: 'Hiernach wird auch *ch* nach vokal zu beurteilen sein, und es wird sich in dem häufigen *ôch* nicht immer um spiranten handeln müssen.' In the case of *sprach*: *sprechen* which she explains together with *shê* and *vhê* as an instance of the tendency to lengthen short words by the addition of *h*, the *ch* should be rather explained as in *volch*. As to the names compounded with *-rik*, they, too, can be similarly explained as *ch* for final *k*, or as H. G. influence, which as we have seen, is strong in family names.

In § 351 we read: 'Auslautendes *ch* nach konsonant oder langem vokal wurde früh zum hauchlaut und schwand.' As the only instance of *ch* disappearing after consonant, which L. is able to adduce, is *beval* and she herself is not certain but what this is an 'ausgleich nach dem inlaut,' it seems to me it would be better to state that *ch* disappeared after a long vowel and then give *beval* as a doubtful case of the same thing happening after consonant. Behaghel asks in his review, how L. knows that *ch* became a 'hauchlaut' before disappearing. To my mind L. is right here, for this is the only possible physiological explanation of the dropping of *ch* in such cases, just as in the frequent instances in H. G. This is best seen when medial, as for example when the *h* of M. H. G. *stahel* gradually loses its spirant character, so that the word becomes the monosyllabic N. H. G. *stahl*, where *h* is retained merely as a sign of length.

§ 361. As the nom. and acc. of neuter *e/o* stems were already identical in the primitive Indo-European period it is hardly a correct way of putting it to say, as L. does in this paragraph, that the nom. and acc. sing. of masculine and neuters had fallen together, as if it had taken place at the same time.

§ 362 in speaking of the retention of the thematic vowels of *i* and *u* stems in O. S. (*kuri*, *sunu*) it would have been well for the sake of accuracy to have mentioned that this was the case only with short stems.

§ 382 something should have been said about the dropping of *n* in the acc. sing. of fem. weak nouns (*tunge*). This is especially striking, as the *n* was retained in the parallel case of the weak adjective in M. L. G. In H. G. the *n* persisted through the M. H. G. period and in fact down to the end of the 18th century, as many cases in Goethe's works show. The *n* was of course dropped through analogy with the nominative case, as stated by Wilmanns, III, 2, p. 394.

In the treatment of the cardinals we read § 396, Anm. 4 that the gen. plur. *twîger* cannot be derived from O. S. *twoio*, but must have been modeled on *drîger*. This is false, as *drîger* occurs in O. S. just as little as *twîger* does. The gen. plur. of 'three' does not occur in our O. S. documents, but Holthausen, § 379 gives the starred form *\*thrîo* on the analogy of O. H. G. *drîo*. The *er* form of M. L. G. in both words is due to the influence of the gen. plur. of the adjective in *er(e)*. In O. H. G., Tatian uses *zweiero* and

from the eleventh century on *driero* is found. The *er* form became the prevailing one in M. H. G. as in M. L. G. See Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* § 270, anm. 2 and 4 and also Wilmanns III, 2, p. 445.

In § 422 in the treatment of the 2d sing. pret. of strong verbs one misses a statement to the effect that the O. S. form ending in *i*, with its pret. subj. vowel had been given up in favor of the *-est* (*-es*) of the weak verbs. It is true that L. does not in all cases trace the forms from the O. S., but she does it so frequently that it would be well to make her practice uniform, especially as such an historical treatment adds immeasurably to the value of any grammatical treatise.

The proof-reading of the grammar has not been as careful as in the case of most books printed in Germany, which is partly due, as the author explains, to her great distance from the printer. In addition to the many errata given on pp. 285-286, I have noted the following: p. 75 l. 3 read § 403a2 for 402 a. 5; § 244, l. 1 read *nach* for *noch*; § 271 *nn* > *nd* should read *nn* < *nd*, cf. § 323 and § 261 anm. 3.; p. 172, l. 6 from below read *anlehnung* for *ahnlehnung*; § 404 anm. 1 read § 403 for § 402.

Altho I have felt it necessary to differ with L. in the points treated above, I do not wish to be thought as belittling the admirable work that the author has done. One has only to open the book at random and to compare any treatment with the corresponding one in Lübben to be convinced of the great advance which this grammar denotes. Where Lübben contents himself with a few general and often vague remarks we find here a wealth of detail. The sounds are treated from every point of view and the thorough system of cross references will make the book invaluable as a reference work. Especially good is the discussion of the umlauts of *u* and *o* which L. conclusively proves to have existed in M. L. G., tho Lübben denied it. No less than twelve pages are devoted to umlaut as compared to five in Lübben. Excellent is also the treatment of grammatical change in § 226 and that as a principle regulating the alternation of *d* and *t*, *f* and *v*, it gave way to the laws of finals. The detailed statistics of the change of *th* to *d*, § 319, are of decided value for students. Lübben gives practically nothing but the mere statement of the fact. The introduction and the general treatment of the period, including the question of the literary norm and the orthography, is well written, accurate and succinct in its statements. In addition the work is



provided with an excellent bibliography and a good word-index. Syntax is not treated, but the author is evidently following here the tradition set by Braune in the same series. The most original and on that account the most debatable part of the grammar is that in which L. states her views as to the development of the long monophthongs in L. G. Deviating from the ordinary view, she considers them secondary. Instead of thinking that the so-called *tonlange vokale* were simply the lengthening of short vowels in open accented syllable, she believes that diphthongs first appeared, which were later simplified to monophthongs. On this account she rejects the expression *tondehnung* and *tonlange vokale* and substitutes that of *zerdehnung*. This view is not entirely new, as Jostes criticized the older belief nearly thirty years ago (*Nd. Jb.* XI, 91) and Collitz (*Wald. Wb.*, p. 6) says: 'man darf mit gleichem Rechte annehmen, die nordsächs. einfachen Tonlängen seien aus Diphthongen . . . hervorgegangen.' Collitz therefore suggested the expressions *verstärkte Vokale* or *gesteigerte Vokale* in place of *tonlange*. The older view, however, still held the field and Lasch, evidently feeling that her theory might arouse opposition, explained it and developed it at length before the appearance of her grammar in an article, *Beitr.* XXXIX, 116-133. Her fears proved true, as it has resulted in a somewhat acrimonious discussion. Frings attacked her rather unkindly, *Beitr.* XL, 112-126 and she answered *ibid.*, p. 304, deprecating his arrogance, but defending her position vigorously and convincingly. Thus far she seems to have had the better of the argument. The courteous character of her reply wins the sympathy of the reader and convinces him that the advent of women in the field of philology is a good thing, if it will put an end to the supercilious and discourteous tone which unfortunately too often disfigures articles written by German scholars.

DANIEL BUSSIER SHUMWAY.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

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*An Italian Dictionary* by ALFRED HOARE, M.A. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1915.

At last an excellent Italian-English Dictionary. This is the impression one gets even from a rapid glance at Mr. Hoare's book. It is ample, yet of reasonable size; it is printed and bound hand-

somely; the paper is thin, yet solid; the only disadvantage of the volume is that it sells for twelve dollars, a price that obviously makes it inaccessible to most students and teachers. The contents of the book are well arranged; the words adequately explained. This Dictionary indeed fills a gap in the study of Italian by English-speaking people. For, of course, we had many dictionaries, from Baretti's, which is rather old-fashioned, to Edgren's, which might well be called the best of our small modern Italian-English interpreters, neither, however, being quite adequate. And between them there is a host of unsuccessful and misleading attempts, such as Melzi's and a dozen or more other pocket and table dictionaries. Now at last we really have a good work, and the more one gives it careful perusal the better it seems. Mr. Hoare obviously is a scholar, a very accurate craftsman, a man intimately familiar with Italian thought and literature, and with all the shadings of Italian expression, even down to the most colloquial Tuscan idioms. We needed just such a book and needed it badly; how refreshing it is to find that it has been done, and done remarkably well!

### *Arrangement*

In his Introductory Remarks the author describes the method of his book. The Italian-English part is very full and detailed, the English-Italian part very short and concise. This seems wise because, after all, most students want a reading knowledge of Italian, a knowledge that will give them a pass to the infinite treasures of Italian literature; very few can hope to speak or write Italian well without going to Italy, and for ordinary needs a "concise" English-Italian Dictionary is quite sufficient. Two sizes of type are used in the Italian-English part, words most looked for being printed in larger type. This scheme, of course, leaves much to the arbitrary judgment of the compiler, so that nobody will agree with him in every single case, but the idea is a practical one, and very rarely seems misleading. All "affiliated" words, such as diminutives, etc., which are so numerous in Italian, are merely indicated by their terminations, without translation. This saves a quantity of futile explanation. All irregular tenses of verbs are given under the infinitive, a thing most convenient for beginners. Practical abbreviations have been adopted, for instance, for exact cognates, and for obsolete and local words, which are marked by an asterisk

and a dagger, respectively. Adequate signs are also provided for correct pronunciation, the "hard and soft *s* and *z* are distinguished by having a dot over them when they are soft"; open and close *e* and *o* (which are so puzzling) are "indicated by a grave and acute accent respectively." These are not the signs and the nomenclature more commonly adopted by phoneticians, but they are simple and correct. Etymologies are amply given, following Diez, Pianigiani etc. In his "Notes upon the Italian Language" Mr. Hoare speaks with appropriate brevity of the origin, punctuation and pronunciation of Italian, and adds a few grammatical remarks so short as to suggest that the author is merely trying to make clear a few points neglected or not clearly stated by grammars. This part is unsatisfactory. He ends these "stray notes" with a few clear words on Italian suffixes.

In making this book Mr. Hoare of course made use of many others, most of which he enumerates on p. xiii. Among the strictly Italian Dictionaries the most authoritative is doubtless that edited by the *Accademici della Crusca*. Unfortunately, however, it does not go any farther than the letter M. Next in importance come three excellent dictionaries: the *Tommaseo-Bellini*, the *Petrocchi* and the *Rigutini e Fanfani*. It is probable that Mr. Hoare made use of these works in some such order, though he seems more often to have followed Petrocchi.

### *Italian-English Dictionary*

Words are peculiarly living organisms. Many are old friends: we make use of them continually, and yet when we come to examine them closely we are puzzled. The more we look at them the more obscure they seem to become. It is probably instinctive familiarity and long experience with the two languages as much as careful investigation that will suggest the varied significance, the exact elasticity of a word, which at first sight seemed so obvious and limited. In reviewing a large dictionary done by a master hand one feels therefore somewhat timid, because perusal of the book must remain incomplete, and because criticism of it, in spite of authoritative references, must remain rather subjective. It is with this feeling that the following remarks are made. This Dictionary has been tested in several different ways. First from the point of view of ordinary spoken language, to see whether any words have



been actually omitted (other than those accounted for in the Introduction), whether all the meanings of a word are given, and in the correct order, and whether all kindred idioms appear with their exact English equivalents; from the point of view of archaic literary language, to see whether words used, for instance, by Dante, and now either dead or bearing a different significance, have been included; from the point of view of popular Tuscan idioms, inasmuch as Tuscan, since Dante the literary language of Italy, and studied and imitated diligently by such standard or popular authors as Manzoni and De Amicis, is today the central vehicle of literary production; from the point of view of commercial usage; and finally, from the point of view of scientific terminology—a field which specialists only can do more than examine superficially. From all these different points of view Mr. Hoare's work has been examined and found excellent.

Nevertheless there are several little points upon which the reviewer does not quite agree with him. In the following cases the Italian word, with Mr. Hoare's translation given exactly, when necessary, will be followed by the reviewer's suggestions in parenthesis. For English usage *Webster's International* will be considered authoritative, though in all doubtful cases *Murray* has been consulted, and even the *Century*.<sup>1</sup>

*Amore*; . . . (also—*proprio*, 'pride'). *Battibecco*; wordy battle (good definition, cf. *Cr.*, but unusual English expression for very common Italian word; better 'squabble.' Word omitted by *Ed.*). *Broncio*; grudge, ill-temper (rather 1. 'pout,' *fare il-*, 'to pout'). *Buscherata*; pop. nonsense, lie (better 'foolishness, stupid mistake,' see *R. F.*, *Pet.*; "nonsense" is closer to *fandonie*, see *H.* under *fandonia*). *Cacciucco*; a sort of spiced fish soup ('stew' or 'chowder' rather than "soup," since it is practically a solid dish of fish, though with much gravy). *Cazzottaia*; vulgar term for row. (in Tuscany also *cazzottatura*, 'beating with fisticuffs'). *Coglione*; . . ., wretch, (too strong, just 'poor fool,' e. g., as used by Napoleon with reference to Louis XVI,<sup>2</sup> see *Cr.*). *Colcrèm*; cold-cream, (barbarism, not in good use yet, omitted by *Cr.* and *R. F.*, and called by *Pet.* unusual and foreign). *Cotognato*; quince-jam (better

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of brevity the following abbreviations are adopted: for *Crusca*, *Cr.*, for *Petrocchi*, *Pet.*, for *Rigutini e Fanfani*, *R. F.*, for *Tommaseo-Bellini*, *Tom.*, for *Baretti*, *Bar.*, for *Edgren*, *Ed.*, for *Webster's International*, *Web.*, for *Murray*, *M.*, for *Century*, *C.*, for *Hoare*, *H.*

<sup>2</sup> See Taine's *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine*, edited by Edgren; Holt & Co., p. 128.

'quince-paste,' since it has sufficient consistency to be cut with a knife; *Ed.* calls it "preserve or marmalade," both inexact). *Cruccio*; 1. mental or bodily suffering, 2. anger (also used for mere 'vexation'). *Esoso*; detestable, (too strong, usually means only 'awkwardly peculiar,' 'tiresome.' *Tom.* defines it "gravemente uggioso"). *Ficcone*; augm. spreg. of *ficchino* (but *ficchino* is never used, while *ficcone* has lost its augm. connotation, and is very commonly used for 'one who pokes his way in,' often just 'intruder'). *Ficone*; augm. *fico*, fig; (similarly has entirely lost the connotation of fig, *fico*, and is pop. for 'fussy,' even 'cry-baby,' though these last two words are not given by *Web.* *Ficone* is omitted by *Tom.*, *R. F.*, but not by *Pet.*). *Giovereccio*; bright and healthy-looking, (pretty close translation, or rather definition, but does not suggest primarily, as the word does, 'clean,' 'that cannot disgust;,' see *Cr.*, *Pet.* There is no exact equivalent in English). *Giovevole*; (syn. with previous word). *Guardaroba*; . . . (also 'cloak-room,' 'check-room'). *Intingolo*; hash, fancy dish; ("hash" is an English dish, unknown in Italy. It might, however, be described as *battuto di carne*, or *battutino*, but not *intingolo*, which generally means 'dish with fancy gravy,' 'gravy,' or 'juicy morsel,' as in Goldoni's *La Locandiera*, I, 15. See *Cr.*, *Pet.*, *Tom.*, and cf. Fr. *ragoût*, but only in its original sense). *Lavare*; . . . *il capo a*; to scold, (more usual *dare una lavata di capo a*, 'to scold'). *Leccazampe*; flatterer, (why not the similar word 'bootlick' or 'bootlicker'? Or 'toady'? No less colloquial in Italian than in English. Word omitted by *Cr.*, and *Ed.* See *Web.*) *Lesinare*; . . . (not only "economize," but 'haggle'). *Materiale*; . . . (also 'material for building' Italian houses, viz. bricks and stones.) *Merenda*; . . . (also 'picnic'). *Moccione*; child with a dirty nose, (used by extension and pop. for 'brat.'). *Nave*; . . . (also used, at least in Tuscany, for 'ferry-boat'). *Nitido*; shining (also 'orderly,' 'precise'). *Palto*; loose overcoat (omitted by *R. F.*; usually written *paltò*, see *Pet.*, which is the common word, though foreign, for any overcoat, cf. *soprabito*, *pastrano*). *Pasta*; . . . (*pasta asciutta* or *paste asciutte*, generally means not "pastry made with cheese," but is the general term for spaghetti, macaroni and the like). *Perdere*; (add idiom):—*la bussola*, 'lose one's head, one's bearings'). *Pizzicore*; tingling (better 'tickling'; *fare il—*, 'tickle'). \**Pristinè*; . . . has asterisk meaning obsolete word or not in common use; in fact it is dialectal and in common use in Lombardy, meaning 'bakery'). *Putiferio*; scandalous row (which agrees with *Pet.* and *Ed.*; by extension is understood to mean only 'row'). *Reticolato*; grating (better 'wire netting'; see *Web.* under 'grating,' and *H.* under *inferiata*). *Saluto*; salutations, (always used in pl. for 'greetings,' 'love': *tanti saluti ai tuoi*, 'love to your family'). *Scricciolo*; wren (used fig. for any small and stunted creature, therefore 'runt,' see *Web.*). *Strozzino*; . . . 2. money-lender (more especially applied to 'usurers,' see *Tom.*, *R. F.*).

*Taglia*; . . . (also 'denomination,' only with reference to bonds and stocks). *Tenuta*; . . . (also 'estate,' with reference to land). *Titolo*; . . . (a frequent though not very important idiom, chiefly journalistic, might here be added: *a titolo di cronaca*, 'as a matter of daily or local news'). *Ubbia*; superstitious scruple, faddy scruple (is it not pretty close to our pop. 'notion'?). *Ubbriaco*; . . . (the spelling with one *b* is more common, see *R. F.*). *Vagina*; 1. sheath (also 'string of a blouse,' see *H.* under *guaina*, which is the better word).

As can be seen from the above list, the modifications to be suggested are very slight. Actual omissions of words are very rare indeed. The following words, though perhaps purposely discarded by the author, one would like to find:

*Ciao*; 'goodbye,' equivalent to our pop. 'so long,' is now adopted all over Italy and probably derived from a dialectal Northern Italian form of *schiaivo*, in the sense of 'your servant.' *Giuccheria*; pop. and perhaps only Tuscan for 'piece of foolishness.' *Menna*; likewise pop. for 'slouchy woman,' even 'old hag.' *Raspollatura*, from *raspollare* (see *H.*), 'to glean,' 'gleanings,' often used fig., for instance in sense of 'cursory literary studies.' *Trebbiatrice*, derived from *trebbiare* (see *H.*) 'threshing machine.' I hardly need to note such irrelevant omissions as the group: *fracassio*, *fracimolo*, which is, however, given by *Bar*.

One must remember that there are many Italian words for which there is absolutely no exact equivalent. In such cases Mr. Hoare's definitions will be found admirable. See for example *droghiere*, *pizzicagnolo*, *aggeggio* (for this last word cf. French colloquial use of *machine*).

### *English-Italian Dictionary*

The fact that Mr. Hoare has made this part purposely very brief and concise, accounts for a few omissions of words or of subsidiary meanings. In the following enumeration I have avoided words already discussed.

*Ado*; affaccenducchiarsi ('affaccendarsi' is simpler and more common). *Ago*; fa (also 'or è,' 'or sono'). *Appointment*; fissazione, scelta (no: 'appuntamento,' because "fissazione" means *staring*, *fixed idea*, *obsession*, and "scelta" means *choice*). *Blemish*; macchia, difetto (only by extension, because "macchia" means *spot*, and "difetto" *defect*. *Blemish* is 'magagna,' see *Cr.*, or 'guasto,' possibly. This word is also inadequately translated by *Bar.* and *Ed.*). *Boulevard*; pubblico passaggio alberato (excellent



definition. The usual word is 'viale,' which is also *avenue*). *Brandy*; *acquavite* (often called pop. 'cognac,' though this word is not in *Cr.*) *Cabman*; *cocchiere* (no: 'vetturino' (in Florence 'fiaccheraio') *cocchiere* meaning *coachman*). *Cake*; *pasta*, *focaccia*, *schacciata*, *gatò* (also 'chicca,' and not "gatò," which is a bad barbarism omitted by *Cr.*, *Pet.*, and *R. F.*). *Cart*; *carretta*, *camione*, *carrettone* (also, and more common, 'baroccio,' see *R. F.*). *Chair*; . . . *deck chair*, *cislonga* (this word is not in good use, omitted by *Cr.*, *Pet.*, *R. F.*, *Bar.*, and *Ed.*). *Chilly*; *freddo* (better 'fresco,' see *H.* under *freddo* and affiliated words). *Close-cropped*; *coi capegli corti* (more usual spelling 'capelli,' also see *H.* under *rapare*, and cf. Dante, *Inf.*, VII, 57, "e questi co' crin mozzi"). *Corner*; . . . (add 'cantuccio,' which is more usual, at least in Tuscany). *Crack*; . . . (add 'spacco'). *Fence*; . . . (also 'steccato,' 'steconato,' and see *H.* under *impalancato*). *Fit*; *accesso*, *attacco* (also 'convulsione'). *Frame-maker*; *fabbricante di cornici* (also 'corniciaio'). *Eleventh*; *undecimo* (also 'undicesimo' and 'decimo primo,' see *Fornaciari*, *Gramm. Ital.*). *Forfeit*; . . . (also 'penitenza,' as used in games). *Garbage*; . . . (usually called in Florence 'spazzatura'). *Gentle*; . . . (also 'mansueto,' as applied to domestic animals) *Groom*; *scudiere*, *mozzo di stalla* (also 'sposo,' *bridegroom*). *Growl*; *brontolare*, *grugnare*, *borbottare* (a word that seems impossible to translate exactly, but "brontolare" is primarily to *grumble*; "grugnare" or better 'grugnire' is to *grunt*, "borbottare" is to *mumble*. 'Ringhiare' means both *to growl* and *to snarl*, see *Cr.*, *Pet.*, and cf. Dante's: "Stavvi Minos orribilmente e ringhia," which Professor Norton translated as *snarls*). *Jackass*; 1. *somaro*; *tanghero*, *goffone* ("somaro" or 'ciuco' is correct, but "tanghero" means *lout*, see *H.*, and "goffone" means *very clumsy*, *very awkward*, not *asinine* at all). *Kerosene*; *cerosina*, *cherosino* (both words, omitted by *Cr.*, *R. F.* and *Ed.*, are not in general use. Why not the common word 'petrolio,' even though kerosene is a refined form of petroleum?). *Meagre*; *gretto* (no: "gretto" means *stingy*; *meagre* is 'magro,' archaic form 'macro,' lean, cf. Dante, *Par.* xxv, 3: "Sì che m'ha fatto per più anni macro"). *Moss*; *muschio*, (or 'musco,' but more common 'borracciina,' see *Tom.*, *R. F.*, *Pet.*). *Picture card*; *figura* ("figura" means *figure*, *picture*, *illustration*; 'cartolina illustrata' in the sense of *picture postal card*). *Quarrel*; 1. *rissa*, *disputa* (the order is misleading, "rissa" being more a *brawl*. See *H.* under *brawl*, and add 'lite,' 'litigio'). *Quick-witted*; *scaltro*, (*Web.* defines as *having ready wit*, viz. pronto) 'sveglio,' 'spiritoso,' more than "scaltro" which means *cunning*. For archaic meaning of *adept* see Tasso, *Ger. Lib.*, I, 39). *Ranch*; *rancio* (inadequate. This word is also inadequately explained and not translated by *Ed.* and omitted by *Bar.* *Ranch* being an American term cannot be translated, and "rancio" means *soldier's food*, *mess*,

see *H.* under *rancio*). *Sag*; piegarsi in giù (yes, and even 'cedere'). *Saying*; motto, detto (also 'sentenza'). *Scaffolding*; impalcamento (add 'impalcatura,' see *Tom.*, *R. F.*, poorly explained by *Ed.*). *Tickle*; solleticare, . . . (also 'fare il solletico,' or 'il pizzicore'). *Vaudeville*; operetta, canzonetta (as the word is used in this country: 'spettacolo di varietà'). *Wool-gathering*; l'almanaccare, sbadataggine (better 'distrazione,' and as an adj. 'distratto,' 'stordito,' cf. *Fr. étourdi*).

Here again it must be admitted that the omissions are not very important; I might mention a few useful words:

*Chore*; 'faccenda,' see *Web.* and *H.* *Drummer*; as a commercial traveller, 'commesso viaggiatore,' see *Web.* and *M. Gump*; see *Web.*, 'cretino,' 'grullo.' *Handle-bar*; see *Web.*, 'manubrio,' see *H.*—even though bicycles are out of fashion. *Idiosyncrasy*; a very hard word to translate, perhaps 'eccentricità,' or 'caratteristica eccentrica.' *Loaf*; *loafer*; are omitted by *Ed.*; *Bar.* translates the second curiously as "cavalier d'industria," which is closer to 'jack of all trades' combined with a sort of shiftlessness. *Loafer* is 'fanullone,' or better 'fannullone,' see *Cr. R. F.*, *Pet.* *Monkey-wrench*; see *Web.* 'chiave inglese.' *Prompter*; 'suggeritore.'

Also I must mention a few words which are difficult, when not actually impossible to translate, such as, for instance, *cosy*, *darling*, *nice*, *moccasin*, *scalp*. There is one very amusing definition: "*goody-goody*, molto morale e molto stupido"! Which goes to prove how well Mr. Hoare understands the Latin point of view.

There are a few slips of the pen that Mr. Hoare will surely be glad to know of: under *dingy*, "sbiadato" for 'sbiadito'; under *example*, "esamplare" for 'esemplare'; under *expect*, "*it was to be expected*, era d'aspettarsi," for 'era da aspettarsi,' where an elision would suggest 'di' instead of the correct 'da'; under *paper-chase*, "caccia dopo dei pezzettini di carta"—not "dopo" but 'a,' or 'dietro a.'

The reviewer had the intention of ending with a list of especially well translated words, but he found too great a quantity. He must therefore leave it to all who use this Dictionary to have the repeatedly satisfying sensation of observing so admirable a piece of work. To all students and lovers of Italian he recommends it most eagerly, and to the erudite author he heartily sends both congratulations and thanks.

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI.

*The University of Chicago.*

*Die altenglischen Rätsel (Die Rätsel des Exeterbuchs)*, herausgegeben, erläutert und mit Wörterverzeichnis versehen von Moritz Trautmann. (Alt- und mittenglische Texte herausgegeben von L. Morsbach und F. Holthausen. No. 8.) Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung; New York, G. E. Stechert & Co. 1915. Pp. xx + 203.

There is probably no scholar alive who has devoted more of his time to the study of the Old English Riddles than Moritz Trautmann, the veteran Anglist, now professor emeritus, of the University of Bonn. Evidently he was attracted by the enigmatic character of those remarkable poems which allowed full sway to the exercise of scholarly ingenuity and kept him pondering on solutions and textual tangles for a period of some thirty years. After many delays, and in the face of difficulties, yet with a youngster's enthusiasm, he now offers his edition of the Riddles as a final fruit of his labors on what has been described by another editor as "the most difficult text in the field of Anglo-Saxon."

It is well known that Professor Trautmann, in several respects, holds views distinctly and implicitly his own. But the fact that this edition is included in the series of *Alt- und mittenglische Texte* seems to indicate that the differences between him and other scholars are greater in theory than in practice. Occasionally, it is true, Holthausen and Trautmann disagree on what may or may not be permissible in the system of Anglo-Saxon versification, but on the whole the edition has been made to fit in well enough into the general scheme of the series.

In conformity with the plan carried out in previous numbers, this volume contains only a brief Introduction, setting forth concisely the main facts relating to the investigation of the Riddles, its history and net results as seen by the editor. A fuller account of various matters of this kind appeared simultaneously in the form of separate papers published in *Anglia*, xxxviii, and *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, xxv. On the other hand, an extensive bibliography of eleven pages has been provided in order to put the student in possession of the requisite critical apparatus for independent investigation. The titles of books and papers are entered in chronological order under the names of the respective authors, which are listed alphabetically. Without denying the advantages of such an arrangement, I cannot help thinking that a systematic, topical bib-



liography, with, here and there, a word of criticism or comment, perhaps even some Baedeker stars added for guidance, would be a still more serviceable tool in the hands of those for whom the book has been intended.

The copious notes (pp. 65-142) are given up almost entirely to the discussion of textual matters, critical and interpretational, which includes, of course, a defense of the solutions adopted or proposed. Regarding these, honest difference of opinion is still found possible in more than one instance. When we bear in mind that as widely varying solutions of individual Riddles have been put forth as Harp, Shield, Scabbard, Cross, Sword-rack (No. 53, according to Trautmann's numbering), or Wandering Minstrel, Riddle, Moon, Spirit (No. 93), and that Trautmann himself offered the four successive answers of Hailstones, Rain-drops, Storm-clouds, Black Martins (No. 55), we may indeed derive comfort from the discovery that in a fairly large number of cases a practical consensus of opinion has been attained by this time. That Trautmann in the course of his long career felt constrained repeatedly to change his views on cardinal questions of interpretation is a striking illustration of the limitations and instability of our knowledge. Indeed, few of us are spared that kind of experience and the resultant practical lesson in modesty and resignation.

An interesting point relating to the riddle makers' method suggests itself incidentally in connection with Riddle 13 (Tupper's No. 16, Wyatt's No. 15), for which Trautmann has accepted Dietrich's solution 'Badger.' Remarking, in an Appendix (p. 202), on Holt-hausen's suggestion to change *swift ic eom on fēpe*, l. 2 to *swift ic neom on fēpe*, the editor rightly objects that such a negation of a quality is far less likely than a corresponding positive statement. But from this it does not necessarily follow that the conjectured *sōft* or *sēfte* is to be substituted for the *swift* of the ms. Even granting that the description is not correct,—absolute accuracy can hardly be expected and was probably not intended in every instance,—may not the author have felt justified in endowing the 'hero' of his poem with an abundance of more or less strikingly commendable qualities?

The treatment of the text is in general more conservative than might have been expected. No doubt, those of a cautious turn of mind will find many more emendations than they consider neces-

sary. At the same time, it must be admitted, that these poems, by their very nature, team with puzzles, obscurities, and difficulties which make a 'standard' text seem a rather remote possibility. Nor need the frivolous remark be suppressed that in the case of some Riddles the weary critic feels like falling in with Wyatt's wish that they were "at the bottom of the bay of Portugal." At any rate, it will be for the users of the edition in seminar classes to study the many open textual questions without prejudice and to weigh carefully the merits of the various changes which have been proposed or incorporated in the text itself.

I beg to remark quite briefly on a few selected passages only. 1, 32 (4, 2; 3, 2). *sendeð þonne under sælwonge / bearm [on] brādan*. Whatever the precise meaning of *sælwong* (or *sæl-*, ms. *sal-*) may be, the dative with *under* is clearly impossible after the verb *sendeð*. As already seen by Wyatt, *under sælwonge[s] / bearm [þone, Holthausen] brādan* would make satisfactory syntax and sense.—1, 36 (4, 6; 3, 6), *nāh ic hwyrft weges*. Why should the genitive, i. e. *hwyrftweges*, after *nāh* be considered strange? It would not be the only instance. Similarly, e. g., *nāt* is followed by the genitive in *Beow.* 681: *nāt hē þāra gōda*.—1, 97 (4, 67; 3, 67), *Swā ic þrymful þēow þrāgum winne*. It seems a legitimate question whether *þrāg* may not be meant here in the sense of 'hardship' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* III, 254), and a like question is still more pertinent with regard to *þrāgbysig* 2, 1, since neither 'busy at times' nor 'periodically employed' is exactly a convincing rendering; the compounds *synbysig*, *nȳdbysig* could be appealed to for support.—9, 3 ff. Trautmann prints: *lc dysge dwelle ond dole hwette; / unrædsīpas ōþrum stȳre / nytte fōre*. I still believe my interpretation, *Beibl.* xvii, 300 f. quite possible; the construction of *hwettan* with the genitive of the thing, *dole hwette / unrædsīpas* (gen. sing.), though not recorded elsewhere and less obvious than *on* with accusative or *tō* with dative (as in *Andr.* 286 f.: *ūsic lust hweteð on þā lēodmearce . . . tō þære mæran byrig*), might be compared to an expression like *wæron æscwigan . . . sīdes gefȳsde*, *El.* 259 f. In fact, a genitive construction is found to interchange with *on* and *tō*, as in *Guðl.* 1023 *forðsīdes fūs*, *ib.* 1121 *fūsne on forðsīð*; *Beow.* 2118 *gearo gyrrnwæce*, *ib.* 1109 *on bæl gearu*, *El.* 23 *gearwe tō gūðe*. That *unrædsīpas* on syntactical grounds cannot be included in the same clause with *stȳre*, has been properly remarked by Tupper.—A

typical case is presented by l. 9, the real *cruz* and the key to the solution of this Riddle (9): (*wā him þæs þēawes*) *sippan hēah* (MS.) *bringeð horda dēorast* (*gif hi unrādes ær ne geswicaþ*). As it stands, no satisfactory sense can be extracted from the text; an emendation must be ventured, and upon it will depend the final decision in the issue between 'wine' and 'night.' Trautmann's *hearm* or *hēaf bringeð* is a tempting guess, but does not quite agree with *horda dēorast*. If by the latter expression we understand, with Bright, 'the soul' (cf. *sāwle hord*, *Beow.* 2422), or perhaps, 'the accumulated good deeds' (cf. *ðonne forlȳst hē eall his ærran good, būton hē hit eft gebēte*, *Boet.* 103, 20 f.), a conjectural change like *hēan gebringeð* might possibly be given a hearing. But who would dogmatize about such guesses?—14, 2, *somod wið þām sæcce*. The assumption of a weak verb *sæccan*, which would render the insertion of *fremman* unnecessary, need not be considered far-fetched. As *sacan* is found by the side of *sacu*, a weak verb *sæccan* may have been in existence in connection with the noun *sæcc*. As *sæcc* is used much more rarely than *sacu*, the scanty record of *sæccan* is not particularly surprising.—24, 17, *dolwice* does not look like an improvement on *dolwite*. If we regard *dolwite* as a reference to the pains of hell (Tupper), the term presents a fairly acceptable contrast to *dryhtfolca helm*. Does *dolwite* denote (eternal) punishment meted out to a *dolsceaða*?—25, 13, *strong on sprāce* is not inappropriate with reference to an intoxicated person, if we take *strong* as 'fierce,' 'wild,' 'excited.'—52, 9. Trautmann is entirely right in retaining *þon* after *ær* (instead of changing it into the common *þonne*), since the existence of this form is sufficiently established. A note on this point has been added in the Glossary.—79, 8. The normalization of *stondende* to *stondend[n]e* is hardly called for, as the participle is quite frequently left uninflected.

The Glossary (pp. 143-201), which is very full, gives evidence of much careful work. It includes numerous etymologies. That the *æ* has been treated as an independent letter and is not merged with the *a*, has been noticed with especial satisfaction. The popular way of inserting the *æ* between *ad* and *af* is indeed a custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance.

A pleasant surprise is the addition of sixteen facsimile plates showing pp. 105 a, 109 b, 122 b, 124 b-130 b of the MS. in reduced size.



Students of Anglo-Saxon now have at their service three separate editions of the Riddles published within five years and representing three different series of Texts,—and there is room for each one of them. Trautmann's edition has been put into shape with a view to serve as a basis for seminar exercises. It seems well adapted to that purpose.

FR. KLAEBER.

*University of Minnesota.*

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*A Spanish Grammar for Beginners.* By M. A. DeVITIS. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1915.

The present great war raging beyond the seas has already caused a great number of readjustments in human affairs: not the least among these is the extraordinary stimulus given to the study of Spanish. Colleges that two years ago had from fifteen to twenty-five students in first year Spanish now enroll in the same classes two and three hundred. Moreover, any number of high schools are introducing Spanish because of local demand, and the classes are decidedly popular. The sudden breaking off of all commercial intercourse between Germany and South America made the United States the fitting country to take the place of the former. The commercial possibilities thus opened create a demand for a practical knowledge of Spanish, altho it is a question whether the demand is sufficient to encourage greater interest, or even as much as is now displayed.

To meet this very situation, Professor M. A. DeVitis of the St. Louis High Schools, has published a grammar that is both practical and attractive. Altho there have been two or three other excellent grammars previously in use, this book has peculiar merit in that it is divided into lessons of the proper length, of proper gradation, and yet is sufficiently complete, tho not overburdened as are some of its predecessors. Of the fifty lessons, every seventh is a review, making forty-three distinct divisions in the treatment of the various parts of grammar. A commendable point is the full treatment (in seven lessons) of the subjunctive, the greatest stumbling-block for the beginner in Spanish: the usage also of the prepositions, *por*, *para*, *a*, *de*, *con*, is treated in greater detail than is usual.

The sentences at the end of each lesson illustrate excellently the grammar rules of that lesson, but the suggested conversational questions after the exercises far too frequently incorporate the interrogatives *¿no?*, *¿verdad?*, and *¿no es verdad?*, allowing the student to reply by simply saying *sí* or *no* and repeating the words of the teacher. This would not be objectionable for the earliest lessons, but later it is far too mechanical: a revised edition should certainly be remedied in this part on which rests one of the principal claims of the grammar to being practical. It should be noted, however, that the questions are merely suggestive and not exhaustive, as stated in the preface.

Attractiveness is given the book by some twenty full-page halftones of prominent buildings in Spain and Spanish America, as the Alhambra at Granada, the Giralda in Seville, the Cathedral in Mexico City, the Plaza Mayo in Buenos Aires. Brief descriptions of these in the text give life to the reading as well as illustrate the grammatical rules. Another worthy point is the placing of a *proverbio* or *dicho popular* at the heading of each lesson.

Among other agreeable features of Mr. DeVitis' book is the inclusion of 119 "*frases para la clase*," immediately after the satisfactory introduction, which contains the usual explanations as to pronunciation, punctuation and capitalizing; and also the writing of the review lessons in Spanish, with questions in Spanish based thereon.

The appendices contain full paradigms of the regular and irregular verbs, discussions of social and epistolary usages, and a rather brief (perhaps too brief) treatment of the augmentatives and diminutives. In addition, there is a sixteen page appendix explaining Spanish commercial terms and illustrated by model business letters. This latter feature is decidedly a practical one and worthy of the claim made for it by the author.

The vocabulary contains primarily words of common, everyday usage, the knowledge of which is important also to the person who is studying Spanish simply for the purpose of reading the literature. A criticism at this point would be that all words listed in the individual lesson vocabularies should be included also in the general vocabulary at the end of the book, especially if the word is repeated in lessons following the vocabulary in which it was first introduced.

In a recent complete study of the grammar with a college class, the following mistakes in proof-reading were noted:

P. 9: omission of *and uncle* at end of sentence 18. P. 45: *Haber* for *Hacer* in title of §67. P. 51: omission of accent on *Éste* in second sentence under (*d*). P. 52: under section (*i*), a comma should be inserted at end of second line, and 'a' after 'or' in third line. P. 78: in the vocabulary under *el tabaco*, 'estanco' should be black face type. P. 88: in the paradigm for the future of *hablar*, accent over *i* instead of *e*. P. 119: in the vocabulary the reference after *parecer* should be (§118, e) instead of (§118, j). P. 122: *algódon* should be *algodón*, in the vocabulary. P. 124: *to* omitted as infinitive sign in last idiom in §163. P. 129: *interesantisimas* should be '*interesantísimas*.' P. 150: *was* for *is* in sentence 11. P. 151: period for question mark in second illustrative sentence under §191. P. 153: in vocabulary, *arquitectónica*, a for *arquitectiónico*, a. P. 182: *visitimos* for *visitamos* in first example under (*c*). P. 195: *hacienda* for *haciendo* in first sentence under (*c*). P. 197: *cuesta* for *costó*.

As Mr. DeVitis frankly says in his preface, some grammatical explanations are stated in terms meant for beginners who may have forgotten their English grammar. This is unquestionably a justifiable attitude, altho a recent study of French, or Latin, or of both is generally presupposed in college classes. But three grammatical statements seem to lack clearness: § 98 (p. 68) would imply that *querer*, *poder*, etc., are used only in the imperfect whereas, of course, they are given a few pages later with their preterite forms; p. 109, "*Ciento* agrees in gender with the following noun" is not a happy expression, as the reference is only to usage with plurals; p. 147, the first part of § 188 seems to repeat that of § 187.

GUY E. SNAVELY.

*Allegheny College.*

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### TWO SOURCES OF THE *Tragicomedia alegorica del parayso y del infierno*<sup>1</sup>

It has been pointed out elsewhere<sup>2</sup> that the principal source of the *Tragicomedia* is the *Auto da Barca do Inferno* of Gil Vicente. Certain passages in the Spanish play, however, indicate that the

<sup>1</sup> The references to the *Tragicomedia* are to the edition in Cronan's *Teatro español del siglo xvi*, Madrid, 1913; those to the *Barca* are to the edition in vol. I of Vicente's *Obras*, Lisbon, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Philology*, March, 1916, pp. 669-680.



author was influenced by other writers. We shall examine, briefly, these passages.

Menéndez y Pelayo (in *Antología*, VII, CLXXXVII) says that the *Diálogo entre Mercurio y Carón*, of Juan Valdés, influenced the author of the *Tragicomedia*. It may be worth while to note just what that influence is.

In the *Barca* (pp. 216 and 220) and in the Spanish play (ll. 241-247) the nobleman thinks his wife is sad on account of his death. The devil, in each case, assures him that on the contrary she is quite happy, indeed in the *Tragicomedia* the nobleman is told that his wife is again at her "vicios, en lugar no muy honesto" (254-5). The nobleman in the *Barca* has a *dama querida* who, he thinks, will kill herself on account of his death (p. 219), but the devil tells him

Pois estando tu spirando,  
Se estava ella requebrando  
Com outro de menos prego.

(p. 220).

We may compare this with the following passage in the *Diálogo*:—"A[nima=obispo] Una cosa te quiero rogar: que, si viniere por aquí una dama muy hermosa que se llama Lucrecia, que la ayas por encomendada. C.[arón] ; Quien es essa Lucrecia? A. Teniala yo en mi casa para mi recreacion, y soy cierto que, como sepa mi muerte, luego se matará. C. No tengas desso cuidado, que yo te prometo que no le falte otro obispo como tu." (Boehmer edition. In *Rom. Studien*, VI, 29, 17-22.) Another priest in the *Diálogo* had a *dama*; he is a *sacerdote* of whom *Mercurio* asks: "¿ Como, y tenias que hazer con mugeres? A[nima=sacerdote] Algunas vezes, vencido de la carne, mas procurava de hazerlo muy secreto" (*Diálogo*, 52, 11-12).

Another point of resemblance between the Spanish play and the *Diálogo* is the following. In the *Diálogo* (16, 19-20) the *abogado* says: "Cata que yo era cristiano; y recibí siendo niño el bautismo y despues la confirmacion, confessavame" etc. In the *Tragicomedia* (344-5) the *fidalgo* says:

Cata que soy baptizado,  
Y me llaman don Martin.

And just above (340):

Christiano soy, que no moro.

In both cases the statement is made as an argument against being compelled to go to the *infierno*. This point is not made in the *Barca*.

And again: the *Tragicomedia* (412-535) develops the idea of the usurer's money buying him salvation, which is barely mentioned in the *Barca* (pp. 221-2). In the Spanish play the usurer says he bought, for two *reales*, a papal bull which he had been told would assure him entrance into heaven. The *Barca* does not mention the bull. Valdés, in the *Diálogo*, has *Mercurio* tell of the greed of the

clergy, he being asked for money when he wished to receive the host, and when he tried to enter another church he was not allowed to go in because he had no papal bull, which cost two *reales*.<sup>3</sup> The name *Caron* in the *Tragicomedia* (p. 274) may have been suggested by the name in the title of Valdés' work. The corresponding character in the *Barca* is called simply *companheiro do diabo* (p. 215).

In addition to the *Diálogo* the author of our play seems to have known the *Danza de la Muerte*. The *bobo* of the Spanish play, speaking to the *corregidor* and *procurador*, as they approach the angel's boat, says:

Traen muy mucha cagatera;  
vienen, segun su manera,  
muy cargados  
de sus culpas y peccados.

Abogado

Traemos, yo te prometo,  
Baldo, Bartholo y Moreto,  
y otros libros acotados. (1338-1344)

The devil in the *Danza de la Muerte*, stanza XLIII, replying to the *abogado*, says:

El Cino e el Bartolo e el Coletario  
non vos librarán de mi poder mero.

Although these jurisconsults were known in the fifteenth century,<sup>4</sup> it is hardly a coincidence that the same word, 'Bartolo,' should occur under similar circumstances in the two somewhat similar works. Neither the *Barca* nor the *Diálogo* contains such a passage.

W. S. HENDRIX.

University of Texas.

#### GEORGE MEREDITH'S USE OF A FRENCH SOURCE

An important incident in *Harry Richmond* appears to have a French source. When a midnight meeting of the hero and his German princess is interrupted by the latter's duenna, who rings a bell to alarm the household, the scandal, which seemed imminent, is prevented by Richmond Roy's cleverly setting fire to the curtains and thus explaining the presence of all concerned.<sup>1</sup> Simi-

<sup>3</sup> See the *Diálogo*, 8, 17-25. The bull is mentioned in the *Diálogo* also by the *abogado*: 16, 29; 18, 21-22, where it does not avail him anything. Disrespect for the bull is shown in the *Diálogo*, 67, 15-22, where a soul in Carón's boat is ordered to throw overboard a bull because the lead seal is too heavy.

<sup>4</sup> See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, April, 1912, p. 123; *Rom. Review*, III, 416. Moreto in our text is probably due to the rime.

<sup>1</sup> *The Cornhill Magazine*, 1871, vol. XXIII, pp. 414, 612; *The Works of George Meredith*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, vol. x, p. 48.

larly in Léon de Wailly's *Angelica Kauffmann*, Sir Francis Shelton, after forcing his way one night into the heroine's atelier and making love to her with such violence that she is obliged to break the window and call for help, explains his presence by applying a torch to the curtains, or, to quote, "Aux yeux d'Angelica immobile de stupeur, il saisit un flambeau et met le feu aux rideaux."<sup>2</sup>

Meredith was, of course, well acquainted with French literature. De Wailly's historical romance, which appeared originally in 1838,<sup>3</sup> was republished in 1859. Five years later Meredith spent some time in Paris. *Harry Richmond* was composed in 1869 and 1870. There was consequently ample opportunity for him to read *Angelica Kauffmann* before he wrote the scene I have mentioned. His taste would prevent his following de Wailly far, but it would not hinder his plucking from this sentimental novel so striking an incident as the one described. There remains the possibility that de Wailly, who was primarily a translator and adapter, derived the incident from a third work that may also have inspired Meredith, but such a common source, if it exists, is still to be discovered. At present we can do no better than to credit de Wailly with the invention of this lively episode.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

Amherst College.

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#### THE CRISIS: A SERMON

Since the time of Nichols and his *Literary Anecdotes* no copy of this pamphlet has been accessible to students of the period; but from external evidence it has generally been regarded as the work of Henry Fielding. An excellent copy has recently been discovered by F. S. Dickson, Esq., of New York; and thanks to his kindness, I have had the opportunity to examine the pamphlet. It is a twenty-page octavo and bears this title:

The Crisis: A Sermon, On Revel. XIV, 9, 10, 11.  
Necessary to be preached in all the Churches  
in England, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, at  
or before the next General Election. Humbly  
inscribed to the Right Reverend the Bench of  
Bishops. By a Lover of his Country. *Vendit*  
*hic auro Patriam*. Virg. London: Printed for  
A. Dodd, without Temple-Bar; E. Nutt, at the *Royal-Exchange*, and H. Chappelle, in *Grosvenor-Street*.  
MDCCLXI. (Price Six-pence.)

At the outset the writer explains that his text concerns prostitution for hire, and under the first head of his discourse tells his readers that he who sells the liberties of his country, 'of his

<sup>2</sup> Edition of 1859, Paris, Hachette, 2 vols., 12°, vol. i, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, Dupont, 2 vols., 8°.



children, or of himself, is guilty of such prostitution. Under his second head he attempts to dissuade his brethren from making this mad bargain; and under his third head he warns them against the devilish political party that now stood ready to buy the liberties of the people.

"You will now within a few Days elect Representatives to serve you in the ensuing Parliament. In other Words, you are to commit the Care of your Liberties, and Properties; the Interest and Safety of yourselves, your Wives, and your Children, to Trustees, who will have it actually in their power to preserve or betray what ought to be so dear to you . . ."

He urges his readers to defeat the work of the Devil by praying to God, by appealing to the Prince, and by choosing honorable representatives. Obviously this is directed against Walpole and his crew.

External evidence as to the authorship of this pamphlet has not been lacking:

"This Sermon was written by the late Mr. Fielding, Author of Tom Jones, &c. &c. as the printer of it assured me. R. B."

The statement is found in a passage on p. 446 of vol. 8 of Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* (1814), and has led Lawrence (*Life of Fielding*, p. 145) and other biographers of Fielding to believe that this lost pamphlet might be his work; but other proof has been lacking. Unfortunately the identity of 'R. B.' is undiscovered and the value of the evidence is uncertain.

We may assume, however, that Fielding was capable of writing this sermon—he knew his Bible thoroughly and could write in an eloquent sermonizing style; his *Apology for the Clergy* in the *Champion* affords ample proof of his powers in this direction. Knowing that Fielding was an ardent member of the Opposition and that he took every means to urge the voters at this crisis to avoid the temptation to sell once more into the hands of Walpole their own liberties and those of the country, we may be sure that Fielding had every reason for writing such a pamphlet.

Concerning this Mr. Dobson writes (*Life of Fielding*, London, 1907, p. 72):

" . . . provided it can be placed before this date [the end of June, 1741], he may be credited with a political sermon called the *Crisis*. . ."

In other words, Mr. Dobson is ready to accept the statement found in Nichols' *Anecdotes*, provided it can be shown that the work appeared during the period in which Fielding was publishing pamphlets anonymously. As a matter of fact, *The Crisis* is listed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1741) in the 'Register of Books' for April of that year, and is cited in the May issue. The text itself, as quoted above, and an announcement in the *London Magazine* for April, furnish further proof that the pamphlet was issued shortly before the General Election in April. The work may, therefore, be Fielding's.

Internal proof of Mr. Dobson's statement is very difficult to discover. The pamphlet has Fielding's customary word-usage—*hath*, *doth*, etc.—except in one instance (p. 7) where we find *has*; but such usage might be expected in a sermon, and we may not accept this as conclusive evidence. Generally, however, Fielding's contemporaries preferred the more modern usage, and we may say, therefore, that the presence of the older usage creates a presumption in favor of the assumption that the work is Fielding's.

But if the work is his, Fielding has very completely disguised his natural style. The sermon lacks his wit and epigrammatic force. In fact it is very dull reading. No one on reading the work for the first time would exclaim, "Fielding!—!" It contains, however, a few vigorous passages which suggest Fielding's style. Take, for instance:

" . . . he must not only be a Villain, but a Fool too, who makes [such a bargain]."

"But if there be a Person, the Hardness of whose Heart or Head, will receive no Impression. . ."

" . . . a Torrent of Corruption. . ."

Such passages, in view of our external evidence, support in some slight degree the general assumption; but unfortunately I have not discovered further internal proof.<sup>1</sup>

GERARD E. JENSEN.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

### MILTON'S *L'Allegro* AND *Il Penseroso*

Mr. F. M. Darnall, writing in the January (1916) number of this journal, finds it difficult to account for the fact that "Charles Diodati has never been mentioned as the possible model for Milton's *L'Allegro*." He quotes from the letters of the two friends and concludes that these "reveal opposite natures that correspond respectively to the characters portrayed in *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro*; one studious, serious; the other light-hearted, nature-loving." Finally, he suggests that the Italian titles of the poems may likewise be accounted for by the friendship between Milton and Diodati.

It seems to me not difficult to understand why this suggestion has not appeared before. I imagine that others may have thought of it, but that on further consideration of the evidence they have felt that the suggestion does not rest upon solid ground. I believe this to be so for several reasons. In the first place, as Moody points out (*Cambridge Milton*, p. 23) it is very probable that Milton found the suggestion for the contrasting pictures of *L'Allegro* and *Il Pen-*

<sup>1</sup> It is very interesting to note that in three instances the author uses *have drank*. I have never seen this usage in Fielding's works.

*seroso* in the course of his reading at Horton. The idea appears clearly enough in certain verses of Burton's, prefixed to the *Anatomy of Melancholy* and entitled *The Author's Abstract of Melancholy, or A Dialogue between Pleasure or Pain*. Moody suggests that Milton may have been thinking also of a song from Beaumont and Fletcher's play, *Nice Valour*. At any rate the contrast between Milton's two poems is so close to that implied in Burton's verses that one need hardly go so far afield as to seek in the character of Diodati an "extraneous suggestion" for *L'Allegro*. Again, that the young poet and scholar Milton gave Italian titles to some of his poems surely requires no accounting for "on the ground of his friendship with the Italian youth."

But there is a more obvious difficulty still in Mr. Darnall's suggestion, for to grant it one must grant that Milton had to go beyond his own interests and his own personality to seek in Diodati a model for *L'Allegro*. Here Mr. Darnall falls into a time-honored error. He thinks of Milton only as a soul that dwelt apart, and ignores the young poet's wholesomely normal love of youthful color, beauty, and animation—the *L'Allegro* spirit, in short—which glows through so many of his Latin elegies to Diodati. To grant that Milton's disposition was more serious than that of Diodati, and that Milton himself says so in the sixth Latin elegy, to which Mr. Darnall refers—is one thing; to overlook the joyous youthfulness of the first, fifth, and seventh elegy (Moody, pp. 323, 333, 340) is another. Everyone remembers the paean to the virgins of Britain in the first elegy, the glad welcome to spring in the fifth, and the fine frankness of the confession in the seventh:

"Crowds of girls, with faces like to goddesses, came and went radiantly through the walks; the day brightened with a double splendor. Surely the sun himself stole his beam from their faces. I was not stern with myself; I did not flee from the gracious spectacle, but let myself be led wherever youthful impulse directed. Rashly I sent my gaze to meet theirs; I could not control my eyes. Then by chance I noted one supreme above the others, and the light of her eyes was the beginning of my ills . . . I burned inly with love; I was all flame." (Moody's translation, p. 341.)

These verses, of course, came a few years before *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*; but the year that produced these two poems brought also the *Sonnet to the Nightingale* and the *Song to*

The flowery May, who from her green lap throws  
The yellow cowslip and the pale primrose.  
Hail bounteous May that dost inspire  
Mirth and youth and warm desire!

Surely Milton shows in these poems, not to speak of the fourth and fifth books of *Paradise Lost*, that he did not need the character of Diodati to suggest to him the spirit of *L'Allegro*.

ALWIN THALER.

*Harvard University.*



## MILTON AND THOMSON

Professor Saintsbury (*A Short History of English Literature*, p. 569), says of Thomson's poetic diction:

"But he shared, and rather went beyond, the predilection of that school [the Augustan School] for a peculiar stilted 'poetic diction,' partly founded on the classicalism of Milton, *but largely tempered from less genuine sources*. Nobody, who has the slightest tincture of catholic poetic taste, can defend such a phrase as

See where the winding vale its lavish store  
Irriguous spreads, [Spring, 492.]

which is on a par with the worst fashionable faults of any time."

The obvious implication is that the citation clearly proves that portion of Saintsbury's charge which I have italicized. These lines, then, are offered as a flagrant illustration of Thomson's use of a poetic diction "tempered from less genuine sources" than Milton: in other words, of "pseudo-classic" poetic diction. In view of this charge it is perhaps worth while to compare the line quoted by Professor Saintsbury with *Paradise Lost*, IV, 254:

. . . . or the flowery lap  
Of some irriguous valley spread her store.

Obviously Thomson is here following a no less genuine source than Milton himself, and one suspects that Professor Saintsbury, like other critics, does not fully realize to how large a degree Thomson's "pseudo-classicism" is really Miltonism. Much the same may perhaps be said for a large part of Thomson's "romanticism." An examination of the following passage, often cited as one of the most truly "romantic" in Thomson, shows it to be full of Miltonic imagery:

To glimmering shades and sympathetic glooms  
Where the dun umbrage o'er the fallen stream  
Romantic hangs. [Spring, 1023.]

. . . . glimmering bowers and glades  
                    . . . . and secret shades  
[Il Penseroso, 27.]

The shady gloom [Hymn on the Nativity, 77.]  
. . . . dun shades [Comus, 127.]  
On summer eves by haunted stream

[L'Allegro, 130.]

These parallels are not noted by Zippel in his critical edition of the *Seasons* (Palæstra, LXVI). They are but two of many illustrations that might be cited to prove that a very large part of Thomson's "pseudo-classicism" and "romanticism" was nothing more or less than Miltonism.

ALWIN THALER.

*Harvard University.*

THE SOURCES OF GREENE'S *Orlando Furioso*

The opinion of scholars concerning the sources of Greene's *Orlando Furioso* is that the dramatist borrowed little more than the title of his play and the name of his characters from the great poem then at the height of its fame. The layman naturally wonders why anyone should content himself with a mere handful from a king's treasury. What do we actually know about the matter?

For one thing, we know that practically every situation in Greene's *Orlando Furioso* has its analogue in Ariosto's. Thus in the play Angelica brings war upon her lenient father by choosing from "an embassy of suitors," as one scholar calls them, the least exalted of their number, Count Orlando, who, however, promptly appears before the castle of one of them and after sending in a fruitless challenge by a sentry storms the place and without pausing to take part in the massacre of the garrison pursues his rival to the death; the other competitors he deals with similarly later. In the poem (Canto ix) the Princess Olympia similarly brings war upon an equally lenient father by keeping her faith to the young Duke of Zealand despite the representations of an embassy of distinguished men who request her hand in behalf of the King of Frisia; whereupon Orlando, who happens by, appears before the King's city, and after sending in a fruitless challenge by a sentry storms the place and "taking no notice of the common herd" pursues the King to his death. In the play one of the rejected suitors, the crafty Sacripant, causes Angelica to be banished, then condemned to death by her father, by falsely representing her as unchastely faithless to Orlando, who, however, rescues her, clears her name, and wrings confession and life from her accuser. In the poem (Canto iv) another scheming aspirant to the hand of another princess attempts precisely the same thing (and incidentally furnishes Shakespeare with the similar episode in *Much Ado About Nothing*); whereupon the knight Rinaldo wrings confession and life from him, having first rescued the princess's maid from ruffians in a forest precisely as Orlando, in the play, rescues Angelica. In both play and poem Orlando goes mad when he becomes convinced that Angelica is false to him. In both play and poem he recovers in exactly three months.

Now Greene was thoroughly familiar with this material when between 1588 and 1590 he wrote his play. He quotes in the original from Canto xxi in *Francesco's Fortunes* and from Canto xxvi in *The Spanish Masquerado*; he takes from Canto xxxiv the story of Lydia in his *Orpharion*; he twice alludes to Canto xix in *Alcida*; he gives us as translated from the poem three stanzas in *Penelope's Web*.

Greene was not only familiar with the poem; he had it fresh in memory, if indeed not actually before him, at the time I speak of.

In his play itself he quotes in the original from Canto xxvii (Act II, Scene I), accurately translates from Canto xv (Act I, Scene I), paraphrases the description, in Canto xli, of Orlando's helmet, and so closely follows the description of Orlando's attempts at self-delusion in Canto xxiii that it amounts to paraphrasing (Act II, Scene I).

All this established, the opinion I am discussing may be re-stated as follows: Greene took the title of his play, the names of his characters, and various descriptive details from a famous poem which he had thoroughly and freshly in mind; then created situations similar to those in the poem without being in any way influenced by it in so doing.

My question is, How did he manage it? Never mind what other suggestions contributed, How did this one come to be excluded? If, after I have been reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a travelled friend calls on me and describes the parting of husbands from wives, mothers from children, in no matter what slave-mart, shall I recall nothing? And if I set about writing up my friend's account, shall I receive no promptings from what I have read? True, that account may be so vivid and circumstantial as completely to overshadow Mrs. Stowe's pages; or I may deliberately seek to put them out of my mind, as indeed some of us often have. But is it common sense to presume that this was the case with Greene? What could more powerfully suggest to him the peculiar atmosphere of his play than a work which was then "the most famous romance poem of Europe? And why should he deliberately reject suggestions from it? If in the sixties someone had written a play entitled *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, would he have thought it expedient to exclude precisely what his public would be led to expect?

CHARLES W. LEMMI.

*The University of Pittsburgh.*

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#### TWO NOTES ON CHAUCER

(1) Koeppel,<sup>1</sup> commenting on Schick's suggestion<sup>2</sup> that Chaucer's "Anelida" probably refers to the same character of romance as the "Analida" of the Italian poem, *L'Intelligenz(i)a*,<sup>3</sup> and the "Alydes" of Froissart's *Dit dou Bleu Chevalier*, proposes to read "Emony" (=Hæmonia, that is, Thessaly) for "Ermony." There is, however, no difficulty in assuming that Chaucer had in mind

<sup>1</sup> *Eng. Stud.*, I, 156-8; cf. Tatlock, *Dev. and Chron. of Chaucer's Works*, p. 86, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lydgate, *Temple of Glass*, ed. Schick, p. cxx, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gaspari, *Ital. Lit. to the Death of Dante*, pp. 199-202.



Armenia, since the *Roman de Thèbes* (ca. 1150) already has (3871-2):

Li tierz, qui meine la reïne,  
Fu fiz Hergart, le rei d'Ermine;

and this son of the king of Armenia is one of three who are of the best of Thebes.<sup>4</sup> We must not forget, too, that Chaucer's "Lyeys" (*K. T.* 58) was in Lesser Armenia (cf. my paper, *The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight*, p. 229); see also Skeat (*Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, I, 77).

(2) The "Fryse" of *Romance of the Rose* 1093 is interpreted by Skeat as "Friesland." But did Friesland ever abound in gold? It is probably Phrygia that is meant. See *Roman de Thèbes* 6630:

Nel donast por tot l'or de Frise.

Phrygia suggests Midas, the Pactolus (Lydia was anciently included in Phrygia), and embroidery in gold.

ALBERT S. COOK.

Yale University.

"Look what"

*Lōc(a) hwæt* is used by Ælfric and Wulfstan in the sense of "whatever." I find the same use in *The Second Book of Records of the Town of Southampton, Long Island*, p. 31, in the minutes of a court held on Sept. 1, 1663: "At this said Cort Samuel King being held in examination about his deficiency in non payment of his due to ye ministry at Southold, it is determined by the Cort that *look what* is due from him, . . . his accompt shall bee demanded, and if hee . . . refuse to pay it shall then bee levied by the cunstable."

ALBERT S. COOK.

Yale University.

CHAUCER'S "LONG CASTEL"

Professor Frederick Tupper in his note on *Chaucer and Richmond* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxi, 250 f.) has partly explained the passage which he cites from the *Book of the Duchess*. He points out that it is John, Earl of Richmond, to whom Chaucer alludes in "Johan . . . riche hil." One difficulty with the rest of the interpretation is that Professor Tupper introduces Richmond twice: first, as a "long castel," and secondly, as a "riche hil." Furthermore, it

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the king of Persia (II, 4764), the king of Nubia (v, 6654), the duke of Syria (6603), etc. Boccaccio, it may be noted in passing, mentions Armenia in two of the stories of the *Decameron* (II, 7; v, 7).

would be surprising to find the wife of John of Gaunt referred to as Blanche of Richmond, when her proper title was Blanche of Lancaster.

Now, if Chaucer never punned, argument would be rendered futile at the outset. But he does occasionally indulge in false wit, as Professor Tupper shows. In "A long castel with walles whyte," he refers to Blanche of Lancaster. The equation of "whyte" with Blanche is admitted. "Long castel" for "Lancaster" is not so great a stretch as it might at first seem to be. This is substantiated as late as 1607 by a passage in Camden's *Britannia* (ed. 1695, col. 795): "The *Lone* [Lune], after it has gone some miles further, sees *Lancaster* on the south side of it, the chief town of this county, which the inhabitants call *Loncaster*, and the Scots, *Loncastell*, from the river *Lon*. Both its name at this day, and the river under it, in a manner prove it to be the *Longovicum*, where under the Lieutenant of Britain (as the *Novitia* informs us) a company of the *Longovicarians*, who took that name from the place, kept garrison." Camden's footnote to *Loncaster* adds, "This is its name in all the North part of England." Moreover, the pronunciation of *Lancashire* Camden gives as *Lonka-shire* (*Britannia*, col. 787). The pun is thus rendered obvious enough, for the pronunciation which Camden cites is undoubtedly a relic of former days. Finally, Chaucer in employing references to both John and Blanche compasses a neat balance of constructions, and this on the face of it commends the interpretation.

*Bryn Mawr College.*

HOWARD J. SAVAGE.

## BRIEF MENTION

*The Place-Names of England and Wales.* By the Rev. James R. Johnston, M. A., B. D., author of 'The Place Names of Scotland' (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1916). An enumeration of "the modern books found most useful by the writer" (p. 529) shows that the present century has already made a liberal contribution to the extensive bibliography of this subject, which was formerly especially exposed to unscientific and untrustworthy treatment. Mr. Johnston's *Place-Names in Scotland* (2nd ed., 1903) gave him a place in the company of the scholars now reclaiming this department of investigation from its unfortunate estate, and the book now given to the public makes that place worthily conspicuous. His devotion to this study is best inferred from his own frankly personal statement. He describes himself as being "a busy minister working absolutely single-handed in a Scottish provincial town, with the oversight of a large congregation which has had the first claim upon all his time and energy and has always received it. Why then," he continues, "attempt such a task at all? Because it seemed so needful to be done. No proper con-

spectus of the whole subject has appeared hitherto; and the writer does think that through the gatherings of fully twenty years he has been able to do something." However, twenty years inevitably yield no slight aggregation of "brief and occasional visits" to the libraries of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and a visit may even be stolen from indulgent parishioners for a longer journey and less hurried visit to the Public Library at Falmouth. And the years increased his intimate communication by post with helpful scholars,—Professor Skeat is remembered with special gratitude. Mr. Johnston's manner of recording details of this character gives to them a significance that is helpful in the appreciation of his book.

The plan of this book follows that of the volume revised in 1903. There is an elaborated Introduction of nine chapters (83 pages), which contains a discussion of the subject that is indispensable to the full appreciation of the 'body' of the book; the latter is, as before, in the form of an alphabetic list, now entitled "Explanatory List of the Chief Place-Names of England and Wales" (441 pages). In the character of these two departments, the similarity to the former volume is also maintained, but under conditions of a wider subject and a correspondingly wider view. Continuance in a career of unflagging industry has increased the writer's ease in handling diversity of material and matured him in scholarship. His restraint from dogmatism has, happily, not been relaxed by increased mastery of historic and linguistic details; and altho there is noticeable a growing confidence in his own judgments, he has refined his sense for an unbiassed presentation of all accessible data and for a just estimation of the opinions of others in the case of more or less unsettled questions. Disputed points and undetermined relations between records are numerous, but Mr. Johnston's collation of evidence, tho often in highly abridged form, will serve admirably as basis for further investigations.

"The Use and Value of Place-Name Study" is the title of the first chapter of Mr. Johnston's Introduction, and the full appreciation of his second and third paragraphs will result in the most coveted acknowledgment of the value and usefulness of this book. As a side-light on history (including as a special province history that is too early or too obscure for usual treatment), and, secondly, as revealing and illustrating "racial idiosyncracies, modes of thought, feeling, and taste," the study of place-names (which is very much involved in that of personal names) deserves profoundest attention; and Mr. Johnston supplies a highly satisfactory introduction to the various details of the method by which trustworthy principles are inferred and conclusions reached. No details illustrative of either method or result can be given here, altho it is hard to resist the attractiveness of a bit of uncovered history, or the entertainment of an overthrow of a 'popular etymology.' Only this shall be added that the student of the early records of England, from Ptolemy thru Bede, the *Chronicle*, and *Domesday*



and beyond, will find much here to his profit; and that the linguist will be inclined to collect from this book all the assumed or suggested occurrences of Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian words. Such lists would be an aid in a methodical classification of the "modes of thought" underlying names, and in the more complete definition of the meaning and use of words not in all cases well represented in surviving records. Mr. Johnston has prepared a book for which the scholar and the general reader will be thankful.

J. W. B.

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*Shakespeare Studies by Members of the Department of English of the University of Wisconsin to Commemorate the Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of William Shakespeare, April 23, 1616.* (Published by the University, Madison, 1916.) The University of Wisconsin's published contribution to the Shakespeare tercentenary celebration takes the form of eight sonnets of Shakespearean form "On the Self of William Shakespeare," by W. E. Leonard, and a round dozen of essays on topics ranging from Professor Hubbard's discussion of the relation between the pre-Shakespearean plays *Lochrine* and *Selimus* to F. W. Roe's appreciative sketch, "Charles Lamb and Shakespeare." It is an attractive volume, comprising Shakespearean studies of such different kinds that it can hardly be safely neglected by students either of Shakespeare or of English dramatic criticism in general.

At least three of the papers will appeal to the minute student of sixteenth century poetry by their offering of new material. Such is Professor Hubbard's collection of evidence proving the priority of *Lochrine* to *Selimus* and establishing the date, *ca.* 1591, for the earlier play. The arguments given will doubtless be accepted as convincing and as considerably more complete than any that have hitherto been advanced. Regarding the authorship of the two plays Professor Hubbard is wisely agnostic, but he appears to do rather less than justice to the theory of Greene's concern in *Selimus* in his sentence: "Grosart has tried to prove it to be the work of Greene, but his conclusion has not been generally accepted." The present writer is inclined to sympathize with the attitude expressed, but it is hardly fair to make no mention of H. Gilbert's thesis, "R. Greene's 'Selimus'" (Kiel, 1899), which adds very materially to Grosart's arguments.

Professor Karl Young prints some hitherto unpublished matter regarding the Gager-Rainolds controversy over the Oxford Latin plays of 1592, supplementing Dr. Boas's treatment in his recent *University Drama in the Tudor Age*. It is a pity that limitation of space prevented the printing of Gager's fine letter *in extenso*. Perhaps, since Professor Young has a copy of the Corpus manuscript, he will take another occasion to do so, thus making all the documents in the case finally accessible. New material is also

offered in Professor Neil Dodge's paper on "An Obsolete Elizabethan Mode of Rhyming," apparently a ripened fruit of Professor Dodge's Spenserian studies. The history of the imperfect rime, as in 'héeling—tráveling,' 'confúsiön—mansión,' is traced carefully through the sixteenth century, though with no definite conclusion regarding its *raison d'être*. In some of the many instances cited it is evidently merely an eye-rime, but in others it seems possible to regard it as a perfect rime, due to the tendency to introduce hexameter lines for intentional effect in a pentameter setting.

More general questions are attacked in "Shakespeare's Pathos," by J. F. A. Pyre, "Some Principles of Shakespeare Staging," by T. H. Dickinson, and "The Function of the Songs in Shakespeare's Plays," by J. R. Moore. In the light of what is now inferred concerning the use of song in plays acted by the boys' companies, one feels that Mr. Moore goes beyond his critical right in his reiterated statement "that until 1600 there was (outside Shakespeare) little or no functional use of the song, in the plays that have come down to us"; that "it was Shakespeare's unique achievement to employ the interspersed lyrics, hitherto superfluous or altogether irrelevant in Elizabethan drama, to advance the action. . . ."; and that "Shakespeare was virtually the first Elizabethan dramatist to make systematic employment of the song for dramatic purposes." Among the most interesting papers are Professor Beatty's on the use of sonnets and sonnet-like passages in the plays written before 1609 and a new treatment of "The Collaboration of Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger," by Louis Wann.

T. B.

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Unpublished letters of Lord Byron, often of considerable interest, continue to turn up. Quaritch's Catalogue for June, 1916 (No. 344) offers one, dated December 12, 1821, that completes the record of an incident in the life at Pisa. It will be remembered that, the rumor—false, as it later appeared—having reached them that at Lucca a priest had been condemned to death for sacrilege, Byron and Shelley exerted themselves to obtain a commutation of the penalty. Byron appealed to John Taaffe, as one with whom the authorities were acquainted, to go to Lucca to see what could be done. "I will and would do anything," he writes, "either by money or guarantee or otherwise." Taaffe's reply, consenting to go, was sent by Byron to Moore and may be found in Moore's *Life of Byron* and in Prothero's edition of the *Letters and Journals* (v, 495 f.). It is Byron's appeal to Taaffe, apparently the only letter extant to this correspondent that is now for sale. The portion quoted, besides the sentence above, helps to make clear the attitude of Byron towards the Italian authorities: "As to the Government I appeal to the whole of my conduct since I came here to prove whether I med-

dle or make with their politics—I defy them to misinterpret my motive—and as to leaving their states—I am a Citizen of the World—content where I am now—but able to find a country elsewhere.”

S. C. C.

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The primary value and interest of Professor C. E. Vaughan's edition of *The Political Writings of Rousseau* (Cambridge, The University Press, 1915, 2 vols.) lie in a different field from that of letters, but from the point of view of literature it requires mention. The collection includes all the obvious things and in addition thereto passages from *Émile* and from Rousseau's Correspondence that shed light on his political theories. The exclusion of the *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts* is to be regretted. Vaughan's explanation of this is that it "has no more than an indirect bearing upon political action." Yet its close association with the second Discourse was a reason for its inclusion; and in the two Responses there is more than a germ of the political theory of the *Discours sur l'Inégalité*. About twenty-five pages of new matter, chiefly from the mss. at Neuchatel and for the most part mere variants and first drafts of published works, are published. Of this material by far the most important, though its connection with Rousseau's political writings is not obvious, is the group of autobiographical fragments gathered together in an Appendix. It is not clear why some of these, already published by Grandjean, Schinz, and other scholars, are reprinted here. The editor has subjected his text throughout to the most minute examination in the effort to establish a definitive edition. In this field his finest achievement is his rearrangement of the important fragment, "L'État de Guerre," the sheets of the ms. of which were found to be out of order. As thus rearranged the course of Rousseau's argument seems considerably more logical than as it develops in the editions of Dreyfus-Brisac and Windenberger. The antiquities of the subject have necessarily been subordinated to the study of the content of the writings; but one regrets the absence of an adequate bibliography. For the masterly introduction, though one may feel that it is at times too generous to Rousseau, there can only be praise. It is occupied with the main theme of differentiating and contrasting the two intertwining but never wholly joined strands in Rousseau's political philosophy: the abstract individualism inherited from Locke and the practical collectivism derived from Montesquieu. This is not the place to examine this introduction at length. Nor is it possible to do more than note the fact that these volumes are destined to have an important part in that rehabilitation of Rousseau in English political thought which, beginning with Bosanquet's studies nearly twenty years ago, has by no means yet run its course. An "Epilogue," written since the beginning of the War, contrasts the Roussellian and Fichtean idea of the State with no



attempt to conceal the application of the contrast to modern Germany. An Appendix contains part of a lecture, of a rather "popular" character a little out of place in these volumes, on "Rousseau and his enemies" in which the results of Mrs. Macdonald's researches, published a decade ago and familiar to all students, are presented and with certain reservations adopted. The proof-reading—a matter of difficulty in these times and when dealing with a foreign language—seems, after several tests, to be excellent; the appearance of the volumes is altogether admirable.

S. C. C.

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Oskar Walzel hat eben einen Vortrag über *Die künstlerische Form des Dichtwerks* (Berlin, E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1916) veröffentlicht und damit ein Problem ausführlicher erörtert, dem er letzthin schon öfter nachgegangen ist. In der Schrift *Leben und Dichten* (1912 bei H. Haessel, Leipzig, erschienen) versuchte er dem Rätsel des lyrischen Schaffens beizukommen, und zwar hauptsächlich an der Hand der Lyrik von Modernsten wie Hofmannsthal, George, Rilke.—Die Jahrhundertbetrachtung *Richard Wagner in seiner Zeit* (München, Georg Müller und Rentsch, 1913), eins der allerbedeutendsten Bücher anlässlich Wagners hundertstem Geburtstag und eine der geistvollsten und anregendsten Studien Walzels, geht (S. 49 ff.) sehr feinsinnig auf das Problem der Form in der Literatur und Musik ein. Von hier aus versteht man Walzels Programmschrift von 1916 erst richtig. Immer gilt es ihm in der einen oder anderen Art: "die künstlerische Form von Dichtungen mit dem Werkzeug zu packen, das von Musik und bildender Kunst geliefert wird,"—also kein "vages Ästhetisieren," sondern der Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Ergründung der dichterischen Architektonik und Ornamentik, und zwar diesmal hauptsächlich in der Epik von Jean Paul, Freytag, Fontane, Clara Viebig, und besonders von Ricarda Huch. Wir erhalten auf etwa 40 Seiten eine kurze Zusammenfassung verschiedener Einzelstudien Walzels, die zum Schluss seiner Schrift für den weiter Forschenden aufgezählt werden. Oskar Walzel fusst einerseits auf den Werken Diltheys und andererseits auf den rhythmischen-melodischen Studien von Sievers, Saran, Carl Steinweg, und Rutz, doch sind hier wie bei seinen anderen Schriften, z. B. über die Romantik, Ibsen, Hebbel, Richard Wagner, die tiefe philosophische Durchdringung und der feine ästhetische Sinn ganz sein eigen. Ich kann denn auch diese wie alle anderen Schriften Walzels, die voll von wertvollen Anregungen und Anleitungen sind, nicht besser empfehlen als mit Walzels eigenen Worten: "Mein Ziel ist Stärkung des künstlerischen Gefühls bei den Aufnehmenden, Erziehung zu vertieftem Kunstverständnis, ist vor allem aber auch Selbstbesinnung bei der Betrachtung dichterischer Kunstwerke."

F. S.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## DIE DEUTSCHEN SAGEN DER BRÜDER GRIMM ALS BALLADENQUELLE<sup>1</sup>

Es bieten sich mehrere Möglichkeiten die Balladen, welche Sagenmaterial behandeln, einzuteilen. Man möchte gern die Genauigkeit der Anlehnung an den Text der Brüder Grimm zur Basis machen aber wir stossen dann auf die Schwierigkeit, dass man nur in den allerwenigsten Fällen positiv Gebrauch der Grimmschen Sagen feststellen kann. Die meisten Dichter, die diesen Stoff vornahmen, waren unbedeutend und Angaben über einzelne Gedichte fehlen in Lebensabriss und Briefen, sofern diese überhaupt gedruckt vorliegen. Also kann man sich nur an das Erscheinungsjahr halten: eine chronologische Einteilung wäre eben so unbefriedigend. Und da bleibt uns nur die Anordnung nach Sagenstoffen, wobei man sich auch an die *Deutschen Sagen* der Brüder Grimm halten kann, obgleich diese, was die örtlichen und historischen Rubriken betrifft, nicht immer konsequent verteilt sind.

Einige Balladen sind beinahe wörtlich den *Deutschen Sagen* nacherzählt und sind weiter nichts als eine Versifizierung der betreffenden Prosasage (Vgl. besonders Kopisch). Andere Dichter haben den Stoff treu wiedergegeben aber in wirklich balladeske Form eingekleidet. Wiederum andere begnügten sich den Kern der Sage beizubehalten und malten dann das Bild nach ihrem Belieben aus. (wie z. B. Annette v. Droste-Hülshoff in *Der Spiritus Familiaris des Rosstäuschers*.) Eine vierte Gruppe von Balladen behandelt zwar dieselben Sagen, die sich bei den Brüdern Grimm finden, aber da keine bestimmte Aussage vorhanden ist, wird es infolge der

<sup>1</sup> Die Anregung zu diesem Aufsätze verdanke ich Herrn Professor Schneider in Berlin.

allgemeinen Verbreitung der Stoffe unmöglich festzustellen, ob der betreffende Dichter aus Grimm schöpfte oder nicht. Endlich finden wir noch Balladen, denen Motive zu Grunde liegen, die alle in den *Deutschen Sagen* vorkommen, die aber hier neu zusammengestellt sind. Es sind dieser eine Unmenge und es lohnte sich kaum die einzelnen Balladen aufzuzählen. Da die meisten Dichter, die sich für diesen Balladenstoff interessierten, von geringer, ja von geringster Bedeutung sind, hätte es keinen Wert das Verzeichnis in unabsehbare Länge hinauszuziehen.

Als die Brüder Grimm in den Jahren 1816 und 1818 ihre *Deutschen Sagen* herausgaben, waren sie von dem Wunsche beseelt, dass diese urkräftigen Produkte des deutschen Volksgeistes von ihren Landsgenossen aufgenommen werden möchten und dass dadurch die Liebe zur heimatlichen Scholle, die Liebe zum Vaterland<sup>e</sup> gestärkt würde. Wenn auch die *Deutschen Sagen* nicht dieselbe Beliebtheit genossen wie die *Märchen*,<sup>2</sup> so wirkten sie doch befruchtend auf die ganze Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Und wo ihr Einfluss kein direkter war, liegt doch in den endlosen Sagensammlungen, die durch dieses Buch angeregt wurden, eine mittelbare Einwirkung vor.

Ein guter Teil der Sagen war natürlich schon altbekanntes Gemeingut und war auch im achtzehnten Jahrhundert brockenweise ausgenutzt worden. Andere Sagen, wie die vom *Brennberger*, waren bekannt durch *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806-8): Aber es war der Grimmschen Sammlung vorbehalten den ersten umfassenden Blick über den gesamten Sagenschatz zu bieten,<sup>3</sup> und die Folgen blieben auch nicht aus. Sofort liessen sich Dichterstimmen hören, die in ihren eigenen Tönen und Weisen die alte Märchen- und Sagenwelt wieder zu beleben suchten. Lyrik, Epos und Drama sind alle vertreten. Da aber auf die *Deutschen Sagen* in den 30er, 40er und 50er Jahren eine solche Unmasse von Sagensammlungen folgte, ist meistens der Hinweis auf eine bestimmte Quelle eine schwierige Sache, um so mehr da die Dichter zweifelsohne mit

<sup>2</sup> Der zweite Abdruck erschien erst nach fünfzig Jahren, 1865.

<sup>3</sup> Die Schriften des Johann Prätorius (Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts) bieten mehr Material als sonst irgend ein Buch vor dem 19. Jh. Das nächste Buch von Bedeutung war der Band *Volkssagen* von Otmar (1800). In den folgenden Jahren erschienen nur zwei Werke von Belang für die deutsche Volkssage: die Sammlung von Büsching (1812) und die von Gottschalk (1814).



vielen der Sagen schon von der Heimat her bekannt waren. Besonders bei den örtlichen Sagen muss man vorsichtig gehen, denn diese Motive sind an keine Gegend gebunden und tauchen unter den verschiedensten Umständen und Formen auf. Bei den geschichtlichen Sagen hat man es leichter, abgesehen von solchen wie die von Barbarossa, die ohnehin überall bekannt war, denn sie werden meistens durch die Quelle, die oft einzig dasteht, bestimmt und erscheinen nur in der einen von Grimm wiedergegebenen Form. Einzelne Züge solcher Sagen sind aber an verschiedenen Stellen zu finden, z.B. der zurückkehrende Graf, der beim Hochzeitsmahl seiner Gattin sich durch einen in den Becher geworfenen Ring zu erkennen gibt. In solchen Fällen kann sich der Dichter an eine andere Quelle gehalten haben oder er hat aus eigener Erfindung geschöpft.<sup>4</sup>

In der folgenden Darstellung werde ich mich möglichst an die Grimmsche Klassifizierung halten, wenn auch die Grenzen zwischen den Abteilungen "örtlich" und "geschichtlich" fließend sind. Unter den Ortssagen sind viele, die füglich auch als geschichtlich bezeichnet werden könnten, wie *Der Mäuseturm bei Bingen*, *Der Dombau zu Bamberg*, u. a. m. Ferner sind viele der Sagen von Nixen, Zwergen, Riesen u. s. w. keine eigentlichen Ortssagen, weil der Ort nicht wesentlich ist, nur ein Zug oder Motiv, wie z.B. *Der Tanz mit dem Wassermann*. Da ist der Tanz mit den Nixen die Hauptsache und es ist ganz gleichgültig, ob das von Laibach oder Tübingen erzählt wird. Unter Ortssage verstehe ich eine Sage, deren Zweck es ist irgend eine wunderliche Naturerscheinung zu erklären oder die Entstehung eines Gebäudes oder die Gründung einer Stadt zu erzählen. Demnach wäre die Sage vom Rammelsberg (Grimm No. 475)<sup>5</sup> eine Ortssage, nicht wie die Brüder Grimm es wollen, eine geschichtliche, weil es ihr Zweck ist Etymologieren der Namen Rammelsberg und Goslar aufzustellen. Geschichtliche Sagen können manchmal örtlich werden, indem eine geschichtliche Figur in eine rein örtliche Sage eingeflochten wird um die Ausführungen wahrscheinlicher zu machen. Doch kann man in solchen Fällen die Gattungen leicht unterscheiden, z.B. *Der Heilige Winfried* (No. 181).

<sup>4</sup> Umgestaltung der Sage haben wir bei Justinus Kerner: *Graf Olbertus von Calw*.

<sup>5</sup> Die Sagen werden hier nach der dritten, von Hermann Grimm besorgten Ausgabe (Berlin, 1891) zitiert.

Von den gewonnenen Gesichtspunkten aus prüfen wir nun die Balladendichtung auf dem Gebiet der Sage. Es heben sich zwei Typen scharf von einander ab: die leichte, duftige Elfenballade und die mit einem tragischen Ausgang. Benzmann meint, dass jene in ihrer "geschmeidigen Grazie" ein "markantes Gegenstück zur harten und stolzen, heroischen Ballade" bilde.<sup>6</sup> Trotzdem haben wir nur eine geringe Anzahl Balladen aufzuweisen, die das lustige Geisterleben verherrlichen. Kopisch wandte sich mit besonderer Vorliebe diesen Sagen zu, vielleicht weil sie ihm Gelegenheit boten, die bei ihm so beliebten Wortspielereien, mit denen er in so graziöser Weise die Elfentänze schilderte, anzuwenden.

Der Auszug der Zwerge, der ungefähr gleichbedeutend mit dem Schwinden des goldenen Zeitalters ist, wird auf verschiedene Weisen erklärt. Einmal ist es, weil die Bauern ihnen einen bösen Streich gespielt und sie von einem Aste heruntergesägt haben. (August Kopisch, *Die Zwerge auf dem Baum*; Grimm No. 148) Ein andermal streuen sie Erbsen auf die Stufen, so dass die hilfreichen Heinzelmännchen ausgleiten (Kopisch, *Die Heinzelmännchen*); oder das Landvolk streut Asche unter die Kirschbäume, auf dass die diebischen Zwerge ihre Gänsefüsse verraten (Grimm No. 150). Das kleine Volk zieht dann mit Sack und Pack aus, gewöhnlich in gemieteten Wagen über die Brücke oder sie überschreiten den Fluss mittelst einer Fähre. Aber es geht immer über einen Fluss zum Land hinaus. Der Fährmann erlangt hierbei Reichtum, weil jeder Zwerg beim Übergange ein Geldstück in einen grossen irdenen Topf wirft. Sie sind natürlich durch ihre Tarnkappen unsichtbar gemacht und man hört nur das Getrippel der tausenden kleinen Füße. (Kopisch, *Des kleinen Volkes Überfahrt*; Grimm No. 153.)

Oft erwiesen sich die Zwerge als hilfreich und wenn die Dorfbewohner bei einer Festlichkeit Tischgeräte benötigten, wandten sie sich an das Bergvolk. Die kleinen Männer waren zufrieden, wenn man ihnen als Lohn etwas von den Festspeisen hinstellte. (Grimm, *Die Zwerge bei Dardesheim*) Doch waren sie nicht immer so harmlos und spielten oft eine neckische Rolle. So kamen sie einmal unsichtbar nach Pinneberg auf eine Hochzeit, wo sie sich dann zu den Gästen setzten und die Schüsseln leerten. Erst als ihrer einer seine Tarnkappe verlor, kam das Wunder der verschwindenden Speisen an den Tag und man zwang das kleine Volk von seinen

<sup>6</sup> Hans Benzmann: *Die Deutsche Ballade*, S. xvii.

angehäuften Schätzen eine Masse herbeizuschleppen. (Kopisch: *Die Zwerge in Pinneberg*). Eine Zwergenhochzeit schildert Goethe in der anmutigen Ballade *Hochzeitslied* (Grimm, No. 31).

Die Zwerge spielen also oft die Rolle eines Neckgeistes,<sup>7</sup> die aber meistens vom Kobold oder Hausgeist übernommen wird. Eine jede Gegend hat ihre Sage von einem Hausgeist, der lange tätig ist und dann verschwindet, wenn eine Mägd ihre Neugierde nicht länger bezwingen kann und darauf besteht, ihn zu sehen. Diese Hausgeister erscheinen unter den verschiedensten Namen. Im Schlosse Kalenberg hauste einer, der als Stiefel bekannt war, wegen eines mächtigen Stiefels, den er trug. (Kopisch, *Stiefel*; Grimm No. 78). Auch sonst halten sich die Kobolde mit Vorliebe in Schlössern auf. Im Schlosse zu Flügelauf befand sich einer, Klopfer genannt, der immer bereit war den Menschen einen Gefallen zu tun (Kopisch, *Klopfer*; Grimm No. 77). Von Hütchen, der am Hofe des Bischofs Bernhard von Hildesheim wohnte, erzählt man sich vielerlei. Der ausführlichen Zusammenstellung in den *Deutschen Sagen* entnahm Kopisch zwei Anekdoten und bearbeitete sie in *Hütchen*<sup>8</sup> und *Hütchens Ringlein*. Ein anderer hiess Ekerken und trieb im Herzogtum Kleve grossen Unfug (Kopisch, *Ekerken*; Grimm, No. 79). Dieser war ein reiner Neckgeist, der dem Wanderer gern einen Schabernack spielte.

Die Sagen vom Kobold schielen auch nach einer anderen Seite hin und kommen somit in Verbindung mit den Teufelsgeschichten. Das sind die Sagen vom Drachen (Dräk) und dem Hecketaler. Hierher gehört eine Ballade von Kopisch, die nicht auf Grimm zurück geht, *Der Hausdrache*. Wir reichen also zu den Familiargeistern heran, die in den verschiedensten Formen erscheinen und im *spiritus familiaris* gipfeln. *Der Spiritus Familiaris des Rosstäuschers*, von Annette v. Droste-Hülshoff, ist eigentlich episch, aber wegen ihres balladesken Charakters kann man diese Dichtung hierher rechnen. Nach ihrer eigenen Aussage hat Annette von Droste das Material den *Deutschen Sagen* entnommen.<sup>9</sup> Aber sie

<sup>7</sup> Es erscheinen auch die Moosleute im dunklen Fichtenwalde als Neckgeister. (Kopisch, *Zeitelmoos*; Grimm, No. 46.)

<sup>8</sup> Die Ballade C. F. Meyers, *Fingerhütchen*, stammt aus einem ganz anderen Kreise und geht zurück auf ein irisches Elfenmärchen in Grimms Sammlung.

<sup>9</sup> "Ich habe soeben ein grösseres Gedicht beendet von ohngefähr 600 bis 700 Versen, *Der Spiritus Familiaris des Rosstäuschers*; sieben Abteil-



hat den Stoff so künstlerisch bearbeitet, dass man das Werk ohne Zaudern die beste Ballade dieser Gattung nennen kann. Die wahn-sinnige Furcht, die den verdammten Menschen rastlos von Ort zu Ort jagt, bis zu der wuchtigen Steigerung, wo er den letzten ver-zweifelten Versuch macht, den Dämon loszuwerden, um dann als Bettler aber mit dem seligen Bewusstsein seiner Rettung in die Welt hinauszuziehen, ist mit seltener Kraft dargestellt. Und das Gefühl der Hilflosigkeit gegenüber dem Galgenmännchen, das sich in schauerlich rieselnden Versen offenbart, durchdringt das ganze Gedicht und man kann die bedrückende Vorahnung einer schreck-lichen Katastrophe nicht abwerfen. Das Epische, das Romantische, das Heroische,—alles ist da.

Seen und Teiche waren immer ungeheure Stellen und wir finden in jeder Ecke und Kante des Deutschen Reiches Seen, die ihren Sagenkreis haben. Zu den berühmtesten gehört der Mummelsee <sup>10</sup> im Schwarzwald. Die Brüder Grimm schöpften ihr Sagenmaterial aus Grimmelshausen.<sup>11</sup> Hier ist die Rede von Wassermännlein-und fräulein, die im See wohnen, den Bauersleuten manchen Schaber-nack spielen und auch oft böseartig handeln. In einer zweiten Sammlung <sup>12</sup> von Sagen über den Mummelsee verliebt sich auch eine Wasserfrau in einen Bauerssohn. Hier findet man die Spuren von einem zweiten Zyklus. Der See soll nämlich die Stätte eines versunkenen Nonnenklosters sein, dessen ehemalige Insassen immer noch als Seeweiblein spuken.

Eine der besten Balladen, die den Mummelsee zum Gegenstand haben, ist Mörikes, *Die Geister am Mummelsee*.<sup>13</sup> Ob sie eine freie Nachdichtung der obenerwähnten Sage ist oder ob Mörike aus einer anderen Quelle schöpfte, ist kaum festzustellen. Allenfalls weicht die Fabel ziemlich weit von der Grimmschen Darstellung ab. Geschildert wird das miternächtige Begräbnis des Zauberkönigs (der Prinz bei Grimmelshausen?) im Geleite der Mummelseegeis-ter. Der See tut sich auf und eine Treppe kommt zum Vorschein, worauf sie in die Tiefe hinabsteigen, um später wieder aus dem

ungen, eine Grimmsche Sage zum Grunde." (An Levin Schücking, den 27. Dez., 1842).

<sup>10</sup> *Deutsche Sagen*, No. 59.

<sup>11</sup> *Simplicissimus*, Buch v, Kapitel 10 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Grimm, Anmerkung zu No. 59.

<sup>13</sup> In *Maler Nolten*, 3. Auflage, Stuttgart, 1890, I, 190. Die Ballade ent-stand 1828, und erschien zuerst in der *Damenzeitung*, 1829, No. 3, S. 9 f.

Wasser emporzutauchen. Das Gedicht ist vielleicht eine Reminiscenz aus den Tübinger Universitätsjahren. Um ein paar Jahre später erschien die Dichtung von Wilhelm Hertz, *Der Jäger am Mummelsee* (1852). Hier scheint der Stoff auch fremd zu sein, obwohl das Motiv von der Liebe zur Wasserfrau bei Grimm und sonst häufig in den Wassermannsgeschichten gegeben ist. Hier aber wird ein Jäger seinem Schatz untreu, als er nachts eine Wasserfrau aus dem Mummelsee auftauchen sieht. Trotz der Nixe Mahnung drängt er auf einen Kuss, holt sich natürlich den Tod und stirbt in den Armen seiner Geliebten, während das höhnische Gelächter der Wasserfrau durch die Nacht hallt. Als Poesie steht das Gedicht hinter Mörike zurück aber zur Ballade hat es die Spannung und Steigerung zum tragischen Schluss, die Mörikes Gedicht fehlen.

Sicher hat Kopisch die *Deutschen Sagen* als Quelle benutzt in der Ballade, *Der Jäger am Mummelsee*. Ein Jäger zieht am See entlang und lauert auf Wild, als er einen Wassermann gewahrt, der am Ufer einen Haufen Geld zählt. Geschwind legt er an und schießt auf das Männchen, das unverseht ins Wasser springt. Die Folge ist nicht tragisch wie in der Vorlage, wie denn auch Kopisch alle die Märchen in einem spielenden, neckischen Ton bearbeitet. Das Männlein ruft ihm zu, da er sich das Geld mit Gewalt habe aneignen wollen, solle er zur Strafe beutelos heimziehen.

Auf eigene Erfindung beruht Schnezlers *Mummelseerache*. Ein Wilderer, der den Förster erschossen hat, will die Leiche im See bergen. Doch der See duldet nicht, dass man einen Stein hinein wirft, geschweige denn eine Leiche.<sup>14</sup> Der Mörder bleibt im Gestrüpp hängen und die Wasser wallen auf und verschlingen ihn. Das andere Erzeugnis desselben Dichters, *Am Mummelsee*, ist eher ein Stimmungsbild als eine Ballade.

Die Neckgeister halten sich gern im Wasser auf und fallen mit den Nixen zusammen. Der Wassergeist Schlitzöhrchen (Grimm, No. 63) ist böseartig und ertränkt oft den vorübergehenden Wanderer. Kopisch fasst ihn als harmlos auf, ein Geist, der nur böse Buben, die seiner spotten, straft. *Nix* und *Bruder Nickel* von Kopisch gehören auch hierher. *Nix* ist ein Spottlied ähnlich wie

<sup>14</sup> Auch sonst sind die Bewohner der Seen und Teiche besorgt um ihre Wasserheimat und suchen sie gegen Eindringlinge zu schützen. Vgl. Grimm, No. 55 und Mickiewicz, in seinen Balladen vom Switezsee.

die Verse in *Schlitzöhrchen* und die erste Strophe findet sich schon bei Grimm (No. 61). Bruder Nickel (Grimm, No. 55) ist der Bewohner eines Sees auf Rügen, der es nicht zulässt, dass man da fischt oder im Kahne fährt.

Im Grunde genommen sind aber die Wassergeister feindlich; sie bringen die Menschen um und ziehen den ahnungslosen Wanderer hinab ins Wasser. Manchmal sucht der Wassermann seine Opfer im Dorfe auf und lockt sie zum Rande des Wassers, wo er Gewalt über sie hat. Zu diesem Zwecke gesellt er sich zu den Tänzern bei den Dorffestlichkeiten, tanzt auch mit einem Mädchen (Grimm, No. 51) und bringt sie mit List zum See. Diese Sage ist von Kerner behandelt worden. Er versetzt die Szene nach Tübingen und führt die Erzählung in volkstümlicher Weise in Dialog mit häufigem Parallelismus aus. Auch gegen ihre eigenen Kinder sind die Wassergeister grausam, wie z.B. in der Sage vom Mummelsee. Die Wasserfräulein sind den jungen Dorfburschen hold und möchten sie gern schützen vor dem erbarmungslosen Wassermann. Auch verlieben sie sich oft in einen Sterblichen und tanzen unter der Dorfkinde mit ihm, wie vom Mummelsee und dem Döngessee in Hessen erzählt wird. (Grimm No. 58). Ohne die Sage örtlich zu beziehen, hat sie Gottfried Kinkel in der Ballade, *Der Nixenteich*, behandelt. Eine liebliche Nixe mischt sich unter die tanzenden Dorfbewohner und verliebt sich dërmassen in ihren Partner, dass sie bis nach Mitternacht bleibt. Als sie gewahr wird, dass der Morgen schon grauen will, läuft sie schnell zum See und springt hinein. Nach einer Weile steigt ein Blutstrahl in die Höhe, ein Zeichen, dass ihre Verwandten sie wegen ihres langen Ausbleibens ermordet haben. Den gleichen tragischen Schluss hat die Ballade von Ludwig Braunfels, *Die drei Wasserfrauen* (Grimm, No. 307).

Beinahe ein jeder der ungeheuren Seen gilt als die Stätte eines ehemaligen Dorfes, das infolge der Sünden der Bewohner unter dem Wasserspiegel verschwand.<sup>15</sup> Diese Sage gehört also zu den verbreitetsten und viele Balladendichter haben das Thema verwendet. Bei diesen ist aber die Quelle unsicher, was bei einer so bekannten Sage auch zu erwarten ist. Erwähnen kann man: Friedrich Rückert, *Das versunkene Dorf*, *Der fehlende Schöppe*, *Die Nixen*; Wilhelm Müller, *Vineta*; August Kopisch, *Die Stadt*

<sup>15</sup> In den *Deutschen Sagen* sind viele Erzählungen von versunkenen Dörfern, Schlössern, Klöstern u. dgl. zu finden; No. 59, 97, 112, 132, 240.



im See; Friedrich Schlegel, *Das versunkene Schloss*; Karl Simrock, *Lorscher See*; A. Stöber, *Das versunkene Kloster*; Nikolaus Hocker, *Die Wettenburg*; Johann Nepomuk Vogl, *Der Gnomen Rache*.

In diesen Sagen werden ganze Ortschaften gezüchtigt aber Einzelstrafen kommen auch vor. Manchmal kommt die Strafe nach dem Tode, so dass der Sünder bis zum Jüngsten Tage rastlos umherziehen muss wie der Wilde Jäger (siehe Scheffel, *Des Rodensteiners Auszug*, Grimm No. 170);<sup>16</sup> oder der Betreffende wird in einen Berg gebannt; oder die Strafe kommt vor dem Tode als Armut oder Krankheit. Von der ersten Gattung von Sagen könnte man bei Grimm eine lange Reihe anführen: No. 170, 172, 174, 276, 283, 309, 310, 311, 312. Balladen dieser Gattung gibt es aber weiter keine. Von verdammten Geistern, die manchmal unter Qualen aber meistens in einen Berg gebannt den Jüngsten Tag erwarten, haben wir mehrere Sagen (Grimm No. 107, 144, 279) und eine Anzahl Dichtungen. Eine der grauenhaftesten hat Chamisso bearbeitet in *Die Männer auf dem Zobtenberg*. Beinahe wörtlich ist die Übereinstimmung mit Grimm und dies ist einer der wenigen Fälle, wo man unbedingte Abhängigkeit von den *Deutschen Sagen* konstatieren kann. Nur die Namensform erscheint geändert (Grimm, Zottenberg). Lügenhaftigkeit und Geiz werden gewöhnlich sofort bestraft und zwar durch Verwirklichung der Lüge und Verarmung des Geizhalses. Ein Reicher schwört dem verhungern den Volke, er habe nichts und wie er an seinen Schrank geht, findet er ihn wirklich leer. Die Geschichte vom versteinerten Brodlaib (Grimm No. 241) liegt in zwei unbedeutenden Bearbeitungen vor: Tenner *Der Brodstein zu Oliva* und Magenau, *Der steinerne Brodlaib zu Meckarhausen*. In diesen Kreis gehört auch die Sage vom Bingener Mäuseturm (Grimm, No. 242), die versifiziert wurde von Kopisch und Froschmäuseler.<sup>17</sup>

Prophezeiungen verschiedener Art kommen vielfach in den Volkssagen vor. Tod, Krieg und sonstiges Unglück werden durch Zeichen vorausgesagt, wie beim Birnbaum auf dem Walserfeld (Grimm, No. 24), von dem erzählt wird, dass sein Blühen einen Weltkrieg andeute. Chamisso hat den Stoff in einer tendenziösen

<sup>16</sup> Ferner auch die Ballade von Graf Schack, *Burg Rodenstein* (ein Zeitgedicht), *Gesammelte Werke*, II, 390.

<sup>17</sup> Bei Simrock, *Rheinsagen*, S. 210.

Ballade verwertet. Der Tod wird symbolisch angekündigt durch das Stillstehen eines Flusses, Versiegen einer Quelle, Verdorren eines Baumes, Abwelken einer Blume. Eigenartig ist die Sage von der Lilie im Kloster zu Korvei (Grimm, No. 264), wonach eine weisse Lilie auf dem Chorstuhle den Mönchen den Tod eines ihrer Zahl weissagte. Diese Sage ist die Vorlage einer Ballade von Gisbert Freiherr Vincke. Aber nicht nur Unheil wird prophezeit sondern auch Erntesegen.<sup>18</sup> Junge Mädchen pflegen in der Neujahrsnacht zu erfahren wie ihr künftiger Geliebter aussieht (Grimm, No. 118). Diese Sage ist von Theodor Fontane behandelt in *Sylvesternacht*. Eine freie Erfindung über dasselbe Thema ist die gleichnamige Ballade von Georg Ruseler.

Bei Grimm finden sich zwei Glockengiessersagen (No. 126, 127), wo dem Giessergehilfen eine schwere Strafe für seinen Ungehorsam zu teil wird. Den Mord des Giessergehilfen erzählt Wilhelm Müller im *Glockenguss zu Breslau*. Er hat nichts selbständiges der Grimmschen Sage hinzugefügt.

Die beliebte Sage vom Riesenspielzeug ist öfter verwertet worden als irgend eine andere. Die Balladen von Rückert und Chamisso sind ja allbekannt. Dazu kommen noch die von Karl Streckfuss, Charlotte Engelhardt-Schöninghäuser, Langbein und Friedrich Güll.<sup>19</sup> Eigentlich mehr Märchen als Sage ist die Geschichte von den begrabenen Bergleuten (Grimm, No. 1), die Rückert so lieblich in Balladenform gebracht hat.

Die geschichtlichen Sagen haben einen viel grösseren Kreis von Interessenten gefunden als die örtlichen. Am anziehendsten scheinen die Sagen von der Völkerwanderung gewesen zu sein und es hat sich eine beträchtliche Balladenliteratur, die die Sturm- und Drangzeit des Germanentums zum Thema hatte, angesammelt. Kopisch hat sich auch hier eifrig betätigt und eine Anzahl dieser Balladen unter dem Titel "Episches" gesammelt. Er scheint auch ein Langobardenepos geplant zu haben, von dem aber nur einzelne Bruchstücke als Balladen vorhanden sind. Die tragische Geschichte vom alten Vandalenkönig Gelimer, um den sich der Feinde Kreis immer enger zieht und der an sie einen Boten schickt

<sup>18</sup> Grimm, No. 14; Kopisch, *Das Wunder im Kornfeld*. Vgl. auch Uhland, *Die Geisterkeller*.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Simrock, *Mythologie*, 6. Aufl. S. 409; Göttinger, *Deutsche Dichter*, 3. Aufl., II, 71.

mit dem Gesuch um eine Zither, Brot und ein Tuch, das Brot zum Essen, das Linnen seine rotgeweinten Augen zu trocknen und die Zither, damit er sein Schicksal beklagen kann, hat Kopisch ohne jeden Reiz wiedergegeben. Grimms nackte Tatsachen sind diesem Gedichte vorzuziehen. Etwas besser ist die blasse Ballade von Simrock, *Die drei Bitten*.

Wie der Sagenkreis der Langobarden der schönste ist, so ist ihm auch am meisten Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt worden. Die längste Dichtung ist der Balladenzyklus von Wilhelm Hertz, *Albwin der Langobarde*. Es ist eine der besten Leistungen des Dichters und gehört zu den kernigsten Sagenballaden überhaupt. Die sechs Gedichte geben in der Nibelungenstrophe den Inhalt zweier Sagen der Brüder Grimm wieder (No. 400, 401). Die erste Romanze schildert den Kampf zwischen Albwin und Cunimund, Cunimunds Tod und Rosimundens Raub. In der zweiten Ballade stockt die Handlung etwas, da nur die Empfindungen Albwins, der sich vom Königsberg aus in die Betrachtung Italiens versenkt, dargestellt werden. Dann wird das Siegesmahl, bei dem Albwin die Liebe seiner neuen Königin verwirkt, beschrieben. Es ist der Gipfelpunkt der Aktion und die Handlung stürzt nun der Katastrophe zu. Im nächsten Bild erfahren wir den Fortgang der Verschwörung gegen den König. Hier fügt Hertz ein Liebesverhältniss zwischen Helmichis und Rosimunde hinzu, wodurch wir seitens Helmichis eine wirkliche Motivierung für den Königsmord, die bei Grimm fehlt, erhalten. In einem grauenhaften Bild sehen wir den heroischen Tod Albwins und dann folgt noch das tragische Nachspiel, wo die beiden Mörder und die Königin ihre Sünden büssen müssen. Der ganze Zyklus bildet ein dramatisches Gedicht von höchster Kraft.<sup>20</sup>

Ferner hat Hertz noch zwei Langobardenballaden geschrieben. Die eine, *Der Heruler Ende* (1855) ist bei Grimm *Rodulf und Rumetrud* (No. 395). Die Ballade schliesst sich Grimm genau an mit Ausnahme des von Hertz weggelassenen Schlusses vom Ermorden der Heruler, die durch ein Flachsfield schwimmen wollen. Hertz will die ganze Aufmerksamkeit auf Rodulf richten, der die

<sup>20</sup> Zwei andere Dichtungen, die diese Tragödie zum Gegenstand haben, sind noch zu erwähnen: O. F. Gruppe, *Alboin, der König der Langobarden* (1830) und J. G. Fischer, *Rosamunde* (Benzmann, II, 35). In einem anderen Gedicht behandelt Gruppe die Geschichte von *Theudelinde, Königin der Langobarden* (1849), Grimm, No. 405.



Strafe für seine Gleichgültigkeit während der Schlacht leidet. *König Autharis Brautschau* (1855) ist nach Grimms *Sage von Authari* (No. 402) und von geringerem Wert. Archaismen sind hier häufig, werden aber später (in *Albwin*) von Hertz spärlicher verwendet.

Die Balladen von Kopisch stehen entschieden hinter denen von Hertz zurück. Besser als *Alboin vor Ticinum* (Grimm, No. 398) und *Der Langobarden Grenzstein* (No. 403) ist das lebhaftes Gedicht *Lamissios Kampf mit der Amazonenköigin* (No. 394), eins seiner kräftigsten Stücke. Es ist das oben erwähnte Bruchstück aus dem Langobardenepos.

Von den Erzählungen aus den Hunnenkriegen haben wir nur einzelne Bearbeitungen zu verzeichnen. *Aquileja* (Grimm, No. 382) von Kopisch, erzählt die Zerstörung der Langobarden Hauptstadt. Gelungener ist *Der Kleine Grimoald* (Grimm, No. 406) von demselben Dichter. Nur der letzte Teil der Grimmschen Sage wird gegeben: die Flucht der Königssöhne aus der verratenen Stadt und die Heldentat des kleinen Grimoald.

So weit die Sagen von der Völkerwanderung. Die nächste historische Figur um die sich Sagen sammelten ist Kaiser Karl. In nur wenigen Fällen jedoch treffen die vielen Gedichte und Balladen von Kaiser Karl mit den Erzählungen in den *Deutschen Sagen* zusammen. Das hervorragendste Stück ist *Der Frankenbergersee bei Aachen* (1817) von Wilhelm Müller. Allerdings scheint Müller aus der *Kaiserchronik* (Massmann, III, 1020 ff.) geschöpft zu haben, obgleich die Fabel ganz mit Grimm (No. 458) übereinstimmt. Die Gründung der Stadt Frankfurt (No. 455) hat Kopisch zum Gegenstand seiner Ballade *Frankfurt am Main* genommen.

Die Beziehungen Karls des Grossen zu den heidnischen Germanen treten auch in etlichen Sagen hervor und zwar in zwei Geschichten entgegengesetzten Ausgangs: der Empfang der Taufe durch Wittekind und die Zurückweisung des Christentums durch Ratbod, den Friesenfürsten. In einer mystischen Ballade hat Platen ersteres Sujet vorgenommen unter dem Titel *Wittekind* (No. 453). Wuchtig ist die Geschichte Ratbods (No. 451) aber die Bearbeitungen von Hertz und Karl Lappe sind dafür weniger interessant.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Siehe auch Otto Ernst, *Ratbod* (Gartenlaube, 1905, Heft 1); Martin Greif, *Ratbod* (Gesammelte Werke, I, 377); Friedrich Halm, *Wittekind*.

Es hätte keinen Zweck jeder Erscheinung des Barbarossa in der Balladenliteratur nachzuspüren, da die *Deutschen Sagen* hier wahrscheinlich von wenig Einfluss waren. Nennen lassen sich: *Barbarossa* von Fr. Rückert, *Friedrich der Rotbart* von Grabbe und *Barbarossa im Kyffhäuser* von Ludwig Bechstein. Letzteres Gedicht ist besonders gelungen und stimmt überein mit Grimm, No. 297. Kaisersagen sind auch noch vorhanden von Heinrich I. (No. 470). Aber es ist zweifelhaft, ob J. N. Vogl in *Heinrich der Vogler* und Strachwitz in *Heinrich der Finkler* Grimm als Quelle benutzten.

Es wird vom Markgrafen Friedrich von Thüringen manches erzählt. Er hatte auf der Backe eine Schramme, die von einem Bisse seiner Mutter herrühren sollte, da sie vor dem Grafen, seinem Vater, fliehen musste (No. 566). Die Sage wurde öfter vorgenommen u.a. von Fr. Halm, *Friedrich mit der gebissenen Wang*, und von Gerok. Geroks Gedicht ist von Halm, der den Balladenton viel besser getroffen hat, abhängig, wie sich aus mehreren Kleinigkeiten im Sprachgebrauch erschliessen lässt.<sup>22</sup> Aus dem späteren Verlauf des Markgrafen Leben ist die darauffolgende Sage, *Markgraf Friedrich lässt seine Tochter säugen* (No. 567) von Kopisch erzählt worden.

Das Motiv vom zurückkehrenden Grafen, der seine Gemahlin bei ihrer zweiten Hochzeit antrifft, ist überall zu finden. Dieses Motiv kehrt wieder in der Sage von Heinrich dem Löwen, Herzog von Braunschweig (No. 526), die von Julius Mosen bearbeitet worden ist. Kerner's *Graf Olbertus von Calw* (No. 530) ist schon erwähnt worden.<sup>23</sup> Mit einer geringen Änderung erscheint die Sage wieder beim *Graf von Gleichen* (No. 581), von Platen benutzt.

<sup>22</sup> Z. B. das Wort *Schlafklosett*; der Vergleich der schlafenden Knaben mit Rosen; und am Ende der Vers: "Mag die Wange bluten, mein Herz das blutet mehr," der bei Gerok lautet: "Lang blutet ihm die Wange, doch länger ihr das Herz."

<sup>23</sup> Entstand 1818. Erschien im *Morgenblatt*, 1819, No. 37. Am 18. Januar 1819, schreibt Theresa Huber an Kerner: "Die Redaktion bittet um die Vergünstigung Ihren *Graf Olbertus von Calw* nicht beiseite zu legen und masst sich an es für höchst annehmlich zu halten, dass zween wackere Sänger gleichen Gegenstand so verschieden behandelt, den Lesern vorzulegen. Sie haben den alten Balladenton noch mehr getroffen, als unser werter Conz (*Morgenblatt*, No. 9-11), da Conz wohl, mehr dramatisierend, das Mitgefühl beschäftigt, Sie mehr die Phantasie." Uhland bewundert die Ballade.

Die Balladen von K. Förster, *Graf Ulrich*, und N. Hocker, *Die Zöllner von Hallberg*, verarbeiten gleiches Material, haben Grimm aber nicht zur Quelle.

In einem kleinen Abstände gehören auch die Genovefa-Geschichten hierher, die Sagen von bewiesener Unschuld. Nur Simrock hat sich dieser Sagen angenommen in zwei Balladen: *Genovefa* (Grimm, No. 538) und *Der Ring der Genovefa. Itha von Toggenburg* (No. 513) behandelt das gleiche Motiv. Etwas abweichend doch im selben Sinn zu nehmen ist Ludwig Bechsteins *Elisabeths Rosen*, wo die Liebesgaben für die Armen sich in Elisabeths Korb in Rosen verwandeln, um sie vor ihres Gemahls Zorn zu schützen.

In den geschichtlichen Sagen tauchen die Todesprophezeiungen abermals auf. Schon Schwab in *Eberhard der Gütige* hat eine Phase dieser Erscheinung beleuchtet. Zur selben Gruppe gehört die Erzählung vom Stauffenberger, wo das Erscheinen des Fusses an der Wand den Tod des Ritters Peter bedeutet. Doch da die Sage schon längst bekannt war, auch durch Fischart, ist es nicht sicher dass Simrocks Ballade *Der Fuss an der Wand den Deutschen Sagen* (No. 528) entlehnt ist. Das Motiv der *Gäste vom Galgen* (No. 336), wo der Gastgeber nach drei Tagen bzw. vier Wochen stirbt, hat Anastasius Grün lustig umgedichtet in *Umheimliche Gäste*. Doch manchmal wird das Zeichen missverstanden und es bedeutet nicht den Tod sondern ein grosses Glück. So träumte Heinrich der Heilige von einer Zahl 6, die er in dem Sinn auffasste, dass ihm nur noch sechs Tage Lebenszeit beschieden seien. Er bereitet sich auf den Tod vor und führt ein heiliges Leben. Anstatt zu sterben empfängt er aber nach sechs Jahren die Kaiserkrone. Franz Kugler erzählt die Geschichte nach Grimm.

Fabelhaft grosse Sprünge sind stets ein beliebter Gegenstand der Sagendichtung gewesen. Der Mägedsprung im Harz ist bekannt und andere Gegenden weisen ebenfalls die Spuren solcher Sagen auf (Grimm, No. 130, 142, 319-322). Am bekanntesten ist die Geschichte von dem Räuber Eppela Gaila, den die Nürnberger fingen und erhängen wollten (No. 130). Strachwitz hat hierüber eine treffliche Ballade geschrieben: *Wie der Junker Ebbelin die Nürnberger foppen thät*. Eine andere Sage (No. 554) hat Kopisch behandelt in *Der Grafensprung bei Eberstein*. Der Mägedsprung im Harz (No. 319, 5) hat in Groote seinen Dichter gefunden.



Die Trümmer zweier sich gegenüberstehenden Burgen gaben vielfach Anlass zu Märchen von feindlichen Brüdern. Die bekanntesten sind natürlich die am Rhein und auf diese beziehen sich vielleicht die Balladen von Heine, *Zwei Brüder* und Anastasius Grün, *Die Brüder*. Die Burgen bei Göttingen kommen in Schwabs Ballade, *Die beiden Gleichen bei Göttingen* aber nicht bei Grimm vor. *Die Brüder*, von G. C. Braun, bezieht sich wieder auf die rheinische Sage.

Von geistlichen Fürsten gibt es ebenfalls ein paar Mähren wie die Sage vom Ursprung des Rades im Mainzer Wappen (No. 474), womit Kopisch wieder sein Glück versuchte in *Willegis*. Die Klöster sind vertreten in der Sage vom kampfeslustigen Heiligen Walther (No. 412), die Alexander Kauffmann bearbeitet hat.

Kirchen und Dome sind oft in geheimnissvoller oder übernatürlicher Weise entstanden. Es werden vom Teufel verschiedene Hindernisse in den Weg gelegt, doch manchmal auch von einem neidischen Nebenbuhler, der dann durch List überwunden wird. Der Kölner Dom ist der Gegenstand vielseitiger Bewunderung und Aberglaubens. Meister Gerhart hatte in seinem Übermut eine Wette eingegangen, dass der Bau vollendet sein würde, ehe man eine Wasserleitung für die Stadt Köln legen könnte. Er wusste nämlich, dass die Quelle unter dem Dome sprang. Sein Geheimnis wurde aber von seiner Frau verraten und im Zorne verfluchte er den Dom, er solle nie vollendet werden. August Follen hielt sich in seiner Ballade *Der Kölner Dom* genau an die Brüder Grimm (No. 205). *Der Dombau zu Bamberg* (Kopisch; Grimm, No. 483) bringt ein anderes Motiv: die List der Heiligen Baba, den Dombau zu beschleunigen. Ungemein widerstandsfähige Bauten sollen durch verschiedene geheimnissvolle Verfahren ihre Festigkeit erlangt haben. So wird zum Löschen des Kalkes Buttermilch oder Wein benutzt (Buttermilchturm, No. 180; Mauerkalk mit Wein gelöscht, No. 352). Franz Kugler in *Der Thurm von Thann* erzählt aus dem Elsass dieselbe Sage, welche Grimm von der Stefanskirche in Wien und von Glatz berichtete.

Eine Menge Sagen könnten unter der Rubrik "Rätsel" zusammengefasst werden. Ein Gebot wird durch eine eigenartige delphische Auslegung befolgt, wie im Märchen vom Fischermädchen, die zum König kommen soll, weder bei Tag noch bei Nacht, weder beritten noch zu Fuss, weder nackend noch gekleidet. Sie wickelt sich in ein Netz und kommt zur Schummerstunde von einem Pferde

geschleift. So sendet der Kaiser ein Gebot an den Landgrafen von Hessen, er solle einen seiner Knechte, der im Kampfe gegen den Kaiser in des Landgrafen Dienste eifrig war, in Ketten aufhängen (No. 570). Der Landgraf führt den Befehl buchstäblich aus, indem er Heinz eine goldene Kette umlegt und sie an die Mauer befestigt. (Kopisch, *In Ketten aufhängen*.)<sup>24</sup> Ähnlich ist das Motiv der Sage vom Grafen von Hapsburg, der sich rühmt, in einer Nacht eine Mauer um sein Schloss bauen zu können und dann die Burg mit seinen Kämpen umstellt (Grimm, No. 511, 558. Simrock, *Hapsburgs Mauern*; Greif, *Mauer über Nacht gebaut*, Werke, I, 383). Simrock hat die spärlichen Angaben der *Deutschen Sagen* beträchtlich erweitert. In denselben Kreis gehört die Geschichte von den Weibern von Weinsperg (No. 493; Kerner und Chamisso).

Locker anreihen kann man auch die Sagen mit dem Motiv der Gründung Karthagos: *Remigius umgeht sein Land* (No. 427) und *Heinrich mit dem goldenen Pflug* (No. 525), wo er das Land mit dem Pflug umgeht, indem er einen kleinen Pflug in der Hand trägt, u.s.w. Hier haben wir eine Ballade von Strachwitz, *Wie ein fahrender Hornist sich ein Land erblickt* (Grimm, No. 446). Die Sage vom Grenzlauf zwischen den Bewohnern der Kantone Uri und Glarus (No. 288) wurde von Greif behandelt in dem Gedicht *Rhätischer Grenzlauf*.<sup>25</sup>

Die Sage von dem für seine Treue büssenden Hündlein zu Bretta (No. 96), von Simrock in Balladenform gebracht, und die von Graf Eberstein (No. 476) mit der gleichnamigen Ballade von Uhland, stehen vereinzelt da.

Die Balladen wie sie vor uns liegen bilden eine interessante, wenn auch keine klassische Sammlung. An der Sagendichtung haben sich meistens bescheidene Talente beschäftigt und zwar öfters die Sagenforscher selbst, wie das bei Simrock und Hertz der Fall ist. Grössere Geister haben ihre Stoffe anderswo gesucht; Uhland und Kerner haben nur einzelne Sagen behandelt und zwar sind keine der Uhlandschen Balladen nach den *Deutschen Sagen* gedichtet, selbst *Graf Eberstein* ist vor dem Erscheinen des Grimmschen Werkes geschrieben (1814). Gewiss bieten die Sagen Material, das in geschickten Händen ausgezeichnete Balladen geliefert hätte, aber scheinbar hat der Stoff zu wenig Reiz gehabt. Kopisch bei seiner

<sup>24</sup> Anders ist *Die goldene Halskette* von K. Simrock (Grimm, No. 469).

<sup>25</sup> *Gesammelte Werke*, I, 377.

Massenproduktion sind die Balladen am wenigsten gelungen. Von den zwei anderen eifrigsten Dichtern, Simrock und Hertz, möchte man letzterem den Vorzug geben. Er hat das Dramatisch-epische der echten Ballade besser getroffen. Wenn man irgend einen besonderen Sagenkreis erwähnen könnte, der mit besonderer Vorliebe als Quelle von Balladenstoffen benutzt wurde, so ist es wohl der Sagenkreis der Völkerwanderung und der frühen Kaiserzeit. Die örtlichen Sagen erweckten ausser bei Kopisch wenig Interesse.

Was Metrik anbetrifft, sind natürlich die verschiedensten Versmasse und Strophenformen vertreten, aber die Nibelungenstrophe ist erwartungsgemäss am meisten gebraucht worden. Die übrigen Balladen verteilen sich auf Strophen von vier und acht vierhebigen Versen mit einer Anzahl gemischter Strophen (fünf und sieben Verse). Annette von Droste schrieb in achthebigen Versen.

Jetzt ist die Sagendichtung so ziemlich verschwunden. Die eifrigste Tätigkeit entfaltete sich von dem Erscheinungsjahr der *Deutschen Sagen* bis 1860. Seitdem sind nur vereinzelte Balladen dieser Art geschrieben worden und die neueren Balladendichter haben sich ganz anderen Stoffen zugewandt.

TAYLOR STARCK.

*Smith College.*

## A GERMAN-ITALIAN SATIRE ON THE AGES OF MAN

The Bodleian ms. 'Can. Or. 12,' (No. 1217 in Neubauer's Catalogue) from which our satire is taken, is entirely written in Hebrew characters, and is a complete handbook of popular devotion as well as of popular diversions. It contains, side by side, liturgical hymns, prayers, biblical books, popular tales, riddles, a dialogue between Wine and Water, and two minstrels' songs ascribed to Elijah Levita, surnamed Bahur (1471-1549).<sup>1</sup> The scribe, Kalonimos, son of Simeon,<sup>2</sup> dates his work *Venice*, middle of Shebat (5)314 (= January 1554). It is not impossible that the author of our poem is the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Landau, *Arthurian Legends*, Leipzig, 1912, p. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a member of the prominent Kalonimos family originally from Italy, which, after the settlement at Mayence and Speyer of several of its members, took, during many generations, a leading part in the development of Jewish learning in Germany. Later on, driven from Germany by persecutions, they went to Italy.



above-mentioned Elijah Bahur. He was born at Neustadt near Nuremberg, emigrated to Italy and lived in Venice, Padua and Rome. The copyist's work is especially conspicuous in the Italian portion of the text, since his hand is German and not Italian. The Italian dialect is certainly not Venetian, although it has a Venetian colouring.<sup>3</sup> The author may possibly come from Mantua, considering the hybrid character of the dialect, and that the Jewish colony there was large.

As to the source of our satire one would be inclined to look for either Italian or German examples, and more especially for the latter because of the numerous analogical compositions found in German literature and the extensive knowledge that Jews had of this literature. The author of our satire divides the life of man into twelve periods, in each of which, with the exception of the first and last, he is compared to an animal. Thus at the age of one year he is compared to a king, at three to a pig, at seven to a kid, at eighteen to a horse, at thirty to a fox, at forty to a lion, at fifty to a cock, at sixty to a dog, at seventy to an ape, at eighty to a serpent, at ninety to an ox, and at a hundred to a house in ruins. This classification is obviously intended to show the man in increasing power in the first half of his life and in gradual decay after his fiftieth year. The span of man's life is assumed to be a hundred years and is divided into periods which have their special significance, indicating his growth and development until he reaches his fiftieth year, and then his gradual decrease in power, physical as well as mental. This arrangement is very frequently met with in German literature. A Basel ms.,<sup>4</sup> for instance, contains a composition in rhyme, which reminds us much of our German-Italian 'poem.' It runs thus:

x jor ein kint,  
xx jor ein jungling,  
xxx jor frisch man,

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<sup>3</sup> I have to thank Mr. Cesare Foligno, M. A., Taylorian Lecturer in Italian at Oxford, who, with admirable skill and untiring zeal, has undertaken the by no means easy task of restoring and amending the exceedingly corrupt text.

<sup>4</sup> G. Binz, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Oeffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel*, Basel, 1907, part i. p. 250. Cf. W. Wackernagel, *Die Lebensalter. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sitten- und Rechtsgeschichte*. Basel, 1862, p. 30 ff.

xL jor wolgeton,  
 L jor im abegon,  
 Lx jor ein altman,  
 Lxx jor schafs diner selen vor,  
 Lxxx jor kinden tor,  
 xc jor der welt ein spot,  
 e Nun gnod sin got.

These 'verses' resemble ours in that they describe the man's age up to a hundred years, but the main feature, the psychological point, the animal in the man, is absent. We find the comparison of the different ages with animals in the so-called *Liederbuch der Hätzlerin*,<sup>5</sup> where the zoölogical metaphors are fully represented. However, there still remain marked differences between the *Lied* and the German-Italian satire. It seems more probable that both versions go back to the same source than that the one should have been directly derived from the other, and it is still less likely that the Jewish version should have been derived from the German or, indeed, from any other European source. For the Jewish utterances about the ages of man go back to a very remote time<sup>6</sup> and seem to have been very popular, so that they have even been incorporated in the liturgy not only of the Spanish and Portuguese but also in that of Polish and German Jews.<sup>7</sup> Without taking into consideration the Biblical allusions to the various stages of human life, and the three-fold division by the later rabbis, viz., boyhood, youth, and old age,<sup>8</sup> there are in the Midrash (before the ninth century) very frequent references to seven periods of life. The most striking of these references is found in *Ecclesiastes Rabba* i. 2, where the sub-division into heptads is expressed in the following satirical way:

The Seven Vanities of which the Preacher speaks correspond to the seven æons of man. At the age of a year he is like a king, put in a coach, embraced and kissed by all; at two or three he is like a pig dabbling in mud: at ten he bounds like a kid; at twenty he is like a horse neighing, beautifying himself and seeking a wife; when he has married he is like an ass; when children are born to him, he is as eager as a dog to get the means of sustenance; when he has grown old he is like an ape:—this only applies

<sup>5</sup> Wackernagel, *l. c.*, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Löw, *Die Lebensalter in der jüdischen Literatur*. Szegedin, 1875, 12-16.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance the Prayer Book ed. Vilna (Rosenkranz & Schriftsetzer), 1874, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Löw, *l. c.*

to an ignoramus, but to learned men applies the word of Scripture (I Kings, 1, 1) "Now king David was old": though he be old yet is he like a king.

At a later period this division is paraphrased,<sup>9</sup> and another paraphrase is given in the *Midrash Tanhuma*, which at the same time represents the most striking parallel to Shakespeare's "Seven Ages." A perusal of the paraphrase will show beyond doubt that it suggested the German-Italian composition, in which the first three stages of man's life are almost a literal translation of the Midrash. In both versions the first stage represents the child of one year compared to a king, the second, when he is two or three years old, compared to a pig. The third period, which is not given any fixed age in the midrashic paraphrase, is in our satire limited to seven years, and in both versions this period extends to the eighteenth year, the year of maturity or of an ephebe. Both these age limits, seven and eighteen, may be due to the Athenian division of the different ages.<sup>10</sup>

That the puberty of man is reached with his eighteenth year is also expressed in another interesting Jewish division of the ages of man. It is the twenty-fourth paragraph of the last chapter of the *Sayings of the Fathers*<sup>11</sup> which has become very popular owing to the insertion of this chapter into the Jewish prayer books. Though the points of contact can hardly be accidental I do not see any direct dependence between the two latter versions, but I think there is no doubt that the German-Italian satire has drawn largely on the *Midrash Tanhuma*. For, apart from the first three stages of life, where they correspond almost literally, the fourth is also strikingly similar, and the eighth and ninth stages of the 'poem,' too, find their analogues in the last two stages of the Midrash, where the man is compared to the hound and ape, and here again the last one is almost a translation from the Hebrew source. It is not unlikely that the division of life in twelve stages is drawn from the same source as the contents themselves. For it is in the very same Midrash that human life is compared to the twelve signs of the zodiac.<sup>12</sup> The text follows:

<sup>9</sup> Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash*, Leipzig, 1853, I, 154 ss. *Midrash Tanhuma*, Berlin, 1875, about the end of *Exodus*, p. 264.

<sup>10</sup> Löw, *l. c.*, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1897, p. 96.

<sup>12</sup> *Midrash Tanhuma* in the Introduction to Haazinu; English translation in *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 23, 1894, p. 11.



f. 211b. DAS MENSCH GEGLICHEN . . . ZU EINEM MELEKH,<sup>1</sup> ZU EIN CHAZIR,<sup>2</sup>  
 ZU EIN ZICKLIN, ZU EIN FUCHS, ZU EIN LEW, ZU EIN HAN, ZU EIN  
 HUNT, ZU EIN AF, ZU EIN HÜS, ZU EIN SLANG, ZU EIN OCHS.

MELECH.

Ein kind vun einem jar  
 glich as ein nar, ein tor;  
 doch tuot man im sîn beger,  
 glich as es ein kunig wer.

5

Un' put di teta  
 uribel (uri) malneta  
 . . . port' grando amor  
 com' a un' re e grando sinior.

CHAZIR.

10

Wen es is drier jar eilt (!),  
 es hend un' fuos hat zu gewalt  
 es nit wil (!) sin un' witz hat,  
 es walt as ein chazir<sup>2</sup> im kot.

15

Cuma el [à] ani tre  
 son vestiment . . .  
 el' n'à guardo 'sun al bel  
 el si volta entr' al fanga come un purcel.

GEDI. *Ein zicklin.*

20

Wen es kumt zu siben jaren,  
 es macht sich hervoren;  
 es hat nit vil sin un' witz,  
 es springt glich as ein kitz.

f. 212a

Cuma el a di ani set  
 quest vera dicret  
 el no va ai dret  
 el salta coma un' cabret.

SUS. *Ein pherd.*

Wen es kumt zu jaren achtzehn,  
 es begint sich um zu sehn;  
 es suocht sich guot in den (!) welt,  
 as ein pherd, das do get zelt.

30

Coma el à di ani dizot  
 urmai è 'l crescuit di bot

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew for king.

<sup>2</sup> = pig.

2. MS. *torer*. 6. *uri bel uri*. Probably *uribel malneta* (horribly dirty). The accentuation is always strange: *téta* and *malnetá* are made to rhyme. 7. *unge umport* (sic). 13. The MS. may have had *elaani*; one a standing for modern *ha*. 14. MS. *gimtre* (?). 15. MS. *Soum*: the suggestion is very tentative. 22. MS. *di cret*. 23. MS. *nova aj dret*. Dr. Cowley suggests a possible slip of the pen transforming an *m* into an *a*. We would then have *mj dret*; the original must have had *mai* or *ma'*. The regrouping of the other letters is self-evident. 24. MS. clearly *ebaret*; the correction is obvious. 29. MS. *diz ot*. 30. MS. *urmii* or *urmai el crescuit*, probably to be read *cresciut*; the Hebrew scribe may have misread the Italian characters.

- el *st' in* quart *de tanto*  
el va cumu un' caval dipurtanto.
- SHUAL. *Ein fuchs.* Wen es kumt zu jaren drisik,  
es sich zu alem *flist*;  
35 er (!) ver liert sich in alen nist,  
as ein fuchs mit aler list.
- Cumo el à di ane trenta  
del ben e mal el senta  
el va atinder el so *fat*  
40 cumo un' vólpo quant . . .
- f. 212b. ARYE. Wen er in di vierzig jar ist getreten,  
so is er ein man besteten;  
oder man furcht vor im hat,  
as sluog in ein lew mit sîner phot.
- 45 Cuma el à di ane *quoranta*  
*è el* un 'um cum toto pusanta  
lo sofizent è scrot  
cumo un' . . .
- THARNEGOLETH. *Ein han.* Wen er zu den funfzik jaren hat,  
mit sînen kindern er sich berat;  
er nigs (!) one sîn kinder tuot,  
as ein gluck, die ir huner hat ûs gebruot.
- Cumo el à di ane zinquantà  
di lo *sui* fiuli si *mentanta*  
55 el fa qual chi lor vol  
come un' *ciuci di* chiami sò fiol (!).
- KELEB. *Ein hunt.* Wen er kumt in die sechzik jar,  
sîn kraft er mên wen halb var lor;  
er is guot in hûs zu aler stund,  
60 das er zu dem hûs sicht as ein alter hunt.
- Cuma el à li sesanta ane intrad  
el so *cun timp'ò* mancad  
sempar in pensir e grandò pan  
f. 213a è 'l si bon in casa *pi* guardian, *cuma in* can.

31. MS. *stin*; *quart e dtanto*: *quart ed tanto* and *guarted tanto* would give no sense. 32. The form may be a gerund, with a *t* for the rhyme: or a pres. part. with an *o* ending for the same reason. 34. Perhaps originally *es is zu alen flizic*. 37. MS. *trinta* or *trenta*; the second has been preferred by reason of the rhyme, but an assonance would do as well. 39. MS. *pat*. 40. MS. *el liglis kat* (sic). 45. *kîranto*. 46. MS. *el*; we might read *è'l*, from *è el*. 47. MS. *sopizent*. 48. MS. *cume un' gerd doar port* (?). 54. MS. *sîi piuli*; *mntntah*. 55. *pa*. 56. *ciuci* probably onomatopoeic for "hen," will in any case have been *ciami*; *di* distinctly so, it ought to be *chi* or rather *che*. 62. MS. *kuntimpa*. 64. MS. *el*; *pi* might be for *per*.

KOF. *Ein af.* 65

Wen er kumt in in die sibzik jar,  
halber (!) er ver lor;  
slafen un' essen un' trinken is im guot,  
er sitzt, stet in den stul, as ein af tuot.

70

Cum el li setanta *an à intrad* nun è 'l *piu*  
*ancuntar*  
le mitar di manzar *e bebar*  
nun val asar prigã  
*simpr* seder cum' un' simia (sic) *ecadrigã*.

NAHASH. *Ein slang.*

75

Wen er achzik jar eilt (!) wert,  
er get gebukt wis ñf die erd  
im is die zit un' och die wil lang,  
er kricht ñf der erd as ein slang.

80

Cuma el à *ane* otanta soi renta  
non à 'l puei pusanta  
el non ben puei far guera  
el va com' un' *vis* par tera.

f. 113b. SHOR. *Ein ochs.*

Wen er kumt zu niuzig (!) jaren,  
do hat er al sin *hushim* vor loren;  
er kan sich nit mën der nern,  
as ein alter ochs, der sich der *vliegen* nit kan  
der weren.

85

Cum' el à onanta ani el cuminzã  
aver malania el non sa  
*far nison ven*  
cum' el bo magir le mpsche . . .

BETH NOPHELETH.

90

Wen er is nun hundert jar alt,  
er nit hat zu gewalt;  
er wert kal un' glat as ein mûs,  
er falt nieder as ein gebrochen hûs.

95

Cum' el li ani zenti *a cumpii mid*  
toti le so cose va . . .  
anchn vich cum' un' soris brobad (sic)  
cum' un' cazi rota nun abitat.

L. LANDAU.

*London.*

*pe'*; in evidently for *un*. 69. MS. *ana in trad*; el *biu ancuntar*. 70. probably the last letter in *mitar* should be omitted; *be bar*. 72. MS. *stimpr*; *e kadriga*. 77. MS. *ane*. 78. MS. *al*. 79. MS. *par guer*. 80. We clearly have here change of *b* to *v*, for *bisc*, *biscia*. 82. *hushim*, Hebrew for 'senses'; 'faculties.' 84. MS. *vliugn not*. 87. MS. *par ni son*. On *ven* cp. note 80. 93. MS. *ani*; *mid* should probably be *cumpid*. 94. MS. *vagi pispid*: I cannot see the meaning.



ADDITIONAL PARALLELS TO *AUCASSIN ET*  
*NICOLETTE* VI, 26

As a supplement to a note published in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiv (1909), 73-4, the following parallels to Aucassin's doctrine of "heaven for climate, hell for company," may be of interest. Among the older *loci* in which the idea finds expression a sonnet in the *Mehabberot* of Immanuel Romi, an Italian Jewish poet (born at Rome about 1270; died about 1330), deserves a place. A literal translation of it would run as follows:<sup>1</sup>

'My soul within me is minded to loathe Eden's garden and to desire Tophet, for I shall find there honeycomb and honey, there every graceful gazelle and the voice of the passionate girl. What have I to do in Eden's garden? There there is no loving one, but only women blacker than coal or pitch, there warty old women in whose company my soul is grieved. What have I to do with thee, Eden, thou who hast gathered together all misshapen women and all shamefaced men? Hence art thou reckoned as naught in my eyes. Thou, O Tophet, hast acquired grace and splendor in my sight; in thee are all gazelles clothed in glory, and thou hast gathered together all the delights of the eye.'

My attention was called to this sonnet by a very free German translation of it,<sup>2</sup> cited without indication of source in Professor

<sup>1</sup> I have used the Hebrew text printed at Berlin in 1796, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> This translation, as Professor Israel Davidson of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, kindly informs me, was originally printed by L. Fürst in an article entitled "Manoello: Eine Erinnerung zur 600-jährigen Dante-Feier," published in the short-lived *Illustrierte Monatshefte für die gesamten Interessen des Judenthums*, (Vienna, 1865), p. 190. It runs as follows:

Zu mancher Stunde möcht ich gern erfahren,  
 Was mir beschieden. Ob im Paradiese  
 Dereinst ich Langeweile wohl geniesse,  
 Ob ich zur Hölle künftig müsse fahren.  
 Zur Hölle, wo die schönsten Mädchenscharen  
 Mich hold umgaukeln in des Traumes Süsse;  
 Wenn ich im Himmel Herrn und Frau begrüsse,  
 Find ich sie zahnlos und von grauen Haaren.  
 Drum fort das Paradies, das von Matronen  
 Und Greisen wimmelt, alt und streng und hässlich!  
 Ist das Genuss, in solchem Kreis zu wohnen?

Oskar Walzel's *Einleitung* to a recent edition of Heinrich Heine's *Sämtliche Werke*.<sup>3</sup> Professor Walzel quotes the sonnet because it seems to him to recall Heine's verse, and thus to serve to illustrate the importance of the racial element in the work of the German writer. Immanuel has been called "the Heine of the middle ages," as the Berlin professor notes, and there can be no doubt that there are similarities in the two poets, due in good measure to their common origin. Nevertheless Professor Walzel wisely points out that the resemblances are "allgemein und . . . wenig bezeichnend." He would have been even more cautious, had he used a literal translation, such as that given above, rather than Fürst's version, with its distinctly modern tone. There is comparatively little in Immanuel's sonnet that recalls Heine, except its theme, and this<sup>4</sup> we have no reason to think Jewish in origin.

Immanuel's poem has additional interest as affording further evidence of the popularity of its topic in Italy. It thus supports the view<sup>5</sup> that in attributing the idea of preferring hell to heaven to Machiavelli the latter's enemies were merely utilizing an old jest in order to discredit the author of the *Principe* in the eyes of the pious.

The ancient witticism has not lost its pungency in our day. As Professor J. E. Shaw reminds me, it crops up more than once in G. Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* (1903). The statue whom Don Juan invited to his celebrated banquet is "bored" in heaven,<sup>6</sup> and announces to the devil that he has "left Heaven for ever" (p. 99). When his daughter remonstrates with him for coming to the underworld, he retorts (pp. 102-3): "Why, the best people are here—princes of the church and all. So few go to heaven, and so many come here, that the blest, once called a heavenly host, are a continually dwindling minority. The saints, the fathers, the elect

Nein, lieber in die Hölle! Nichts ist grässlich,  
Wo Lust und Liebe jeden Menschen lohnen  
Und selbst die Heiterkeit ganz unermesslich!

<sup>3</sup> Leipzig, Insel Verlag, 1911, vol. I, pp. xxxiii-iv.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Suchier's note to the passage in *Aucassin et Nicolette*.

<sup>5</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, l. c., p. 74. My statement was unduly concise. Consequently Professor Villari (*Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi Tempi* [Milan, 1914], p. 370, n.) takes me to say that Folengo attributes the idea to Machiavelli. Folengo does not mention Machiavelli.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. New York, 1913, p. 93.

of long ago are the cranks, the faddists, the outsiders of to-day." Later on in the play we have the idea carried a stage further. After Wagner and Nietzsche meet in hell, (p. 137): "Nietzsche denounced him as a renegade; and Wagner wrote a pamphlet to prove that Nietzsche was a Jew; and it ended in Nietzsche's going to heaven in a huff."

Our idea recurs in Anatole France's *Ile des pingouins* (1908). During Marbode's descent into Hades he meets Virgil. The latter informs him that, when invited to go to heaven, he declined. When the author of the *Aeneid* is asked for his reasons, he says, *inter alia*, (pp. 151-2): "Et que deviendrai-je dans le séjour de votre béatitude, si je n'y trouve pas mes amis, mes ancêtres, mes maîtres et mes dieux, et s'il ne m'est pas donné d'y voir le fils auguste de Rhéa, Vénus, au doux sourire, mère des Énéades, Pan, les jeunes Dryades, les Sylvains et le vieux Silène barbouillé par Églé de la pourpre des mûres."

D. S. BLONDHEIM.

*University of Illinois.*

#### ON THE SOURCE OF *COMMON CONDITIONS*

Professor Joseph de Perott of Clark University kindly calls my attention to the failure in my recent edition of *Common Conditions* to deal with the suggestion regarding the play's source somewhat casually thrown out in Marie Gothein's essay on "Die Frau im englischen Drama vor Shakespeare" (*Jahrbuch der dtsh. Sh.-Gesellschaft* XL, 1904, p. 25 f.). I hasten to make amends for the neglect, since the similarity between the English play and the Italian *Amor Costante* of about a generation earlier, is, if not convincing, certainly of sufficient interest to merit examination.

*L' Amor Costante*, one of the two or perhaps three comedies of Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-1578), later Archbishop of Patras and Coadjutor Archbishop of Siena, was composed, as the title-page informs us, for presentation on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor Charles V to Siena in 1536. (The title-page of the edition I have used gives the date erroneously as MDXXXI, in which year Charles was in the Netherlands). The play was acted by the Siennese Academy of the *Intronati*, of which Piccolomini



was a member. The British Museum possesses copies of two Venetian editions of 1550. That in the Yale library bears no date or printer's name, but has the device of Francesco Rampazetto, 'Et Animo et Corpori,' and is bound up with nine other works of the same printer dated variously from 1561 to 1564. One of these is Piccolomini's comedy, *Alessandro*, another the so-called *Comedia del Sacrificio de gli Intronati* well known for its connexion with Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.

*L' Amor Costante* is a rather dull play. Apart from its source relations, the most interesting things about it are the extravagant praise of the Emperor dragged into the dialogue and the introduction of several characters who speak their parts wholly in Spanish—doubtless a courteous concession to Charles and his Spanish retinue. It should be remembered that at the time of his visit to Siena, Charles V was engaged in marshaling his forces for the opening of hostilities with France. Even under these circumstances, the glorification of the Emperor at the expense of the Pope and the following bold words regarding the reformation of the Church, near the close of the first act, may be regarded as surprising in an author known also as one of the great dignitaries of the Roman Church:

"Io ci ho pensato spesso ancor io," says the wise old Guglielmo, "& mi risoluo che questa reformatione della Chiesa con tutte l'altre grandi imprese necessarie al mantenimento della Christianità, si riserbino & sien destinate a questo Imperadore, ilquale se noi ben tutte le cose passate, & le parti sue consideriamo, hauiam da giudicare esser nato per acquistar la gloria & la resuscitatione del nome Christiano per tutto il mondo."

The story of the play, in so far as it bears any resemblance to *Common Conditions*, is correctly sketched by Fr. Gothein. The points in common and the differences in development may be listed as follows:

1. In each play, a father, banished from his native land, becomes separated from his son and daughter. In the English play the exile is due to the slander of enemies, in the Italian to the premature discovery of an insurrection. In the English play the son and daughter, already adult when the banishment takes place, set out together to follow the father and are separated from each other by incidents of the journey; in the Italian work the son (at

the age of seven) had already been sent to the Roman court before his father's exile.

2. In both plays the daughter marries a young man, flies with him over seas, and is separated from him as a result of the capture of their vessel by pirates. In the Italian play they flee from the lady's uncle who will not consent to their marriage; in the English, conversely, they flee from the lady's jealous mother-in-law to seek refuge with her uncle in Thrace.

3. In both plays the daughter, after being separated from her husband, finds refuge with an old gentleman, who in the Italian work is and in the English may be her unrecognized father. Here she is seen by her brother, who vainly seeks her love. Father, son, and daughter remain quite unaware of their relationship.

4. Finally, in both plays the absent husband rejoins the daughter secretly. They are discovered by a female attendant, accused before the father-guardian of intentions upon his life, and threatened with death themselves.

5. One other resemblance exists in that in both plays the unknown brother is himself beloved by a physician's daughter. In the English play, however, the physician is a comic type speaking a grotesque Spanish-English jargon; the love-suit of his daughter is rejected by the brother on general grounds before he falls in love with his unrecognized sister; and there is no indication of his later experiencing a change of heart regarding the former. In the Italian play, the physician is a very worthy and serious citizen; the reason for the brother's indifference to his daughter is that he is already in love with the sister; and in the end the two are happily married.

Such—with the significant differences noted—are the points which the two plays have in common. Frl. Gothein is far from asserting that the comedies are at all similar in general effect. It is, indeed, doubtful whether the actual resemblances would appear at all to many readers, so embedded are they in matter totally unrelated. In the names of characters, the scenes of the action, and in dramatic atmosphere *Common Conditions* is as unlike *L'Amor Costante* as possible. Piccolomini's comedy is distinctly bourgeois and contemporary in tone. The scene is laid throughout in Pisa, and the dramatic action covers only a very short time. The English play is exuberantly romantic, and the scene ranges

wildly through Arabia, Phrygia and even more exotic localities. The Italian comedy is in five acts and in prose, the English has no act or scene division and is composed in the riming heptameter couplets, which represent the most complete antithesis to conversational prose and in English dramatic evolution seem to mark a stage antecedent to the study of Italian models. Frl. Gothein recognizes that the English poet can have employed *L'Amor Costante* "nur als Stoffquelle, setzt sich aber in der dramatischen Behandlung in direktem Gegensatz zu dem Italiener." Of the similar details of plot listed above, many are mentioned only in the Prologue or in other retrospective allusions in Piccolomini's play, not being dramatized there at all. Between no two particular scenes of the two works is there any clear relation. The Italian comedy has no hint of the pivotal figure in the English play: *Common Conditions*, the Vice; nor has the English comedy anything suggestive of the only striking dramatic situation in the Italian—a situation which is particularly advertised on the title-page and to which the last two acts are mainly devoted—where the amorous brother, refusing to believe the accusation against Lucrezia, arms his friends to save her by force from the impending punishment. To all this should be added the fact that in *L'Amor Costante* the distinct center of dramatic interest is the brother-lover, whereas his counterpart in *Common Conditions* stands but a bad third in importance among the male figures.

Frl. Gothein's conclusion regarding the relation of the two plays offers two alternatives. There can hardly be any doubt, she thinks, "dass das italienische Stück dem englischen Dichter vorlag, es sei denn dass sich eine gemeinsame Quelle für beide fände." The former inference—that the author of *Common Conditions* borrowed directly from Piccolomini—does not appear fairly deducible from the rather general similarities, and it seems almost out of the question when one considers the total divergence of the two comedies in all their essential dramatic values. Remembering the close discipleship shown in the contemporary or slightly later English comedies which we know to be based on Italian models—Gascoigne's *Supposes* and Ariosto's *Suppositi*, *The Bugbears* and Grazzini's *La Spiritata*, *Fedele and Fortunio* or its Latin counterpart *Victoria* and Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele*, the Latin *Laelia*, or even Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, and *Gli Ingannati*—it is hard to



believe that an English author of the rude period of 1575, writing with his eye on *L'Amor Costante*, should either have desired or have been able to bury so effectually all the important structural characteristics of his prototype.

Frl. Gothein's alternative suggestion, that the two plays have a common origin, may perhaps better repay study; but even the collateral relationship is not likely to have been close. Professor Creizenach, who in a footnote makes mention of Frl. Gothein's discovery of 'die auffälligen Übereinstimmungen' between the two comedies, characterizes the action of *Common Conditions* as "ein wunderliches Gemisch von Motiven des griechischen Romans, des Ritterromans und der italienischen Komödie." (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, IV, 22). A student of comparative literature and of folklore could doubtless trace out a long genealogy for the particular fable peculiar to both Piccolomini and the English author—the fable of the father, son, daughter, and daughter's husband, who after long separation are suddenly brought together by fate in a distant land, where each remains long ignorant of the others' identity. In the Englishman's development of this theme I find nothing however to suggest that he was familiar either with the general method of Italian comedy or with the plot of Piccolomini's play.

These are general considerations. There is also a specific piece of evidence adverse to Frl. Gothein's theory. The newly recovered title-page of *Common Conditions* expressly declares the comedy to be "drawne out of the most famous historie of *Galiarbus* Duke of *Arabia*, and of the good and euill successe of him and his two children, *Sedmond* his sun, and *Clarisia* his daughter." Though nothing is now known of this 'famous historie,' it seems unwarrantable to assume that it did not exist, that it was a mere blind, invented by a curiously perverse dramatist to disguise his borrowing from Piccolomini's play of *Pedrantonio* of Castile, his son *Ioanoro*, and his daughter *Ginevra*.

TUCKER BROOKE.

Yale University.

## CHAUCER'S MONK AND NUN'S PRIEST

When Harry Bailey calls upon Dan Piers, the Monk, to abide by the agreement and tell a tale, the "fair prelat," who is no devotee of literature, and who prefers "pricking and hunting of the hare" to poring over a book in the cloister, feels that a moral and serious tale will be expected from a man of his high position in the clerical profession. He has no large store of literary material to draw from, but he remembers something of the life of St. Edward and also calls to mind a volume of a hundred "tragedies" which he keeps in his cell. He thereupon begins to narrate a series of entirely conventional anecdotes of the fall of great men. *The Monk's Tale* is a good example both of medieval pedantry and of the *exemplum* type of literature. The moral of the tale, "ful sooth and ful commune," is the platitude with which the Monk begins:

For, certein, whan that fortune list to flee,  
Ther may no man the course of hir withholde;  
Let no man truste on blinde prosperitee;  
Be war by thise ensamples trew and olde.

This moral is repeated at the end of many of the anecdotes (cf. ll. 3326-32, 3429-36, 3587-9, 3820, 3914-16, 3953-56). This notable truth, then,—truly a "sovereign notability"—must have been made very obvious to the most dull-witted person of the company. If Dan Piers had been allowed to finish the tale, the moral would doubtless have been repeated many times more.

But Dan Piers was rudely interrupted. This conservative style of fiction did not please the holiday-making pilgrims. The Host, as Professor Kittredge has so delightfully shown, feels that this tale is probably the proper thing, and that he must not display his lack of taste by protesting against its continuance—for the Monk is, after all, a gentleman and a scholar, and the Host one of the "burel folk." The latter is, however, tremendously relieved when the Knight, another gentleman, and one whose taste no one would have the temerity to question, takes upon himself the responsibility of stopping the platitudinous moralizing. Courtesy now demands that the Monk be given another chance to entertain the company, and the Host suggests that he turn from his vocation to his avocation, and tell a tale of the hunt. But the Monk has more

dignity to support than the "elvish" Chaucer, who recently, in similar circumstances, has meekly followed the Host's advice and made a second venture, and the Monk replies that he "won't play" ("I have no lust to pleye"). His dignity is a bit ruffled, his sententious wisdom is unappreciated.

Something must be done, and done at once, to save the situation; the last two pilgrims, Chaucer and the Monk, have been conspicuous failures, for though Chaucer has been allowed to finish the *Tale of Melibeus*, there has been no enthusiastic comment upon it, and the Host has broken the embarrassing silence which must have followed its conclusion with the remark that it would do his wife good to hear this tale. What, then, can be done to break the tradition of boredom? The Host's glance lights on the twinkling eyes of the youthful chaplain of the Lady Prioress, the Nonne Preest, a handsome, strong, rosy-cheeked youngster, with a sense of humor unequalled in the company. "This swete preest, this goodly man, Sir John," is requested to enliven the spirits of the company with a merry tale.

Our new acquaintance, Sir John, is unquestionably a gentleman—none but a gentleman could be in the retinue of Madam Eglantine. He is keen and alert in mind and body, and possesses a delightful sense of the ridiculous. His elder, and ecclesiastical superior, the Monk, is a rich, prosperous, well-bred, elaborately dressed gentleman, of little wit and much dignity. Sir John is frankly amused by his sententiousness and his "strutting" manner, but as a gentleman he cannot openly display his amusement. There can be no such direct personal encounter between him and the Monk, as between the Miller and the Reve, the Friar and the Somnour. Dan Piers reminds Sir John irresistibly of a sleek and pompous, well-groomed rooster; and when the Host calls upon him, the humble chaplain, for a tale, the old, old story, the familiar *exemplum*, of the Cock and the Fox, comes to his mind,—a moral tale, proper to a churchman. In this tale he can deftly satirize the personal characteristics and the literary style of his predecessor without for a moment arousing the suspicion of his dignified superior. Dan Piers would probably scarcely condescend to listen to the humble chaplain's homely tale; and if he should, he would be the last to recognize any resemblance between himself and Chauntecleer, or between his wisdom and the platitudes uttered by the rooster.



Probably none of the pilgrims, save only one Geoffrey Chaucer, saw the point of the chaplain's satire, at least there is no indication in the Epilogue that the application was recognized; nor, so far as I can discover, has any modern critic seen this subtle burlesque, up to this year of 1916, when a Yale undergraduate, Mr. Samuel Sloan Duryee, of the class of 1917, made two suggestions to me which were the starting point of the present paper. His first suggestion was that Chauntecleer resembled the Monk; his second was that it was significant that the last *exemplum* which the Monk is allowed to narrate, the story of Croesus, is repeated by the cock near the end of his series of *exempla*.

Chauntecleer's pedantic discussion of dreams is universally accepted, I believe, as a burlesque of the *exemplum* type of literature; the inclusion of the Croesus *exemplum* in Chauntecleer's list proves, I am inclined to think, that his long speech is a burlesque not only of the type in general but of the specimen of the type just furnished by the Monk. The moral of Chauntecleer's anecdotes is, to be sure, not the moral of the *Monk's Tale*, for Chauntecleer's purpose is merely to prove that dreams come true. But Sir John does not stop with a single moral; before he has gone much farther in his tale, he stops to moralize again, and this time the moral has a familiar ring:

For ever the latter ende of joye is wo.  
 God wot that worldly joye is sone ago;  
 And if a rethor coude faire endyte,  
 He in a cronique sauſty mighte it wryte  
 As for a sovereyn notabilitee.

The direct reference in the last three lines seems to me unquestionable. Here is a truism for you, a truism which the most conservative "rethor" or pedant, even Dan Piers himself, might "safely" utter in a chronicle, without arousing any suspicions of radical philosophy! What a "sovereign notability" it is that Dan Piers has introduced us to in his interminable tale!

There is in the *Nonne Preestes Tale* one minor echo of the *Monk's Tale*. The Samson *exemplum* has had a moral of its own:

Beth war by this ensample old and playn  
 That no men telle hir conseil til hir wives.

The Nun's Priest finds this moral, too, in the downfall of the great Chauntecleer:

My tale is of a cok, as ye may here,  
That took his conseil of his wyf, with sorwe,

Wommenes conseils been ful ofte colde;  
Wommanes conseil broghte us first to wo,  
And made Adam fro Paradys to go.

*Bath NT + NPT*  
If, now, this connection between the two tales is established, it not only adds appreciably to the charm and interest of the *Nonne Preestes Tale*, but has a certain bearing upon the problem of the correct order of tales, and the interpretation of the "Marriage group." Does the "Marriage group" begin with the *Wyf of Bath's Prologue*, or does it begin with Chaucer's own *Tale of Melibeus*? If with the latter, is not the Physician-Pardoner group out of place in modern editions?

The present paper does not contemplate a final answer to these questions. Its aim is rather to throw a little light on a difficult problem. My chief objection to beginning the "Marriage group" with the Wyf's Prologue is to be found in the tone of that Prologue, especially the tone of the first hundred and sixty lines. The Wyf is obviously answering someone,—her lines exhibit unusual emotion. She, or at least her manner of life, has been attacked, and she heatedly replies with an attack upon the clerical ideal of celibacy.

Now the question of celibacy is first introduced in the *Monk's Prologue*, when the Host makes clear his convictions on this subject with as astonishing a freedom of speech as the Wyf uses in her Prologue. The discussion is continued by the Host in the Epilogue to the *Nonne Preestes Tale*, where he compares Sir John with Chauntecleer, the "trede-foul." The link between his Epilogue and the Wyf's Prologue either was never written or has been lost. During this interval, I believe, other pilgrims were to be drawn into the discussion, among them the Wyf and the Clerk of Oxenford. The Clerk and the Parson are the two pilgrims who would be most likely to object to the Host's radical views. The Parson has already been silenced once by the Host, and would hesitate to start another quarrel; but the serious Clerk would feel it upon his conscience to defend the clerical ideal. In his defence he would offend the Wyf, who replies, with heat, in her prologue. The next morning, the Clerk is silent, avoiding further controversy, until the Host, who harbors no grudge, gives him his opportunity to continue his argument with the Wyf of Bath.

Not only is the celibacy discussion started in the Melibeus-Monk-Nonne Preest Group, but the tales of marriage begin there too Chaucer's tale of the patient wife, Prudence; the Host's tale of his wrathful wife; the Monk's tale of the treacherous wife, Delilah; Sir John's tale of the foolish wife, Pertelote; are all part of the series which includes the Wyf of Bath, the wife of Sir Gawain, the patient Griselda, the Merchant's bride, and Dorigen, the perfect wife. Sir John's comments on women take on, then, a new significance:

Wommanes conseil broghte us first to wo,  
And made Adam fro Paradys to go,  
Ther as he was ful mery, and wel at ese.  
But for I noot, to whom it might displese,  
If I conseil of wommen wolde blame,  
Passe over, for I seyde it in my game.  
Rede auctours where they trete of swich matere,  
And what they seye of wommen ye may here.  
Thise ben the cokkes wordes, and not myne;  
I can noon harm of no womman devyne.

Sir John, like the traditional Clerk attacked by the Wyf of Bath, reads, in old authors, stories of bad women. The Monk's story of Delilah has reminded him of them. But he is the servant of a very fastidious lady and is speaking in her presence; he, therefore, finds it necessary to make his criticism of woman as brief and as good-natured as possible.

SAMUEL B. HEMINGWAY.

*Yale College.*

## REVIEWS

*The Cambridge History of English Literature.* Vol. XII: The Nineteenth Century I. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916.

The reviewer, embarrassed by the wealth of material offered him in this volume, of necessity relies upon the somewhat mechanical scheme of attempting a survey of the more noteworthy chapters, postponing till later in his notice some general considerations suggested by the work.

Mr. T. F. Henderson, continuing the studies in the literature of



Scotland that have appeared in earlier volumes, contributes the opening chapter on Scott. It has the faults and merits of the same writer's study of Burns in volume XI.<sup>1</sup> A pleasant if somewhat slow-moving essay, it dwells on such matters as Scott's ability to portray character, his wide sympathies, his historical inaccuracies. The grave error is made of considering him as an isolated phenomenon, unrelated to other developments in the novel. The account of Scott's literary growth is hap-hazard,<sup>2</sup> and there is practically no biographical information. Mr. Henderson has not written the authoritative article that one would look for in a standard work of reference. In marked contrast is Professor Moorman's study of Byron, perhaps the most distinguished portion of the volume, which combines happily the essential facts of the poet's life with much penetrating criticism. To some of us the conclusion that Byron's contribution to European thought was chiefly negative may seem merely traditional criticism. But we shall find satisfaction in the high general estimate in which his work is held. The chapter deserves to be regarded as in a measure a summary of the great mass of technical and popular literature on the subject produced during the Byronic revival of the last twenty years.

Professor Herford's studies of Shelley and Keats contain various judgments the validity of which one is tempted to question. This is specially the case in the chapter on Shelley. Thus, of the climax of *Prometheus Unbound* he writes (p. 72): "Jupiter topples from his throne, as it were, at a touch; indeed the stroke of doom is here so instantaneous and so simple as to be perilously near the grotesque." This remark exhibits a failure to comprehend the effect striven for by the poet. The passage in question is III, i, 63 f. Jupiter addresses Demogorgon:

I trample thee! thou lingerest?

Mercy! Mercy!

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<sup>1</sup> Compare *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxx, 184.

<sup>2</sup> My colleague, Dr. H. J. Savage, calls my attention to the lack of any indication of the important part played by Norse studies in this development; on which see F. E. Farley, "Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, 1903; it may be added that there is an unpublished Harvard dissertation by P. R. Lieder, in which Farley's conclusions are verified and augmented.

This is an instance of dramatic reserve. Between the first and second parts of the line the conflict, the awfulness and sublimity of which are left to the reader's imagination, is supposed to occur.<sup>3</sup> Again, in contrasting *Prometheus* and *The Cenci*, Herford writes (p. 75): "That Shelley, after a few weeks' interval, could carry out, with unfaltering hand, and with supreme success, a poetic transition not less astonishing than would have been the appearance of *Samson Agonistes* on the morrow of *Comus*, marks his will power no less than his imaginative range." Surely the transition is overestimated, for there are very clear points of contact between the two works, and *The Cenci* has been regarded by some critics as hardly more than a reworking of the theme of *Prometheus*, the conflict of good and evil, the Count taking the place of Jupiter and Beatrice of Prometheus. Another point made with regard to *The Cenci* is aesthetically, perhaps even morally, questionable. "He is drawn with a reticence of which no Elizabethan would have been capable, and the horror of his act is so far mitigated that its motive is hate, not lust" (p. 76). Does this fact mitigate the horror? Is not Ford's interpretation of the theme psychologically and ethically more nearly sound in that the *love* of Giovanni and Annabella is emphasized, the fact of consanguinity being secondary, while in Shelley's play, upon the motive of hatred is superimposed *ab extra* the additional offence of incest?

In the two chapters written by Mr. Saintsbury we find those characteristics to which we must resign ourselves in all that comes now-a-days from his pen: much that is lively, something that is shrewd, everything that is unsystematic, formless, impressionistic. His helter-skelter classifications into "bunches" and "batches" are unconvincing; his constant allusions to his range of reading of authors that, as he says (p. 115), "bore a generation which thinks

<sup>3</sup> Compare the restraint shown in Browning's first account of the murder of Pompilia and her foster-parents (*R. and B.*, I):

Wide as a heart, opened the door at once,  
Showing the joyous couple, and their child,  
The two-weeks' mother, to the wolves, the wolves  
To them. *Close eyes!* [*italics mine*] And when the corpses lay  
Stark-stretched, etc.

Compare also the unspoken but very dramatic judgment rendered by the "friend" who acts as umpire between the disputants in Meredith's *Ballad of Fair Ladies in Revolt* (stanza xli).

it knows everything already," are amusingly garrulous at times, but by repetition serve only to fill precious space that might have been occupied with a definite presentation of the *facts* of the matter under consideration. This is very apparent in the chapter on the Landors, De Quincey, and Leigh Hunt. The arrangement, for which the editors must be responsible, is ill-advised; Landor at least deserves separate study, and De Quincey is as much entitled to it as are Lamb and Hazlitt; while Hunt could have fallen in with the other lesser poets. To De Quincey is devoted less than five pages, an entirely disproportionate allotment as compared with that accorded his two fellow essayists. Moreover the reader who has found satisfactory sketches of the life of Hazlitt and of Lamb will turn in vain to the pages on De Quincey for similar information. Mr. Saintsbury declares that "biography, almost always unnecessary here, is, in this special place, almost wholly negligible" (p. 228). Why? And if generally unnecessary in this *History*, why is it supplied by nearly all contributors? In its place Mr. Saintsbury occupies several precious pages with the effort to prove the value and reasonableness of studying these three writers together. He then chats at length and quite agreeably about Landor, but manages to give less information in more space than is consistent with edification. Contrast the carefully ordered study of the same subject in Professor Elton's *Survey of English Literature*, II, 13 f. Slap-dash-ish criticism (as one can imagine Mr. Saintsbury himself calling it) runs riot in the chapter on the minor poets. Once more comparison with Elton's work is inevitable, and the study of the same groups in Walker's *Literature of the Victorian Era*, to which reference is made neither in text nor in bibliography, is far better than Mr. Saintsbury's. Nearly all the minor poets are included in this chapter, in one place or another (sometimes, as in the case of Hood, treated under several different heads, thus avoiding any possibility of a coördinated survey of their entire work). We look in vain, however, for George Croly and Professor Wilson, though *The Modern Orlando* of the one and *The Isle of Palms* of the other are as worthy of record as much that he receives into his chapter. Of individual judgments I note here only the surprisingly low estimate of the poems of William Barnes.

Several chapters may be passed over with a word or two. A. R. D. Elliot's account of the *Reviews and Magazines* of the early years of the century, excellent as it is and written by one who speaks



with authority on such matters, would have been of greater value had it been preceded by a chapter in an earlier volume dealing with the beginnings of such publications in the eighteenth century. It is perhaps natural that Mr. Elliot gives to the *Edinburgh Review* and its first great rival what must to the unprejudiced mind seem disproportionate space. The study of Hazlitt by Professor Howe (the only American scholar in the volume) and that of Lamb by A. H. Thompson require no comment. Mr. Harold Child's exalted estimate of Jane Austen can be accepted in full only if we limit very straitly the province of the novel; his failure to set her in relation to other writers results in an overstatement of her absolute importance. The same critic's account of the lesser novelists is meagre in the extreme.<sup>4</sup> In a chapter that affords fine opportunities for his special qualifications Sir Adolphus Ward continues from earlier volumes his discussion of English Historians, in this case departing from strict chronological order to consider together the writers on ancient and ecclesiastical history, postponing historians of other epochs to a later volume.<sup>5</sup>

The subject of the Oxford Movement in its relation to literature has been assigned to Archdeacon Hutton who brings to his task the advantage of thoro familiarity and sympathy with his theme, an advantage that is in a measure offset by a lack of that objectivity that a quite unprejudiced writer, approaching the Movement from the point of view only of English scholarship, might so readily have furnished. Mr. Hutton at times exaggerates the value of the literary achievement of some of the Tractarians (and of those whom he chooses to consider Tractarians, for the embrace is very wide that includes Trench and Peacock). To say of some of Archbishop Trench's lyrics that they "belong to the highest flight of English poetry" (p. 302) is rather absurd; the statement that Isaac Williams "was a true poet, who, it may be, has not yet come into his own" (p. 294) requires the stern corrective supplied by Professor Walker: "Nothing he has written is likely to survive, or deserves to survive" (*Lit. Vict. Era*, p. 341). Writing of Keble as Professor of Poetry Mr. Hutton says (p. 293): "It may be that

<sup>4</sup> The name of Anthony Trollope's eldest brother was Thomas Adolphus, not Augustus (p. 273).

<sup>5</sup> Ward writes (p. 351) of the "logi-al discoveries" of Sir Henry Rawlinson. This seems to be a misprint, probably for "archæological."

the lectures he delivered, written, as they were, in the choice Latin of which he was a master, will never be read again"—a remark that betrays ignorance of the existence of the recent excellent translation by E. K. Francis, to which there is unaccountably no reference in the bibliography. Pusey's active coöperation with the Tractarians dates from late in 1833, not 1834 (p. 286). To class *John Inglesant*, even tentatively, with the novels of Miss Yonge (p. 307) is to undervalue Shorthouse's famous book. One misses in bibliography and text the name of Déan Mansel, important as controversialist, disciple of Newman, and stylist. More serious *lacunae* are the lack of any review of the political and ecclesiastical background at the time of Keble's Assize Sermon without which the genesis of the Movement is not accounted for, and the failure to connect the Movement with other branches of enthusiastic activity such as the teaching of John Ruskin and the practice of the Pre-Raphaelites and kindred spirits, or to trace the influence of the Catholic Revival upon the other arts, especially architecture and music. To touch upon this last subject would have been perhaps going too far afield.

The Rev. F. E. Hutchinson's study<sup>6</sup> of "The Growth of Liberal Theology" requires some supplementary treatment of the influence of the scientific discoveries of the period. Lyell's geological investigations, revolutionary tho they were; the *Vestiges*; the climax of the scientific movement in 1859; the epoch-making Oxford meeting of the British Association in 1860;—these and other such events are passed over in silence. I confess to being puzzled as to why the work of George Tyrrell should be included in this chapter. The whole modernist movement of which he was so brilliant a part is in origins so far removed from the now rather discredited semi-rationalistic latitudinarianism of the mid-Victorian epoch, is so essentially allied to the liberal Gallican Catholicism of men like Father Hyacinth (who would have repudiated any connection with Broad Church thought), that it is hard to reconcile oneself to the presence of this mystic follower of Saint Thomas in the company of Whately, Jowett, Maurice, and Stanley.

Finally, there is the curious, garrulous, amorphous account of "Scholars, Antiquaries and Bibliographers" by Sir J. E. Sandys.

<sup>6</sup> I note an extraordinary blunder in the proof-reading of this chapter: "symbolised" for "sympathised" (p. 327).

The author of the *History of Classical Scholarship* covers even more briefly than in the corresponding portion of the recent abridgment of his *History* the field with which he is so well acquainted. One might expect that compression would result in more systematic outline, but instead we have a discourse in what scholars might call the Public Orator's latest manner, a quaint mixture of learning and triviality. Outside his own field Sir John is just as formless and no longer authoritative; note for example the slim page devoted to English studies, in which not so much as a poor line does honor to the memory of Doctor Furnivall. One longs for some keen generalizations, some evidence of breadth of vision, in the mass of details, names, titles, and dates, scattered so profusely thru this chapter; and one wonders whether the material dealt with therein is properly included in a history of literature at all.<sup>7</sup>

The Romantic Period to a greater extent than any other era in English literature demands, for its proper comprehension, some examination of the basic attitude of mind, the current theories, social, political, philosophical, that were dominant and whose strands are interwoven in the work of all the writers of the time. Some such study, not necessarily committed to one definite thesis like Watts-Dunton's "Renasceance of Wonder" (perhaps better not so committed), was an imperative need in this volume; and it is not here. Hardly an indication of the many and delicate threads that bind together the various strands of Romanticism is to be found. This is due largely to the exigencies of composite authorship, but some remedy might have been found in the shape of an introductory chapter dealing with the broadest aspects of the theme.

Between so many stools some things are almost certain to fall to the ground; in this case it is the drama of the period that has received the severest jar. It is ignored. This may be due to Professor Routh's absence at the front or to a surely unwise plan to take up the subject in volume XIII at the point at which it was dropped in volume XI. There is thus no account of the Elizabethan revival, no study of Milman's by no means despicable work in the drama (Ward himself speaks of him, p. 352, as conspicuous among dramatists), no barest mention of so important a landmark as

<sup>7</sup> Note two errors of fact with regard to Mark Pattison (p. 371): he was Rector of Lincoln College, not Exeter; he published no book with the title *Essays on Scaliger*.



Maturin's *Bertram*. In Mr. Saintsbury's chapters the assumption is constant<sup>8</sup> of the presence near-by of a parallel study of the contemporary drama.

Evidence of the lack of precise coördination in the bibliographies as in the text is at times apparent. Why is Symons' *Romantic Movement* listed among the Shelley authorities and not among those for Byron, Keats, or any other poet? Why is Herford's *Age of Wordsworth* noted for Hazlitt and not for any other writer? Why is there not a preliminary general bibliography in which such works as Symons' and Herford's and Elton's and Walker's and many more could have been listed once for all? Why are dates of birth and death supplied in the bibliography in the case of many minor writers and omitted in others (*e. g.*, Mrs. Trollope)?<sup>9</sup>

The bibliographies have all along been a most useful part of the three Cambridge *Histories*. In this volume, tho excellent in the main, they are so far from exhaustive as to omit various works of importance. The following list of *addenda* and *corrigenda* is a selection only from my marginal notes.

Chapter II (Byron): To editions of the works add: the *Cambridge Byron*, ed. P. E. More, and the *Werke*, ed. F. Brie, Leipzig, 1912. A section should have been devoted to Selections as in the case of the Shelley and Keats bibliographies. Among authorities add: E. H. Coleridge's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., and Watts-Dunton's in *Chambers' Cyclopædia* (1903), vol. III; P. E. More, "The Wholesome Revival of Byron," *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec. 1898; George Rebec, "Byron and Morals," *International Journal of Ethics*, XIV; Ruskin, in "Fiction, Fair and Foul"; and Swinburne's "Byron and Wordsworth" in *Miscellanies*. It was of course impossible to include all dissertations and the several whose omission I have noted need not be here set down. A list of novels founded on Byron's life, such as those by Lady Caroline Lamb, Disraeli, F. F. Moore, and Maurice Hewlett, would have been of interest. Here, as elsewhere in the bibliographies, the error is often made of dating articles by their first appearance in book-form instead of by their first publication. This results at times in serious distortion of historical perspective, as when Macaulay's essay on Byron is dated 1853 instead of 1830 or Swinburne's earlier essay on Byron is dated ten years after its

<sup>8</sup> For example, p. 123 with regard to Taylor; p. 234 with regard to Landor.

<sup>9</sup> The Table of Principal Dates is not impeccable, Byron's birth being set back ten years.

original appearance. To John Murray is credited (p. 438) the authorship of *Lord Byron and his Detractors*. Murray wrote but one section of that book, the other two being by E. H. Pember and R. E. Prothero respectively.

Chapter III (Shelley): In section iii add: *Select Poems*, ed. W. J. Alexander, 1898; in section iv add: *Prometheus Unbound*, ed. V. D. Scudder, 1905 (the best separate edition); in section viii add: Arthur Dillon, *Shelley's Philosophy of Love*, 1888; Joseph Giesen, *Shelley als Übersetzer*, 1910; P. E. More, "Shelley," in *Shelburne Essays*; F. Olivero, *Saggi di Letteratura inglese*, p. 123-176 (especially on Dante and Shelley).

Chapter V (The Lesser Poets): p. 450: the Routledge Pocket Library edition of Rogers' *Italy* is not the same as that of 1830 with engravings by Turner and Stothard; p. 457, under Hartley Coleridge, add: *Poetical Works*, ed. R. Colles; p. 459, under Mrs. Hemans, add: *Poetical Works*, Oxford, 1914; p. 465, under W. S. Rose, add the translation of Ariosto, which is much better known than the Boiardo.

Chapter XII (The Oxford Movement): Of many omissions the following are specially noteworthy: F. Ware Cornish, *History of the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century*, II, chapters viii-xiv; C. T. Cruttwell, *Six Lectures on the Oxford Movement*; E. Halevy, *Histoire du peuple anglais au XIX<sup>me</sup> siècle*, vol. I (contains an admirable study of religious conditions in the years immediately following 1815); W. G. Hutchinson, *The Oxford Movement* (contains a convenient reprint of eighteen important Tracts, including no. xc); S. L. Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement* (this excellent work appeared too late to be included). Tullock's *Movements of Religious Thought* and Gladstone's *Ecclesiastical and Religious Correspondence* cast light on various phases of the Movement. Under J. A. Froude, p. 500, add: "The Oxford Counter Reformation," *Short Studies*, IV, 151. To authorities on Newman add: L. B. Gates, *Three Studies in Literature* (excellent from the purely literary point of view); P. E. More's essay in *The Drift of Romanticism* [Have the compilers of these bibliographies ever heard of Mr. More's essays?]; Wilfrid Ward, *Men and Manners*.

Chapter XIII (The Growth of Liberal Theology): p. 509: V. F. Storr's work is *The Development of English Theology* [not "Thought"] in the Nineteenth Century.

SAMUEL C. CHEW.

Bryn Mawr College.

ERWIN STIMMING: *Der Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Französischen*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1915. 8vo., xl + 189 pp., with portrait. (Beihefte zur ZRPh., 59; Halle Dissertation).

The author of the present work was a young man twenty-five years of age when the outbreak of hostilities called him to the army and an untimely death in Belgium, Oct. 21, 1914.<sup>1</sup> A short biographical sketch, written by his father, Albert Stimming, himself an eminent scholar, forms the first portion of the book and gives witness to the noble and promising character of the son, whose portrait also appears as a frontispiece.

The study under discussion was begun at Göttingen and completed at Halle, where it was submitted as a dissertation for the doctorate and most favorably received. The author was able to correct the proof himself, working at his task until a few days before his actual departure for the front.

The origin of the A. c. I. (*Accusativus cum Infinitivo*) lies in the complementary infinitive. For an understanding of the latter a study of Indo-European usage is necessary, a phase of the question which receives an excellent treatment. Stimming shows clearly the character of the infinitive as a petrified case (dative or possibly locative) of a noun of action, *e. g. da bibere* (Plautus). The infinitive did not have tense or mood, nor was it necessary to state the agent. This complementary infinitive was gradually extended, from cases where purpose was clearly shown to a usage after transitive verbs. It is in this latter type that the A. c. I. can arise. It is found, for instance, with verbs of causation, permission and sense perception when the object of the main verb is also the subject of the infinitive. In the oldest Latin the A. c. I. was found after *verba dicendi, sentiendi, etc.*, and although restricted, due to the prevalent paratactic mode of expression, was still favored by the fact that these verbs could originally take a direct object of the person. When such an object ceased to be used, however, the former object of the main verb came to be felt more and more as the subject of the infinitive. Other causes helped, and an artificial use of the A. c. I. as a unit arose for stylistic ends. By the time of Classic Latin the A. c. I. was avoided in the very constructions where it had arisen, but was extended in its artificial form. Late

<sup>1</sup> The date 1915 given on page vii is clearly an oversight.



Latin writers, in proportion as they reflect the popular speech, show the reversion to the older and original status; *quod*, *quia*, and other clauses increase; the infinitive of purpose returns to its own, and the classic *iubeo(facio)litteras afferri* yields to the popular *iubeo (facio) litteras afferre*, as a result, not of phonetic confusion, but in harmony with the real nature of the infinitive.

There are therefore two types of A. c. I. in French, the popular one with verbs of causing, permitting, *etc.* and the learned type after *verba dicendi, sentiendi, etc.* The latter will be discussed separately later. It must be remembered that the Romance infinitive is more a noun, while the Latin infinitive is essentially a verb. The popular A. c. I. is not an independent unit, as its subject is always at the same time an object, and as the A. c. I. is not distinctly separate from other infinitive constructions.

In the case of *envoyer* (vous m'envoyez chercher) Stimming prefers to see, not an A. c. I. but a special form of the infinitive of purpose with verbs of motion. By additional examples with *mettre*, and *mener*, he then shows the close connection between this use of the simple infinitive and that of the infinitive with *faire*; the same relation can be seen especially well with *laisser*, from *laxare*, to let go. The first example of *laxare* with A. c. I. is in an inscription of the 7th century, but the change of meaning is complete by the Romance period. With *voir, entendre, ouïr, sentir*, there is no connection with the infinitive after verbs of motion. These are really accusative in function, and the construction is popular only when there is real sense perception. In his discussion of the agreement of the participle in these cases the author cites with approbation Morf's remark that while all the other verbs could conform graphically to the formal laws of agreement without effect upon their pronunciation, *faire* could not.

In regard to the reflexive, Stimming explains its omission in Old French as due to the noun character of the infinitive, a view which he correctly prefers to Muller's argument (*cf.* below) that the passive often replaced the reflexive in Late Latin. Though the absence of the reflexive with verbs of sense perception was nearly general until toward the end of the 15th century (and is still possible, as in a case with *voir* cited from Maupassant) the pronoun begins to be expressed toward the end of the 15th century and from the 16th century on is the rule. With *laisser* there is a retention of

the older usage, and while the reflexive began to be used scantily in the early 16th century, and then increased, there was variation throughout the 17th century. *Faire* retained the old usage longest; until the beginning of the 19th century the omission of the reflexive was the rule. The tendency is therefore toward the expression of the pronoun, and this may become general in the course of time, even in such remnants of the original type as *faire asseoir*, *faire taire*, etc.

In the matter of the dative to express the agent when there are two objects, Stimming covers independently the ground already investigated by Muller.<sup>2</sup> He decides, as against Tobler, that this construction arose with transitive verbs, and is in reality the dative of the agent of the passive verb. When the active infinitive replaced the classic passive infinitive the change was gradual and the syntax was left otherwise unchanged. Data are also given showing the increase in the dative agent in Latin, and the substitution of *ad* for *ab*. It is not difficult for the author to reconcile this explanation with that making the dative one of interest (Tobler's view). Further details of usage with *faire*, *laisser*, etc. plus a double object cannot be reviewed here. Suffice it to say that in Old French other verbs are found employed in the same way, e. g. *souffrir*, *commander*, *rover*, *covient* and *estuet*, with a dative of the agent.

Variation is found in the course of the language. Some verbs are used at one period with A. c. I., but not at another, e. g. *commander*. Full lists and discussions, with dates, are given. While the A. c. I. is still found with *voici*, though less often than in the 16th century, there are no examples with *voilà* after that date. Chapter VII contains an interesting study of competing constructions. Separate consideration is accorded the usage with impersonal verbs. As Latin said *me decet*, so Old French could have a direct object with *covient*, *estuet*, and analogically with other verbs; hence an A. c. I.

Whether or not there is a popular A. c. I. in Old French in which the subject of the infinitive is not also object of the main verb cannot be determined without a comparative study of the other Ro-

<sup>2</sup> H. F. Muller, *Origine et histoire de la préposition à dans les locutions du type de "faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un."* Poitiers, 1912.

mance languages. Such a construction is indeed found after verbs of wishing, willing, thinking, saying, *etc.*, but rarely in original texts; in translations where it occurs more frequently, such as *Li Dialogue Gregoire*, it is clearly due to learned influence. A popular use is a possibility, however, as this type was found in Sanskrit and Anglo-Saxon, and must have been known to the Old Latin.

Chapter IX is devoted to a study of the learned A. c. I. as it developed in Middle French (ca. 1350-ca. 1600). The classic influence is strongly marked throughout this period, and a strong cause for the involved Latin style of the 15th and 16th centuries is seen in the translations of the 14th, which enjoyed great popularity and have not as yet been properly studied. An examination of Bersuire and Oresme reveals a strong increase in our construction, as is shown by lists. The effect was felt upon original works by the end of the 14th century, and by the 16th the A. c. I. is an extremely common stylistic device. Its learned character is strongly marked by the passive forms used, and by the presence of the pronoun as subject of an infinitive when there is no change from the subject of the main verb. The close connection of the whole type with the double accusative (*te bonum puto*) is well brought out, pp. 172-3. The construction was never well adapted for poetry, and though very common with certain verbs, was never felt to be pure French, even in the 16th century. Copious lists are given for the whole period, as well as for the following.

Finally the history of the learned construction from the 17th century till the present day is followed. There has been a steady decrease, which had in fact begun by the time of Malherbe. At present the A. c. I. is practically obsolete in poetry. When used in Modern French it is usually in relative clauses, but not exclusively. The author believes it possible that the usage will eventually be restricted to such clauses, or may disappear completely.

The work is a valuable contribution to French syntax, and represents a thorough and painstaking effort as well as keen appreciation of the relations in point. The lists given, though not offered as exhaustive, will be of great use. Especially to be commended is the author's preliminary study of the Indo-European infinitive, as well as the suggestive consideration throughout of competing constructions. A considerable portion of the field has been covered by various scholars separately, but the author is abreast of all the



modern material, and the general presentation is desirable, often completing the partial views previously at hand. Thus Stimming's work should be used to control and correct Muller's; he also adds an interesting chapter to Kjellmann<sup>3</sup> (p. 104).

The following comments or corrections are given in the hope that they may add to the completeness and usefulness of the work.

A great obstacle to the proper use of the book is the division of the lists into periods, and the absence of a general index to pages. At present it is difficult to trace a given word throughout its entire history, as is well seen in the case of *connoistre*, which is said to occur in this usage first in Bersuire (p. 144). This statement refers only to the Middle French period; an example is elsewhere given from Gregoire (p. 117). Once, however, both authors are cited together (p. 155). In this connection *cf.* also *cuidier* and *feindre*.

One reason for this division is the author's theory that the early translations were highly learned, and that only in the 14th century was the influence of such works really effective. This statement, however, is true only to a certain point. The translation into the vernacular, though much influenced by the original, points *per se* to a certain desire for a popular appeal, and the great number of Bible translations at an early date must not be neglected. It seems all the more probable that Stimming overestimates the rôle of the 14th century translations when we consider the existence of the early charters. French was extensively used in legal documents throughout the 13th century, as will be seen by an examination of Teulet's *Layettes du trésor des chartes*; and the legal phraseology might well be expected to influence a semi-learned construction of the type under discussion. *Cf.* the following example, fifty years earlier in date than either of the translations cited: . . . *En tesmoignant toutes les choses devant dites, les convenenches et les jugemens estre vrais, etc.* *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xxxvi, p. 240 (Ponthieu, 1322). A study of the earlier charters from this point of view would doubtless yield results.

In an example cited p. 87: *Si se trova estre avocas* (Fabl. II. 266) the author explains the case of *avocas* as caused by attraction to the subject, but does not explain the real significance of the con-

<sup>3</sup> Kjellmann, *La construction de l'inf. dépendant d'une locution impersonnelle en français*. Thèse, Upsala, 1913.

struction. Again, on p. 114, *s. v. feindre*, the example is given *Estre veritables se faint. Mahom.*, 411. As the Latin had *veracem simulans* Stimming considers this case of attraction to the subject probably "eine Korrektur des Kopisten, der die Konstruktion nicht verstand." There is a deeper reason here, however, and one which should be brought out. The type: *il se santi navrez a mort* (*Yvain*, 874) is a regular construction (*cf.* Tobler, *Vrai aniel*, note to line 147). Now the probable origin of the A. c. I. is in many cases to be sought in its relation to the double accusative (*te bonum puto*). *Cf.* p. 172 and reference. In the same way the addition of *estre* in these reflexive cases will lead to an A. c. I. with nominative agreement. *Cf.* also: *Ki uoient soi estre als com uenkeor, etc.* Gregoire, p. 164/15-16. *Vid.* the example cited from Froissart on p. 158, *s. v. dire*, § 3.

In this connection it may be noted that the author devotes some space to the nominative with an infinitive (pp. 173-174; p. 182). This is the passive type: *pater visus est abire*. As examples from the Old French are rare, two cases found in Gregoire may well be cited: *Il fut conuz apres sa mort estre granz, etc.* (p. 142/8-9) and: . . . *Se li fous purgatoires apres la mort doit estre creuz estre* (p. 254/3). If the construction is rare in Modern French it is still a well recognized one with *censé*; three of the examples cited from Bergson are with this word.

The following miscellaneous observations may be grouped together. The special rules for agreement with *faire* plus an infinitive arose probably less because *j'ai fait* was considered a unit like *feci* (p. 57) than for the reason that *faire* and the infinitive were closely amalgamated. In the examination of the reflexive with *faire* (p. 67) a distinction should be made between essential and accidental reflexives. Thus in the passage from Jodelle, *Didon*, 187: *Toy qui fais les oyseaux se plaire dedans l'air* the meaning requires that the accidental reflexive be expressed. This distinction will be found to reduce the number of examples cited for the 17th century, and even the 19th has tended toward the essential reflexive conservatively. In the list on p. 165 ff. it would be advisable to distinguish between impersonal and anticipatory *il*. On p. 166 *souvient* should be struck from the list unless otherwise attested; *me* is dative here and the infinitive depends on *dire*. *Animer*, p. 176, is also to be rejected; the verb is really *sentir*. The example

with *avouer* from Flaubert is probably a simple infinitive, the *se* being dative. The case from Rousseau, *s. v. croire*, p. 177, must also be omitted. *Y avoir* is twice considered as taking a subject rather than an object: *s. v. assurer* (p. 155) and *prétendre* (p. 162).

Lastly it may be said that better results could be obtained for the modern period by a subdivision of the field. As this chapter stands Bourget is cited by the side of Scarron and it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to present usage.

These minor details should not be allowed to obscure the positive value of the contribution. Erwin Stimming was looked upon by the faculties of Göttingen and Halle as a student of brilliant promise, and his work will commend itself. His death is a misfortune for Romance scholarship.

GUSTAV G. LAUBSCHER.

*Randolph-Macon Woman's College.*

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*A Handy Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Spanish Language and Literature, with Consideration of the Works of Spanish-American Writers . . . for the use of students and teachers of Spanish, compiled and edited by WILLIAM HANSSLER. St. Louis, Mo., C. Witter, n. d. (1915), 63 pp.*

As the title and preface indicate, this guide has been published to serve teachers, students, and librarians. It is more than a mere list of books, for it contains considerable pedagogic advice, and on occasion "*a word about reading poems*" (p. 51). Accuracy, conciseness, and discrimination are apparently not pedagogic virtues. At least they receive no concrete illustration in this ill-inspired compilation. It is with profound regret that one passes severe judgment upon a work that shows on every page boundless enthusiasm for all things Spanish from art to boarding-houses; but it is unfortunate that the editor attempted to guide others without having first-hand familiarity himself with the works upon which he makes bold to dogmatize. How different is the result achieved by Lucien Foulet in a recent work of somewhat similar scope: *A Bibliography of Medieval French for College Libraries*. In the first place, Mr. Hanssler's method is bad. When giving titles of works recom-



mended, he fails to give consistently dates and places of publication. Prices are never quoted. Old editions are listed where revised editions are accessible. Speaking generally too many titles are given, and the *Guide* in consequence fails to guide. The two or three best books in each subject ought to receive special emphasis, somewhat as seed and flower catalogues name "the half dozen best varieties for the home garden." Some such method is needed more especially in the chapters devoted to dictionaries, grammars, and histories of literature.

A word about the matter. In the chapter on literature, a syllabus of Spanish literature is provided, but no mention is made of the best available texts of the classics, medieval or modern. Among dictionaries one misses Zerolo's, which I have supposed to be the best modern dictionary for reference. Elsewhere (p. 22), Gorra's *Lingua e letteratura spagnuola delle origini* receives honorable mention, but it does not deserve such distinction, and is moreover out of print. So is Unamuno's translation of Wolf's *Studien* (p. 27). The bibliography of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *History of Spanish Literature* (p. 27) is somewhat inaccurate. Why bother the "student, teacher, and the librarian" with Cappelletti's and Sanvisenti's *Manuali*? (p. 27). The latter, by the way, supersedes the former in the Hoepli series of manuals, but neither is worth a button. And why in a *Guide* mention Mérimée's *Précis* . . . (p. 27)? But the reader's patience is quite exhausted when he finds recommended such trash as Hume's *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (p. 29), or Gassier's *Le Théâtre espagnol* (p. 30), or when he reads (p. 37) that Fray Luis de Leon's *La Perfecta Casada* is "a most sensible little manual of domestic economy." Defunct journals like *La España Moderna*, *La Cultura Española*, *La Revista Contemporánea* are referred to as "monthly magazines published in Madrid," and the *Ilustración Española y Americana* is called a weekly (p. 59). For Mr. Hanssler, *Romania* is still edited by Gaston Paris and Paul Meyer, "the two leading philologists of France" (p. 58). The *Revista Española de Literatura* . . . "exists since 1901" (p. 58), but it is a well-known fact that such journals die young in Spain, and rarely survive the second year. To conclude, the *Bulletin Hispanique* is edited by "Ernest Merimée (*sic*), P. Parissaud (*sic*) and G. Civot (*sic*)" (p. 58).

MILTON A. BUCHANAN.

University of Toronto.

*An Introduction to the Study of Language.* By LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Comparative Philology and German in the University of Illinois. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1914. x + 335 pp.

Chapter I, The Nature and Origin of Language, begins with expressive movements and gesture language, and shows how language is a specialized form of these under the social control of a limited group. It emphasizes thus not only the psychological factors but the social factors as well. Again, in the next chapter, The Physical Basis of Language, the elements of phonetics are given, not only *per se*, but as dominated by psychic and social considerations. The Mental Basis of Language (Chapter III) presents the natural logic of language, the progressive analysis of the "bloom-ing buzz and confusion" of the total experience into its related parts. There is emphasis on the dichotomy of the process, whereas too many teachers of language still adhere to the various trinities of the scholastic formal logic. The Forms of Language (Chapter IV) embrace the linguistic hierarchy of inarticulate outcry, primary and secondary interjections, the conventionalized linguistic sign, the word, and the sentence. The precedent doctrine of psychology (individual and social) and of logic shows now in its basal values.

In this and in much that follows Professor Bloomfield bases his exposition on Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie*. Wundt's account is if anything too schematic—not quite what the intuitive genius of James would have given us if he had turned to language rather than religion. But it is the weightiest and most authoritative pronouncement we have, and it would be ungracious and shortsighted not to welcome this abstract in a language which those of our students who possess only a reading knowledge of German and French can understand. It is all the more acceptable for having been checked over by a competent linguist. For Professor Bloomfield is neither here nor elsewhere a mere purveyor of other people's ideas.

We have then, thus far, answers to the fundamental questions: Why we talk? How we talk? What we say? and How we say it? From these answers flows a really solvent understanding of the significance of idiom and accent, of change and history, of the aims and purposes of language study, concerning all of which misunderstanding is still sadly prevalent among teachers of grammar and the elements of foreign languages.

In the chapters following are treated: Morphology, Syntax, Internal Change in Language, and External Change in Language. The facts and principles here developed are on the whole more generally known and understood. As in the chapter on phonetics, much is gained here too by the consistent and vitalizing appeal to psychology and logic.

The illustrations are taken from a wide range of sources: Chinese, Greenlandish, Malayan, Mexican, Bantu, etc., as well as Semitic and Indo-European. In the Indo-European, Russian and Celtic are invoked almost as freely as the (among us) better known Germanic and Latin tongues, and Scandinavian as freely as German. English so far from thundering in the Index does not even raise its voice there! "And that was skathe." Paul has shown how we need not often wander far afield for our examples.

Chapter IX supplies the necessary applications to language teaching, with a generous faith in the direct method for which the pragmatic sanction is unfortunately still outstanding. The author very briefly surveys the history of linguistic study (Chapter X) and closes with a brief descriptive bibliography.

Professor Bloomfield has given us the first widely usable general survey of the field since Whitney. The English adaptation of Paul's *Prinzipien* never became naturalized in our classrooms. Sweet, whether in his *History of Language* (Temple Primer) or in the prolegomena of his *New English Grammar* speaks an idiom too exclusively his own. Oertel's *Lectures on the Study of Language* are a series of acute discussions of certain moot points. Giles, in the first five chapters of his *Manual of Comparative Philology for Classical Students*, has succeeded better than any recent writer in giving a truly popular-scientific presentation of linguistics: but he addresses a narrow audience and he slights psychology and logic. Clark's *Principles of Philology* has many of the virtues but also the limitations of Giles. Eustace H. Miles's *How to Study Philology* is hardly more than a clever quiz-compend for students who wish to "get up" the subject.

Professor Bloomfield's little volume will serve admirably its purpose as a general introduction to language study. It is well-informed, judicious, and sound. Proportion and emphasis are in the main just. The ordinary student will find it close reading, but well worth the effort.

GUIDO H. STEMPEL.

*Indiana University.*



## CORRESPONDENCE

### ON THE SOURCES OF *The Maid's Tragedy*

Nothing appears to be known of the sources of *The Maid's Tragedy*. Valerius Maximus, however, narrates an anecdote (III, viii, Ext. 1), which would seem to have supplied one of the incidents. I quote the whole section, italicizing the relevant passages.

Conplura huiusce notae Romana exempla supersunt, sed satietas modo uitanda est. itaque stilo meo ad externa iam delabi permittam. quorum principatum teneat Blassius, *cuius constantia nihil pertinacius*: Salapiam enim patriam suam praesidio Punico occupatam Romanis cupiens restituere Dasium *acerrimo studio secum in administratione rei publicae dissidentem* et alioquin toto animo Hannibalis amicitiae uacantem, *sine quo propositum consilium peragi non poterat, ad idem opus adgrediendum maiore cupiditate quam spe certiore temptare ausus est. qui protinus sermonem eius, adiectis quae et ipsum commendatiorem et inimicum inuisiorem factura uidebantur, Hannibali retulit.* a quo adesse iussi sunt, *ut alter crimen probaret, alter defenderet.* ceterum, cum pro tribunali res gereretur et quaestioni illi omnium oculi essent intenti, dum aliud forte citerioris curae negotium tractatur, *Blassius uultu dissimulante ac uoce summissa monere Dasium coepit ut Romanorum potius quam Karthaginensium partes foueret. enimuero tunc ille proclamat se in conspectu ducis aduersus eum sollicitari. quod quia et incredibile existimabatur et ad unius tantum auris penetrauerat et iactabatur ab inimico, ueritatis fide caruit. sed non ita multo post Blasii mira constantia Dasium ad se traxit* Marcelloque et Salapiam et quingentos Numidas, qui in ea custodiae causa erant, tradidit.

With regard to the main plot a suggestion or two may be made. Cornford, in his *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, 1907, p. 132, speaks of what he calls "the mythical type that normally appears in legend when tyrants have to be slain. The two brothers, or lovers, and the injured sister, or wife—the relationships vary—are the standing *dramatis personae* on such occasions." This formula pretty well describes the main plot of *The Maid's Tragedy*, and it seems not at all improbable that a search among such legends as those referred to by Cornford would furnish one fulfilling the two necessary conditions, namely, that of bearing a sufficiently close resemblance to the play to serve as a source, and that of being accessible to the authors.

A striking variation of the play from the formula consists in the facts that Evadne is herself guilty, that her ambition is partly responsible for her sin, and that her repentance is prerequisite to the punishment of the king, who is to fall by her hand. The drama

thus becomes a play of sin and repentance, highly seasoned to meet the tastes of a Jacobean audience, and these features are in all probability supplied by the authors. Nor is it at all likely that our presumptive source will contain any such figure as Aspatia, or any incidents corresponding to her relations with Amintor. Here again we may have the dramatists' additions, or perhaps, as in the case of the Calianax episode, some story hitherto unidentified may have been utilized. The plot of the drama is so very complicated that, even when we shall have done as much as has here been considered possible, a large allowance must still be made for the inventive genius of Beaumont and Fletcher.

If we should start with the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton, of which the friendship between Melantius and Amintor is strikingly suggestive, we might readily point out how the demands of the Jacobean theatre would build up out of that story one like that of the play. Hippias and Hipparchus become, as dramatic concentration would necessitate, one person, the king. The friendship of Harmodius and Aristogiton is retained, as it leads naturally to the interesting scene in which this friendship is put to the test; such scenes were common on the stage of the period. One of the friends takes no part in the conspiracy because there must be one prominent figure to represent the dominant political principle of the day, that of non-resistance; and his adherence to that principle is tested by subjecting him to an insult of an especially odious character. Changed ethical and social conditions of course demand that the attempt of Hipparchus upon Harmodius and the comparatively trivial insult offered to Harmodius's sister be replaced by dramatic motives more in harmony with English, or at any rate modern life. Dramatic interest is deepened and concentrated by making Evadne accessory to her own fall, by portraying the emotional conflict leading to her repentance, and by giving the punishment of her seducer into her own hand.

These remarks are purely speculative, and I was betrayed into them by the friendship between Melantius and Amintor, which seemed at first sight to supply a promising clue. It may be said, however, that if a brilliant Jacobean dramatist were to treat the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton, he would almost certainly introduce changes similar to those indicated. At any rate, a part of the play is unquestionably drawn from a classical source.

WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS.

*Stanford University.*

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*Wieland AND The Raven*

During a recent perusal of Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland* certain words and forms of expression, besides the whole atmosphere and tenor of the story, began strongly to suggest to me Poe's *Raven*. The further I proceeded the deeper grew the impression

of an indebtedness, until at last I began to jot down correspondences. Some of the expressions in the novel which suggested to me the poem are the following:

"The experience of no human being can furnish a parallel" to the tale about to be told (p. 26). It is of "horrors such as no heart has hitherto conceived nor tongue related" (p. 67).

"He [Wieland] was much conversant with the history of religious opinions and took pains to ascertain their validity" (p. 42). His mind "was enriched by science and embellished with literature" (*idem.*)

Wieland adorned the "Temple"—his study—with a marble bust of Cicero (p. 42).

His desire for celestial illumination betrays him to deception. "How almost palpable is this darkness! yet a ray from above would dispel it," remarks his sister. "Aye," said W., with fervor, "not only the physical but [the] moral night would be dispelled."

Of hearing a voice W.'s sister says: "I am at a loss to describe the sensations that affected me. . . . This incident was different from any that I had ever before known. Here were proofs of a sensible and intelligent existence which could not be denied. Here was information obtained and imparted by means unquestionably superhuman." "I threw myself in a chair that was placed opposite the door and sunk into a fit of musing" (p. 70).

"I spent the darksome hours as I spent the day, contemplative and seated at the window. Why was my mind absorbed in thoughts ominous and dreary? Why did my bosom heave with sighs and my eyes overflow with tears? Was the tempest that had just passed a signal of the ruin which impended over me?" (p. 72). She resorts to books for diversion and chances upon a German ballad of gruesome character. Soon the clock strikes twelve, she is "startled" by a whisper (p. 73). The owner of the mysterious voice, Corwin, is described as follows: "His gait was rustic and awkward. His form was ungainly and disproportioned." "Sunken breast, drooping head, and long, lank legs are distinguishing features" (p. 67). His voice had an unexampled distinctness: "the modulation so impassioned that it seemed as if a heart of stone could not fail of being moved by it. . . . The tones were indeed such as I never heard before" (p. 69).

"I [W.'s sister] prevailed on myself at length to move towards the closet." She hesitates, wavers, gains courage, and, on venturing to open the door, is appalled by the cry, "Hold! hold!" When the closet door at last opens all within is darkness, the stillness is unbroken. "Presently a deep sigh is heard" (p. 106).

"The apartment was open to the breeze, and the curtain was occasionally blown from its ordinary position. This motion was not unaccompanied with sound" (pp. 99, 100, 101).

"Tell me truly, I beseech you. . . . Tell me truly, are they well?" (p. 167).

"Ruffian or devil, black as hell or bright as angels. . . . Go, wretch! . . . Take thyself away from my sight!" (p. 239).

"I adjure thee, by that God" (p. 235).

"Wilt thou then go?—leave me! succorless!" (p. 235).

"'Wretch!' I cried" (p. 205), (addressing another; but addressing himself:) "Wretch!" (p. 165).

In numerous trifles, verbal items, and like minutiae occur coincidences. The heroine in *Wieland* "mutter[s]" words to herself to which the mysterious voice gives answer (p. 202). This voice on one occasion makes itself heard through a lattice (p. 81). The following additional noteworthy words and phrases occur in common: pallid, placid, ghastly, explore, respite, demeanor, disaster,



token, mystery, ominous, chamber door (frequently), presently (frequently the first word of a sentence in *Wieland*); "his silence was unbroken" (*Wieland*); Corwin's eyes "gleam with a fire that consumes his vitals." Finally, "Wieland was transformed at once into a man of sorrows" (p. 327).

Our conclusion must be that Poe had read *Wieland* with considerable attention, and that its incidents, scenes, and locutions lingered in his memory; and, what is still more important, that his imagination continued to dwell in its atmosphere of mystery, terror, and irremediable sorrow.

ROBERT T. KERLIN.

Virginia Military Institute.

MHG. *ähe*, NHG. (TYROL.) *ache(n)*, *äche*

Hintner, *ZfdWf.* XII, 254 ff., produces some interesting material in connection with Tyrolese *ache*, etc., which after several suggestions of possible etymological interpretations remains unexplained. First as to the form: MHG. (Lexer I, 28) *ähe* 'ein Ackermass, 120 Fuss lang und ebenso breit,' Tyrol. (Schöpf 3, Hintner *loc. cit.*) *ache(n)*, *äche*, *achet* 'ein Ackermass, 120 Fuss lang und ebenso breit; so viel Feld, als man mit zwei guten Pferden von fünf Uhr früh bis elf Uhr mittags umpflügt, das ist bei günstigen Bodenverhältnissen 800-1100 Quadratklaffer,' Bav. (Schmeller-Frommann I, 22/3) *ächen* 'der dritte Teil eines sogenannten Tagbaues, also eine Fläche von ungefähr 18,000 Quadratschuh.' From the sources available to me, it seems that the word is confined to the dialects of the Tyrol.

The meaning of the measure of land is 'a definite amount of land that can be cultivated with a team (of horses, etc.) in a definite amount of time.' The time is a very important thing, and the size of the measure varies much depending upon the special conditions. Cf. especially *morgen-ache*, *abend-ache* 'the amount of work done in the period before stopping for a pause or before quitting work.' I believe that the measure designates the amount of work done before allowing the animals rest, or freeing them, preparatory to baiting. Cf. (Schöpf 3) *achen*, *ächen* 'ausspannen, tränken und füttern.' If this is true, we may compare ON. *æja* (\**ahjan*) 'mit den Pferden ruhen und sie mittlerweile weiden lassen,' lit. 'to bait,' which may be connected with Skt. *āgnāti* 'isst,' *āçayati* 'lässt speisen,' *āçana-* 'Essen,' ON. *agn*, Sw. *agn*, etc. 'Köder.' Cf. Torp, *Nyn. Et. Ordbok* s. v. *agn*, v. Blankenstein *IF.* XXIII, 133.

Interesting and instructive in assuming this etymology is Tyrol. *lasset*, *lazzeit*, etc. 'so viel Grund als man umpflügen kann bis es Zeit ist zum Ablassen des Zugviehs, zum *Achen*.' The explanation given by Hintner, *ZfdWf.* XII, 258, is probably the correct one. There it is assumed that the word is a compound of the stem in

*lassen*, and *Zeit*. Cf. also Styr. *lass* 'Zwischenzeit zwischen den Stunden des Essens,' Swiss *lässi* 'Unterbrechung, zeitweiliges Nachlassen, z. B. bei Krankheiten, bei Regenwetter.'

H. O. SCHWABE.

*University of Michigan.*

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### VITZLIPUTZLI

To my two previous notes on Vitzliputzli (*Modern Language Notes*, November, 1913, and June, 1914) I beg to add a third one. In the title of Richard Dehmel's fantastic dream-play *Fitzebutze*—which is also the name of the central figure—we have an interesting variant of the name of the Mexican god *Huitzilopochtli*. I have previously dealt with the relation between the names Vitzliputzli and *Huitzilopochtli*. In the present case the striking resemblance between *Fitzebutze* and Vitzliputzli would serve as presumptive proof that the German form *Fitzebutze* is likewise a corruption of the name of the Mexican divinity. But, as will be shown, we have still stronger proof in the form of internal evidence in the play itself, whereby the connection between the two names is positively established.

In the first act of the play *Detta*, the little girl, sings to *Fitzebutze*, the jumping-jack, as she holds him upon her lap:

Lieber schöner Hampelmann,  
deine Detta sieht dich an.  
Ich bin gross, und du bist klein;  
willst du *Fitzebutze* sein?  
Komm!

Then, as she proceeds to place the little fellow in the large arm-chair, she continues:

Komm auf Vaters grossen Stuhl,  
Vitzliputze, Blitzeputl!  
Vater sagt, man weiss es nicht,  
wie man deinen Namen spricht.  
Pst, sagt Vater, Flitzebott  
war einmal ein lieber Gott,  
der auf einem Stuhle sass  
und gebratne Menschen ass;  
huh.

That the two names are indeed identical is proved conclusively in Act Three, where we read:

Ja, nicht wahr, du bist nicht so,  
lieber Gott von Mexiko!

and a few pages beyond:

Ha—ha—hah, ho—ho—hoh,  
seht den Gott von Mexiko!

where both passages refer to Fitzebutze. The fact that the scene of this act is laid in Mexico simply confirms the evidence already adduced.

The playful variations of the original name Fitzebutze, to be noted above, are quite in the characteristic manner of little children; they are indulged in more or less throughout the play. One further example may be cited:

Husch, husch, huh  
alter Flitzebuh,  
Flitzeputzig, Butzebein,  
möchtest wohl erlöset sein?  
Ja? (Cf. Act 1)

In conclusion it may be of interest to note that Dehmel's works contain also three poems on Fitzebutze.

C. H. IBERSHOFF.

*University of Iowa.*

#### THE DATE OF CHAUCER'S *Hous of Fame*

A very minor but possibly significant fact may be pointed out in regard to Chaucer's *The Hous of Fame* and *The Parlement of Foules*. In the *Parlement* Chaucer gives a long account of *Scipio's Dream*, stating very precisely that he had been reading the book "the longe day." There can be no doubt that when he wrote the *Parlement* he knew *Scipio's Dream* at first hand. In the *Hous of Fame*, Book II, 916, occurs the expression

Ne the king, dan Scipio.

Scipio was not a king, and the commentators on Chaucer have endeavored to explain Chaucer's manifest ignorance by suggesting "kingly hero" (Skeat), "one like a king" (Child) as the true meaning of the reference. In the *Booke of the Duchesse, Prologue*, 284-7, we find

Macrobeus,  
(He that wroot al thavisoun  
That he mette, king Scipioun,  
The noble man, the Affrican.

In the *Romaunt of the Rose*, 9-10, the reference is to

the avisoun  
That whylom mette king Cipoun,

a translation of the *Roman de la Rose*,

la vision  
Qui avint au roi Cipion.

Is it not likely that in the *Hous of Fame* Chaucer copied the term "king" from the *Roman de la Rose*? The investigations of Miss Cipriani and of Mr. Sypherd tend to show that the influence of Macrobius upon the *Hous of Fame* is debatable, while the influ-



ence of the French poem is very strong. May we not conclude that when Chaucer wrote Book II of the *House of Fame* he had not read *Scipio's Dream*, and that when, later, he wrote the *Parlement* he had read *Scipio's Dream*? This slight point may be of value in supporting the present-day thesis that the *House of Fame* is earlier than the *Parlement*.

MARTHA HALE SHACKFORD.

Wellesley College.

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### BRIEF MENTION

*The Dialect of Hackness (North-East Yorkshire), with original specimens and a word-list.* By G. H. Cowling (Cambridge, University Press, 1915). A modern Yorkshire dialect is here minutely studied by a trained scholar. He rightly declares the plan of the treatise to be "scientific," and the study of the development of the language as a whole is inevitably promoted by this specialized contribution. The treatment of the subject is in accord with the avowed purpose "to present an interesting living English dialect, to reveal some of its philological riddles, to trace its ancestry, and, if possible, to create an interest in dialect literature." Mr. Cowling has not in mind, of this one may be assured, "an interest" of the idly curious mind, but he would urge that "the purer and more historical dialects" of English be highly valued not only for their significance in technical grammar but even more especially for their elements of strength and color, which should be recognized as available for the support of the linguistic vitality and effectiveness of the nation. "If a race is worthy of literary consideration," he writes, "its characteristics are revealed in its folk-speech." . . . "Only literature . . . can preserve the beauty and just meanings of the rich and powerful dialect words which the present age is forgetting." . . . "If dialect is not to sink to the banality of local familiar speech, it must be raised by a literature in which dialect is used with truth, vigour, and realism in the representation of homely and domestic scenes."

The dialect of Hackness, "a small village on the upper reaches of the Derwent," is taken to be representative of that "spoken by agriculturalists and their labourers on the Wolds and in the Dales of North-Eastern and Eastern Yorkshire." It is widespread and therefore a genuine dialect "and not a local patois." Mr. Cowling speaks the dialect and writes it. At the end of his book he cites portions of his dialect poem, *A Yorkshire Tyke* (1914), and adds several pieces he has put into the prose of the dialect. These 'specimens' are preceded by verses composed in the 17th century and by an extract from *The Pricke of Conscience* (ca. 1354). All are in the author's devised 'phonetic script' as well as in the ordinary form of writing.

This "frosty but kindly" dialect is the descendant of that variety of Northumbrian Middle English which is represented, it is assumed, in the writings of Richard Rolle of Hampole together with *The Pricke of Conscience* (which, as Mr. Cowling knows, has recently been shown to be almost certainly not Rolle's). A well developed and definite basis is thus given for an orderly procedure in the construction of an historical grammar of this dialect, which Mr. Cowling has worked out with completeness and minute accuracy and in the approved method of the technical linguist.

Part I (pp. 1-111) is begun with an exhibition of the phonology of the dialect, first in its Modern form and then in its form in Middle English. These chapters are followed by a detailed study of the development of the present system of the vowel and consonant sounds of the dialect, carefully indicated by the aid of a phonetic script (the English, Scandinavian, and French elements are with advantage brought together in separate chapters). Part II embraces a Grammar (pp. 112-156) and Specimens (157-173) of the dialect, and is closed with a Word-List and an Index. The Specimens must be read for the syntax and style of the dialect, but the range and peculiarities of the vocabulary are described in an Introduction (pp. i-xxiii). Incidentally much is contributed to these subjects in the illustrative phrases and sentences of the grammar. A few features of the dialect may be noted. The double conjugation of the pres. ind. pl., differentiated in use by the character of the subject, shows admirably how the folk-speech may persist in conserving an inheritance thru centuries. The first pers. sg. now also ends in *-es*, and besides it has acquired the fashion of the pl. in dropping this ending when the pron. subj. is near; but an exception to this is the use of the inflected form as an historical perfect (p. 129). Of importance is the observation (p. xviii) that the short vowels (A. S. *a, e, o*) in open syllables are uniformly protected against lengthening by the suffixes in *l, m, n, r*. Noticeable is the disappearance of the Mid. Eng. palatal spirant *gh* after a front vowel (§ 393): the pronunciation of words like *might, night, right* is approximately 'meet, neet, reet'; more strictly the vowel-sound is a diphthong "beginning with lax *i* and ending in tense *j*" (p. 3). The *wh* of "Scotch and Northern English," in *what, when, whip*, etc., is pronounced *w* (voiced bilabial spirant; p. 7). The marked diphthongal character of the dialect is shown in the development of the Mid. Eng. long vowels, but the subject is too complex for a brief report. The change of an *i* and *u* when beginning an initial diphthong into the cognate consonants should be explained as due not to a shifting of the accent to the second constituent of the diphthong but to a strong initial accent; thus, A. S. *āc*, 'oak,' becomes *iak*, then *yak*; and *able* (after *ā* has been attained in Mid. Eng.) becomes ultimately *yabl*, but *table* > *tāble* becomes *tiəbl*. Characteristic of the dialect is "the lack of an adjectival possessive case" of the noun (pp.

xviii, 114 f.). It is a feature developed on the basis of the old declension of feminine nouns, nouns of relationship, and weak nouns in Northern Mid. English. 'My *father* hat,' and 'the *lad* boots' illustrate the usage. But the necessary limit of this notice has been reached. The technical student of English will set a high value on Mr. Cowling's treatise; he will use it in connection with Mutschmann's *Phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch Dialect* (Bonner Studien zur engl. Philologie. Heft 1, 1909), Klein's *Der Dialekt von Stokesley in Yorkshire* (Palaestra, cxxiv, 1914), and the several other recent works on the English dialects, recorded in Mr. Cowling's bibliography, by which the subject has been put on a basis of scientific accuracy.

J. W. B.

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*Iacob and Iosep. A Middle English Poem of the Thirteenth Century.* Edited by Arthur S. Napier (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1916). There is no statement as to the posthumous publication of this booklet. It is, therefore, to be inferred that Napier, before his lamented end, had read even the final proofs. Nothing is here found that does not comport with Napier's complete scholarship and his admirable clearness and conciseness of method. This edition of the poem, it is stated, was well advanced in preparation "years ago," but was laid aside when Heuser's edition appeared in 1905. "As, however, the poem is an interesting one," is the added apology, "and as the *Bonner Beiträge* are not very accessible, I have decided to go on with my edition."

The poem, in the dialect of the South-west, survives in only one copy (ms. Bodley 652), which "seems to have been written soon after the middle of the thirteenth century." Unfortunately, one leaf has been cut out, on which, Napier believed, was told the non-biblical story of the chaff thrown into the Nile, told in full in the *Cursor Mundi* (4749-4792); this chaff-story is also found, it is pointed out, in Old French verse translations of the Bible. The poem also agrees with these texts in several other non-biblical details, and there seem to be significant agreements of single lines with the *Cursor Mundi*. The problem is set for a more complete study of the relations of this poem. Its association in the ms. with French texts (in two additional hands) may not have the significance of a clue, but a further look is encouraged by Professor Karl Young's discovery of "A Liturgical Play of Joseph and his Brethren" (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvi, 33-37).

The phonology, inflections, and meter of the poem are considered in Napier's Introduction, and Notes and Glossary complete the apparatus for an accurate study of a composition that has so long remained unknown to literary history. An added attraction is a fac-simile reproduction of two pages of the ms. Napier's Notes, altho set down on a small number of pages, embrace noticeable observations on syntax and contributions to lexicography.



Thus, *fotsid* (line 100) antedates the report of the *NED*; *tubrugge* (line 363), 'drawbridge,' suggests an unrecorded Anglo-Saxon form; and *nextfolde* (line 497) supports an occurrence in the *M. E. Juliana* and the compounds of *neah-* brought together in Napier's "Contributions." A use of the infinitive occurs in *ligge slepe* (line 12), 'to lie sleeping,' which is more deserving of attention than may be inferred from Napier's note. The historic development of the "Predicate Infinitive" constitutes one of the most instructive stories in Germanic syntax, and it is now competently discussed by Professor Callaway in *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon* (Publication No. 167 of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1913. See pp. 89 ff., 194 ff., and 238 f.).

J. W. B.

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The position of preëminence that Mr. Hardy has held among living men of letters since the death of Swinburne and Meredith has been recognised by the bestowal upon him of the Order of Merit (in Meredith's room) and the Gold Medal of the Royal Society of Literature. A tribute of a different kind is the increasing number of critical studies of his writings. Several recent ones supplement and in part supersede the earlier critiques of Lionel Johnson and Annie Macdonald. The most brilliant of these later monographs is that by Lascelles Abercrombie (Kennerley, 1912); the most ambitious is F. A. Hedgcock's *Thomas Hardy, Penseur et Artiste* (Hachette, n. d., [1910]). Mr. Abercrombie has the advantage of a poet's imaginative sympathy and he achieved a critical study noteworthy for architectonic skill. He lays proper stress upon Hardy's poetry, a portion of his work that has been till very lately too much overlooked, despite the poet's own view that it is "the more individual part of [his] literary fruitage." (One may express gratification, in passing, at the recent decision to include a selection from Hardy's verse in the *Golden Treasury Series*.) Mr. Hedgcock, inquiring more profoundly than Mr. Abercrombie, brought the sex-conflict that forms so large a portion of Hardy's subject-matter into proper relation with the philosophic doctrine of the struggle between intellect and intuition, Not-Being and Being. This Hardy bases upon von Hartmann's theory of the Unconscious, the Absolute. In the rivalry of Will and Reason the former is still in the primacy tho the power of Reason is growing and must some day prevail. When this consummation is reached the problem of existence will be solved by a voluntary lapse into unconsciousness. Suggestions of this doctrine are apparent in all Hardy's mature work. Intellect is at odds with life, is enervated; the Will-to-live pulses high in those who live in the world of feeling rather than of thought, in women and the care-free peasantry. Beneath the harsh realism of *Jude the Obscure* those who will may find the doctrine set forth almost in allegorical form. The interpretation in detail of this and kindred points in Hardy's philosophy is Hedgcock's

theme. The Wessex Novels are shown to be founded on a recognition, not incompatible with minute realism, of the applicability of a deterministic system of philosophy to the facts of life. After this fine study the two latest additions to the volumes of Hardy-criticism appear extremely superficial. Harold Child's *Thomas Hardy* (Holt, [1916]), one of a new series designed for popular consumption, is described by the publisher as a "biography and critical estimate." Apart from a few dates of publications the biography consists of one fact, stated in one line. The critical estimate is, within its limited scope, sound, and contains a study of Hardy's work as a poet, especially of *The Dynasts*, that is excellent. More pretentious, tho it disregards the poems, even in so far as they throw light upon the novels, is H. C. Duffin's *Thomas Hardy. A Study of the Wessex Novels* (Manchester, The University Press, 1916). This is commended to us by Professor Herford, but, when one has granted that devoted study and minute acquaintance with the novels went to the making of the book, little else can be said in its favor. It is disfigured by uncritical enthusiasms, as in the absurd laudation of *Jude* (p. 203), contradiction of which Mr. Duffin attempts to forestall by declaring that "to the fool it is a closed book from the beginning." It contains surprising errors of judgment, as in the estimate of the relative value of the novels, *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (in which Duffin is apparently unaware of the survival of much of the melodrama of Wilkie Collins and of *Desperate Remedies*) being ranked above *The Return of the Native* and *The Woodlanders*, whereas most readers of Hardy find in these two books his highest achievement in the novel-form. An ultra-academic lack of worldly wisdom in Mr. Duffin's book merits examination in some detail, for it illustrates the danger of attempting to criticise without some equipment derived from experience with life. For example: according to him "there is no contesting the celestial beauty" of the figure of Angel Clare (p. 129). Mr. Abercrombie, whose knowledge of life is attested by such poems as *The End of the World*, calls him "odious"; "no decent person, knowing Angel's history, would house with him or, if possible, talk with him" (p. 149). Again: "pure," that defiant adjective that confronts us on the title-page of *Tess*, Duffin interprets as meaning "that Tess is submitted as Hardy's type of unadulterated womanhood" (p. 144). A third misconception is of a piece with these and more remarkable. In the preface to *Jude*, Hardy speaks of "the fever and the fret that follow in the wake of the strongest passion known to humanity," by which, according to Mr. Duffin (p. 130) he intends "the desire for knowledge, or (specially) for academic distinction." At least one aspirant towards knowledge—and one not altogether unconscious of the last infirmity of professorial minds—envies the academic repose, "calm, sad, secure; behind high convent walls," evinced by this gloss upon Mr. Hardy's text.

s. c. c.

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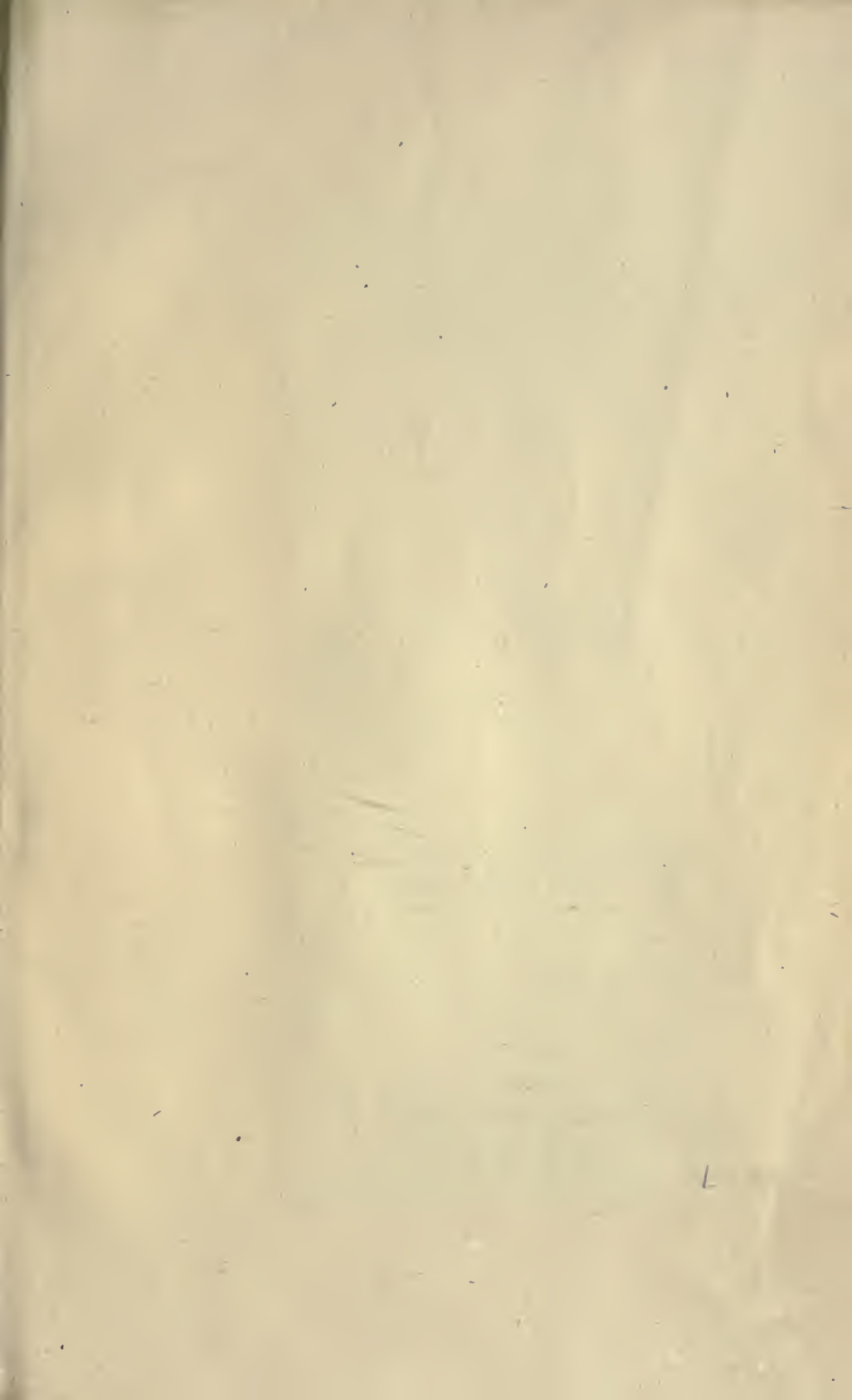
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